

ty of Californ
ern Regional
ary Facility



Painted by W. Hoare.

Engraved by Edm^d Finden.

THE RT HON: WILLIAM PITT,
afterwards Earl of Chatham.

A

HISTORY

OF THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

WILLIAM PITT,

Earl of Chatham :

CONTAINING

HIS SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT ;

A CONSIDERABLE PORTION OF HIS CORRESPONDENCE, WHEN SECRETARY OF STATE,

UPON FRENCH, SPANISH, AND AMERICAN AFFAIRS,

NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED ;

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE

PRINCIPAL EVENTS AND PERSONS OF HIS TIME,

CONNECTED WITH

HIS LIFE, SENTIMENTS, AND ADMINISTRATIONS.

BY THE

REV. FRANCIS THACKERAY, A.M.

Patriæ caritate, servitii odio, libertatis æstu instinctus, certaque immortalitatis spe, quam jam præsentiscebatur, animatus, nihil valebat nisi excelsum, nisi sublime, sine ullo privatæ utilitatis, ob patriam tantum et publicam rem cogitare, nihil humile, nihil abjectum eloqui poterat.—C. C. Taciti Dialogus de Oratoribus.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON :

PRINTED FOR C. AND J. RIVINGTON,

BOOKSELLERS EXTRAORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY,

WATERLOO-PLACE, PALL-MALL,

AND ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

MDCCCXXVII.

HISTORY

RIGHT HONORABLE

WILLIAM PITT

EARL OF CHATHAM

LONDON:

PRINTED BY R. GILBERT,

ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

21 dhy

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

ROBERT PEEL,

ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF STATE,

&c. &c. &c.

SIR,

WHEN I requested permission to associate this work in some degree with your distinguished name, I adopted a custom which in every age has been prevalent with authors. It was not, however, my intention to pursue the general practice by dwelling upon those great endowments, abilities, and virtues by which you have obtained the applause of all disinterested men, and secured the lasting gratitude of your country. In a character where there is so very much to commend, it is difficult to select particular objects of commendation, and where it is impossible to do full justice, it would be, perhaps, prudent to say nothing. There are, however,

some points in your public conduct respecting which a sense of duty forbids me to be silent. Occupied as you constantly are in the most important concerns of the kingdom, you have ever found time to attend to, and advance the cause of literature and of science. Owing to the liberality with which, in conjunction with other splendid qualifications, you discharge the functions of your exalted station, I have been enabled to avail myself of a most valuable source of historical information; I therefore dedicate to you the result of my labors. Numerous as are my deficiencies as an author, I shall, at least, not be charged with want of judgment in inscribing to Mr. Peel the history of a most distinguished orator and statesman. The great services rendered to the country by the elder Pitt, in one of the departments of State which you now occupy, naturally remind us of your own. An energy equal to that displayed by the former statesman in extending the glory of his country over distant regions, has been exerted by you in securing that glory in Great Britain. Whilst he contended with and prevailed against foreign enemies, you have obtained a no less important victory over the foes of civil government at home. Whilst his indignant oratory was called forth by what he considered the abuses of the constitution, it has been one triumphant object of your eloquence to elucidate its blessings: to point out

DEDICATION.

v

the benefits arising from a pure and enlightened system of legislation, and afterwards to establish and secure them to the country. In offering you this tribute of respect, I am in no fear of being accused of flattery, or of profaning the tomb of the dead, in order to raise an altar to the living: your own acknowledged merits, and, I trust, my own character, will amply secure me against both imputations.

That you may long be enabled to persevere in your illustrious career is the earnest wish and prayer of,

S I R,

Your most faithful,

and most humble servant,

FRANCIS THACKERAY.

*Harpenden,
March 30, 1827.*

INTRODUCTION.

IN an age so generally devoted to literature as the present, and so particularly partial to biographical research, it is extraordinary that no regular history of the first Earl of Chatham has appeared. Whilst numberless other characters, the ornaments of former ages, have been drawn with a warmth and fidelity which almost present them to our view ; whilst the brilliant Marlborough stands before us directing the armies of Blenheim and Ramilies ; and the prudent Walpole is seen conducting the financial concerns of his country, the illustrious Chatham has only been partially exhibited to us by an anonymous hand*.

* The following is Mr. Archdeacon Coxe's opinion of the " Anecdotes of the Life of the Earl of Chatham :"—" I think it a duty I owe to the public, in mentioning this wretched compilation, to declare, that from the access I have had to the papers and documents of the times, I find the Life of the Earl of Chatham superficial and inaccurate, principally drawn from newspapers and party pamphlets, and interspersed, perhaps, with a few anecdotes communicated in desultory conversations by Earl Temple. In affecting to give a volume of important state papers, the editor has raked together a collection of speeches, memorials, and letters, the greater part of which are derived from periodical publications.

" It becomes a matter of extreme regret that the life of so great a statesman and orator has not been delineated by a more faithful and able hand."—*Note in Coxe's Memoirs of Lord Walpole*, vol. ii. chap. 28.

In presuming to undertake the history of this celebrated man, I am well aware of the difficulty of the attempt, and of the deep responsibility which it incurs. My work necessarily comprises a material portion of the history of this kingdom for the space of more than forty years, whilst it involves most of the leading events in the history of Europe during the same period. I am to tear aside the veil which time has thrown over the characters of the dead, and I am to account for effects the causes of which are hastening to oblivion. The mighty statesman is to be exhibited who called back life into the drowning energies of his country ; who spread her glories over the four quarters of the globe ; who proclaimed her victories, as with thunder, on the deep ; and who converted her disgraces into triumphs as lasting as her name. The orator is to be portrayed, the lightning of whose eloquence now blasted the efforts of his antagonists, now fascinated and delighted them with the softened brilliancy of its flame. The man, lastly, is to be depicted, the good, the honorable Chatham ; the man whose life, with whatever political inconsistency it has been charged, was declared, by his fastidious contemporary, to be unsullied by meanness and unstained by vice ^b.

The years which have elapsed since the death of the first Earl of Chatham render, I conceive, the present period very favorable to an authentic history of his life. Whilst the causes which led men to traduce or exalt his character at the expence of truth have long since expired, several living authorities still remain, to whom the author desires to appeal in proof of his veracity. If it be said that the

^b "His private life was stained by no vices, nor sullied by any meanness." See character of Mr. Pitt by the Earl of Chesterfield, written in 1762.

lapse of half a century must detract from the interest of the subject ; I answer, that the history of Lord Chatham is, in a great measure, the history of the country during one of the most striking periods which have marked its existence. Such subjects must ever retain their importance ; they belong not to an age, they are consecrated to posterity.

I should be vain indeed did I pretend to do justice to the various merits of Lord Chatham. The biographer may relate with tolerable fidelity the counsels and achievements of the statesman, but he can hope to convey to posterity no adequate conception of the orator's powers. The remark applies generally, and with particular force to the present case. It is greatly to be lamented that many existing speeches attributed to Lord Chatham impress the reader with very imperfect notions of his eloquence. This was the necessary consequence of the mode in which the Parliamentary debates were recorded during a great part of the last century. In the year 1738, the House of Commons passed a resolution prohibiting the publication of its debates and proceedings. By this injudicious interference, the alleged misrepresentations of the press were greatly augmented. Truth, before occasionally perverted, was now more generally obscured. The compilers of periodical publications were compelled to resort to artifice in gratifying the public curiosity. They collected information from such authorities as they could employ with the greatest safety to themselves, and divulged the sentiments of the British senator under the concealment of harsh anagrams, or of Roman appellations^c. Different contributors being employed to report the speeches of the same

^c The leading periodical publications in which the Parliamentary debates at this time appeared were the *Gentleman's* and the *London Magazine*. The former concealed the names of the speakers under the anagram, the latter under the Roman disguise.

senator, great inequality in the language of each has appeared. Hence it is that we find the same orator delivering himself, sometimes, in language highly ornate and energetic, at others, debasing the dignity of his sentiment by poverty and meanness of expression. However faithfully the *argument* might be preserved in these different accounts, they could not all be authentic as they apply to style. This will be at once acknowledged by a reference to the early speeches ascribed to Lord Chatham. In endeavouring, therefore, to present the reader with a connected series of his speeches as faithfully as circumstances permit, I was reduced, as far as relates to a certain portion of them, to a choice of one of the three following expedients: To repeat the errors of former transcribers, by retaining the noble sentiments and powerful reasoning of the orator in all the fetters of a rude phraseology; or, to reject those speeches which are not allowed to be wholly authentic; or, to endeavor, whilst I scrupulously retained the thought and argument expressed, to reduce, by a few alterations, such as appeared manifestly imperfect, to the standard of his general language. As I did not wish to impress the reader with inadequate and degrading ideas of Lord Chatham's eloquence, I rejected the first expedient. The adoption of the second would have made a very awkward chasm in the history, and have occasioned the loss of the sentiments of a most powerful mind upon many occasions of great public importance. Upon mature consideration, the third appeared to be the best mode. I have, therefore, in the present work, arranged the early speeches of Lord Chatham according to this plan. I have produced my authorities for the speeches in a note at the beginning of each; and, whilst in no case I have presumed to alter the argument or thought imputed to the speaker, I have mentioned where I judged it necessary to adapt the phraseology to a closer resemblance of his

style^a. Of that style I consider the two speeches delivered by Lord Chatham, the first on the 9th, and the second on the 22d of January, 1770, both reported by Mr. Francis, to be most characteristic; they have, accordingly, been my standard.

It is well known with what liberality the Earl of Hardwicke has enriched the stores of political knowledge in this country, by allowing the publication of many of his family manuscripts. From the parliamentary journal of the Hon. Philip Yorke, inserted, with the permission of the present Lord Hardwicke, by Mr. Wright, in the thirteenth volume of the Parliamentary History of England, I have extracted the outlines of several speeches delivered by Mr. Pitt during the time between December, 1743, and April, 1745. Of the accuracy of these reports, as far as relates to the argument, there cannot be the smallest doubt; their brevity is alone to be regretted.

The speeches assigned to Mr. Pitt from the year 1751 to the end of the year 1760, are given upon the authority of Horace, Lord Orford, in whose "*Memoires*" they are almost exclusively to be found, and from which they are principally extracted. Although that noble author's disposition to sarcasm frequently biassed his judgment, he has never been accused of wilful misrepresentation. The utmost caution is necessary in receiving Lord Orford's opinions of men, but none is requisite as to those things which he actually heard and saw. His relation of facts is correct, although the construction he puts upon

^a What I have done with respect to the early speeches of Lord Chatham is, in fact, no more than is practised by every modern reporter, who clothes the thoughts of the most inaccurate speaker in grammatical language.

those facts is frequently unjust and dangerous. The force of Mr. Pitt's eloquence, of itself, commanded the attention of his audience; in Lord Orford's case it was the more intensely fixed, from his desire to preserve and record it. We must, therefore, regard his sketches of Mr. Pitt's speeches as those of an eye and ear witness, often defective in point of fire and dignity, but, as far as they extend, unquestionably accurate and true.

The remaining speeches are extracted from the Parliamentary History of England. Several of them originally appeared in Almon's Anecdotes of the Life of Lord Chatham. Whatever may be the general demerits of the last-mentioned work, (and it is allowed to be most prejudiced and superficial,) it contains some reports of speeches as interesting as they are important: these have received the sanction of Lord Chatham's family; they contain internal evidence of their authenticity, and are far too nervous and spirited to have proceeded from any but the orator whose name they bear.

Where the history required elucidation I have given occasional extracts from the speeches of several of Lord Chatham's contemporaries, especially upon the subject of the American war.

Until the beginning of the year 1757 Mr. Pitt's conduct and views as a statesman are exhibited almost wholly in his speeches: a new æra then commences. We have then not arguments but facts to consider; we have then to behold the unparalleled effects produced in the affairs of England and of Europe by the admission of one man into the government of the country; we have to observe the most disgraceful apathy succeeded by the most energetic exertion, the most

humiliating disasters by the most glorious successes, and the situation of England, by the Divine permission, absolutely metamorphosed through the agency of a single individual.

In attempting to give a faithful relation of the events connected with the whole life of Lord Chatham, and especially of those regarding his glorious administration, there are few authentic sources of information of which I have neglected to avail myself. It would be impertinent in me to dwell upon the labor which I have bestowed in doing so; for although the public have a right to demand correctness from an author, they can be expected to take little interest in the pains which it has cost him to arrive at it. I shall not, therefore, pretend to enumerate the different authors whom I have had occasion to consult, but merely observe, that I have diligently perused those parliamentary, political, and historical publications, of this and other countries, which related to my subject, carefully weighing and comparing them with each other before I ventured to adopt their assertions.

Having endeavoured to avail myself of that knowledge which is already before the public, and that which I have obtained from private conversation and diligent enquiry, it is most necessary to state that I have drawn by far the most interesting and authentic information from sources of which historians in general have too much neglected to avail themselves. I allude to the official correspondence preserved in his Majesty's State-Paper Office. To this I have had such repeated access, that if I have been able to impart an interest to my work, or to throw a light upon the great characters of whom it treats, I owe it more especially to the liberality of those who, although employed in the weightiest affairs of the country, have promptly attended to my

application; and to the attention of those to whose more immediate custody these invaluable documents are consigned. That English historians should hitherto have regarded with so much apathy these storehouses of information is a fact as extraordinary as it is reproachful. Of this I am fully convinced, that it is only by assiduously consulting them for the future, that the aspersions so frequently cast upon the veracity of history can fully be repelled. A history of England, chiefly founded upon these authorities, is a national *desideratum*: such a work would, indeed, be infinitely too laborious for any one individual; but it may reasonably be expected from the united labors of many learned and perspicuous men; and, fertile as the country is in such characters, I trust I shall live to peruse it.

The extracts from the official correspondence of Mr. Pitt, which I have been enabled to lay before the public, require no words of mine to recommend them. Almost the whole of them are now for the first time published. They exhibit the sentiments of great men upon great occasions. Mr. Pitt's state papers, in particular, are distinguished by manly sense and decision. The true British character pervades them all. When affairs of such vast importance and variety required the constant attention of the minister, it would be pedantic in the extreme to criticize the language of his correspondence with scrupulous severity. Mr. Pitt had one great object constantly at heart—to promote the interests of Great Britain; he therefore wished to express himself in terms that could not be misunderstood. The complicated nature of the subjects discussed frequently occasioned a great length in the sentences, but his meaning is, in general, clear. We see in the language which he employs the upright and bold statesman of a great and victorious kingdom, never unnecessarily wounding the feelings of foreign

ministers, but, at the same time, determined to preserve inviolate the rights and dignity of his country.

In the French and Spanish correspondence, neither the letters of the Earl of Bristol nor those of Mr. Hans Stanley will be read with indifference. The political subjects, of which they treat, must always render them of importance to the diplomatist, whilst the vivacity with which they are expressed, and the anecdotes with which they are interspersed, impart to them a strong and a general interest.

The astonishing vigor and success, with which our campaigns in North America were carried on, have induced me to make very copious extracts from the official correspondence of Mr. Pitt with the governors and commanders in the colonies. They will be found to sustain and strengthen the great fame of the statesman by whom they were written, or to whom they were addressed. I trust that it is unnecessary to apologize for their length. Indeed, upon a careful perusal of the numerous volumes in which this correspondence is contained, I have been so struck by the vast designs, the unwearied assiduity, and the deep penetration of the minister, that I think the reader, instead of reproaching me for the frequency of the extracts, will regret that more could not have been introduced.

I trust that my relation of many events which occurred in Europe, both previous and subsequent to the administration of Mr. Pitt, as well as during that glorious period, together with the biographical sketches of the most able of his contemporaries, will be considered as neither tedious nor unconnected. My object has been to

give a clear view, not only of the speeches and actions of Lord Chatham, but also of the motives by which his sentiments and conduct were influenced. I have chosen the method which appeared to me best calculated to answer this end, and much as I wished to be brief, I was yet more desirous of avoiding obscurity. I have made copious extracts from some authors, whose statements and descriptions I considered essential to my history; I have freely availed myself of the sentiments of others, without quotation, and in a few instances with a slight variation only from their language. In all these cases, however, I have in a note referred to the work from which I have borrowed or made extracts, both in attestation of the truth of my assertions, and also to anticipate and avert the charge of concealed plagiarism.

The Appendix contains a portion of Lord Chatham's correspondence with official persons; many state papers and other documents, which, although closely connected with the history, do not form a necessary part of the narrative. The papers are numbered, and referred to in the body of the work. At the end of the Appendix I have inserted an elaborate Table exhibiting all the persons who held principal offices under the government during the Earl of Chatham's political career, that is, from the year 1735 to the end of the year 1778.

The poet tells us that the sons of Antenor endeavored to soften the fury of Agamemnon by piteously reminding him of their youth. Although young as an author, I shall not imitate their example. I shall not plead inexperience, with a view to mitigate the severity of criticism. My wish is to meet the judgment of the public openly

and fairly, and, if I must fall, to fall not by the shaft of ridicule, but by the lawful weapons of argument and conviction. But, although I desire to meet the most rigid investigation, (indeed, many parts of my work will not be understood without it,) I am duly aware how much I stand in need of the candor and indulgence of my readers. To those kind feelings I venture to appeal, from the consciousness that in endeavoring to give a faithful history of a most illustrious character and of the times in which he lived, I have spared neither labor nor expence to obtain, or to avail myself of the best information ; I have been warped, I trust, by no prejudices ; I have had no party purposes to serve ; I have written nothing unjustly reflecting upon the memory of the dead ; nothing offensive to the feelings of the living^e. If, therefore, I have, in any degree, fulfilled the professed object of my work, I would hope that some indulgence may be conceded to those inaccuracies and omissions which, in an undertaking of so extensive, and, in many respects, of so delicate a nature, must, almost unavoidably, occur. And if, without presumption, I may be allowed to contemplate the possibility of the work's arriving at a second edition, I pledge myself to neglect no opportunity of improvement which may be derived from the judgment of the critic, or from the contributions of those who are the possessors of information relative to a subject of such national interest and importance.

^e How much the reputation of the most illustrious characters and the feelings of their surviving friends have suffered by the injudicious and wanton publication of letters never intended for the public eye is notorious to all. The consciousness of this has sometimes induced the possessors of much valuable manuscript information to withhold it altogether from inspection, and has thus proved a serious impediment to biography.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

1708.

	PAGE
Genealogy of Mr. Pitt—His birth—He is placed at Eton—Attacked by the gout—Entered at Trinity College, Oxford—Latin verses composed by him upon the death of George I.—Visits the Continent of Europe—Is returned to Parliament—Obtains a cornetcy of horse—Characters of several leading men in the administration, and in the opposition—Sir R. Walpole, Lord Bolingbroke, &c.—Marriage of the Prince of Wales—Mr. Pitt's first speech in Parliament—He is deprived of his commission in the army—His intimacy with Lord Cobham—Stowe and its inmates—Verses of Thomson and Hammond upon Mr. Pitt—Mr. Pitt is appointed Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Prince of Wales—Death of Queen Caroline.....	1

CHAPTER II.

1738.

Disputes between England and Spain—Disgraceful apathy of Sir R. Walpole upon that subject—Speech of Mr. Pitt in favor of a reduction in the army—Celebrated convention with Spain—Speech of Mr. Pitt against the convention—War with Spain—Speech of Mr. Pitt upon Admiral Haddock's instructions—Upon Sir C. Wager's bill for the encouragement of seamen—Reply to Horace Walpole and Mr. Winnington—Decline of Sir R. Walpole's power—Mr. Pitt's speech on the motion to remove him—The minister is left in a minority upon several questions—He resigns, and is created Earl of Orford—His policy in dividing his political adversaries.....	19
---	----

CHAPTER III.

1742.

Lord Limerick's motion for an enquiry into the conduct of the late Minister—Mr. Pitt's speech in support of that motion—The motion is lost—Lord Limerick's second motion—Mr. Pitt's speech in support of it—Observation of Mr. Pitt in reply to the younger	
---	--

Horace Walpole—Mr. Pitt is appointed one of a committee of secrecy to enquire into the conduct of the late minister—Bill of indemnity to protect witnesses—Brief retrospect of Sir R. Walpole's administration—The bill of indemnity is rejected by the House of Peers—Lord Orford in retirement—Changes in the ministry considered—John Duke of Argyle—Disappointment of parties—A new opposition—Of whom composed—Characters of Lord Carteret and the Duke of Newcastle	48
---	----

CHAPTER IV.

1742.

Character of George the second—A short view of those kingdoms which were particularly connected with the policy of Great Britain—Prussia—Frederick William—Frederick II.—House of Austria—Rodolph of Hapsburgh—The power and authority of the Emperors of Germany considered—Charles VI.—Treaty of Hanover—Pragmatic sanction—Death of Charles VI.—Maria Theresa—Review of the conduct of the Court of England with regard to Prussia and Austria—Forlorn condition of Maria Theresa—Enthusiasm of her subjects in her support—Sir William Yonge's motion respecting a grant for the maintenance of the Hanover troops—Mr. Pitt's speech upon this occasion—Extract from a speech of the elder Horace Walpole—Account of Mr. Pitt's eloquence by Mr. Oswald ..	78
--	----

CHAPTER V.

1743.

Death of Cardinal Fleury—Its ill consequences to France—Battle of Dettingen—Death of Lord Wilmington, who is succeeded at the treasury by Mr. Pelham—Lord Carteret's want of popularity—Meeting of Parliament—King's speech—Address of the Commons—Mr. Pitt's speech upon the address—Remarks upon that speech—Speeches of Mr. Pitt on the 6th and on the 15th of December.....	97
---	----

CHAPTER VI.

1744.

Speeches of Mr. Pitt respecting the Hanover troops—Projected invasion of Great Britain by the Pretender—Mr. Pitt supports the government in an address for the augmentation of the forces—Reciprocal declarations of war between France and England—Successful progress of the French arms under Saxe—Discontents in England—Resignation of Lord Granville—The celebrated Duchess of Marlborough bequeaths a legacy to Mr. Pitt—Mr. Pitt supports a motion of Sir W. Yonge, that 28,000 men be employed in Flanders—Death of the Emperor Charles VII.—The young Pretender and the rebellion in Scotland—Parliament assembles—Mr. Pitt's speech upon Sir F. Dashwood's amendment—Severe remarks upon Mr. Hume Campbell's motion—Disgraceful dissensions in the British Cabinet—Resignations of almost the whole ministerial body—Mr. Win-	
--	--

CONTENTS.

xxi

PAGE

nington—Reappointment of the ministry—Mr. Pitt is made Paymaster of the forces—
His high integrity in this office—System of continental warfare pursued by George the
Second—Battle of Lafeldt—Sir John Ligonier—Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle 123

CHAPTER VII.

1748.

Charges against Mr. Pitt's political consistency examined—The advisers of the Prince of
Wales—Characters of Lord Egmont, Mr. Nugent, and Dr. Lee—Mr. Pitt's speech
upon the mutiny bill—Upon the Glasgow petition—Mr. Pitt in retirement—George the
Second endeavors to secure the election of the Archduke Joseph to the title of the King
of the Romans—The Westminster election—The Prince of Wales's court—Illness and
death of his Royal Highness..... 154

CHAPTER VIII.

1751.

Regency bill—Mr. Pitt's speech—Changes in the administration—Mr. Pitt's anxiety
respecting the education of his Nephew—Unanimity in Parliament—Characters of Mr.
Murray and Mr. Fox—Mr. Pitt's letters to his Nephew—Death of Mr. Pelham—The
Duke of Newcastle's ascendancy in the cabinet—Marriage of Mr. Pitt—Disputes
between the English and French in North America—General Braddock—Mr. Pitt's
speech for the relief of the Chelsea pensioners—Letters of Mr. Fox descriptive of Mr.
Pitt's eloquence..... 180

CHAPTER IX.

1755.

Peculiarity of Mr. Fox's situation—Mr. Fox becomes a Cabinet Councillor—Mr. Pitt's
speech upon the Sheriff's Depute in Scotland—Want of harmony between Mr. Pitt
and Mr. Fox—Posture of public affairs—Anxiety of the Duke of Newcastle to secure
the support of Mr. Pitt—Character of the Earl of Hardwicke—Mr. Pitt's speech upon
the Foreign Treaties—Mr. Fox becomes Secretary of State—Mr. Pitt is deprived of the
Paymastership—Speeches of Mr. Pitt upon Mr. Ellis's motion for 50,000 seamen ; upon
Mr. Pulteney's motion ; upon the Militia Bill—Debates upon the Treaties with Hesse
and Russia—Speech of the Hon. Hume Campbell—Mr. Pitt's very severe reply—
Speeches of Mr. Pitt upon the Treaties ; upon the Estimate of the Charges of the Hano-
verian Troops ; upon Sir G. Lyttleton's motion—Minorca—Admiral Byng—Embarrass-
ments and resignation of the Duke of Newcastle—Mr. Pitt is appointed Secretary of
State..... 213

CHAPTER X.

1756.

PAGE

Peculiar and embarrassing situation of Mr. Pitt as Secretary of State—His plans with regard to North America—Admiral Byng's sentence and execution—Reflections upon the conduct of Austria—Count Kaunitz—Combination of several European powers—Views and conduct of the King of Prussia—He invades Saxony—Money voted for his assistance by the English Parliament—Duke of Cumberland is appointed to the command of the army of observation in Germany—The King's dislike to his ministers—Mr. Pitt is deprived of the seals—State of the country at this time—Ineffectual negotiations for a new administration—Mr. Pitt is re-appointed Secretary of State 265

CHAPTER XI.

1757.

Operations of the army of observation—The Duke of Cumberland is defeated at Hastenbeck—His Royal Highness adopts an injudicious line of retreat—Disastrous state of public affairs—The energy and application of the Secretary of State—Projects a descent upon the coast of France—An expedition is prepared—Military force employed—Character of the officers—Naval force—Operations of the fleet—Failure and return of the expedition—Hawke and Boscawen despatched to intercept the French squadron returning from Louisburg—Convention of Closter-seven—The Duke of Cumberland arrives at Kensington—Manly conduct of Mr. Pitt—Wonderful exertions of the King of Prussia—Victory of Rosbach—Bold system of operations recommended by Mr. Pitt—Parliament meets—King's speech—Celebrated speech of Mr. Pitt—Astonishing success of the King of Prussia 295

CHAPTER XII.

1758.

The strenuous system of Mr. Pitt's administration begins to produce its effects—The alliance of England with Prussia considered—Message from the King to the House of Commons—A supply granted—Mr. Pitt's bold and extensive system with regard to North America—Instructions from government to General Abercrombie and Admiral Boscawen—Commodore Holmes obliges a garrison of French and Austrians to evacuate the city of Emden—Commodore Marsh takes possession of the French settlement of St. Louis—East Indies—Clive—Coote—M. de Lally—Another enterprise against the coast of France—Forces employed—Operations of the squadron—The army lands, and burns several French ships and a great quantity of naval stores near St. Malo—The fleet returns to Spithead—The Attorney-General's bill for explaining and amending the writ of Habeas Corpus—Singular incident which gave rise to this bill—Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick compels the French to recross the Rhine—Enormities committed by the

CONTENTS.

xxiii

PAGE

French soldiery—Noble conduct of the Duc de Randan—Mr. Pitt sends reinforcements to Prince Ferdinand's army—A third expedition against the French coast—Bason and piers of Cherbourg destroyed—Cape Breton taken by General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen—Gallantry of Wolfe—Letter from Mr. Pitt to General Amherst—Character of General Amherst—Account of the fourth expedition against the coast of France—The King of Prussia defeats the Russians at Custrin—but is himself defeated at Hochkirchen—Fort Frontenac in America taken by Colonel Bradstreet—Expedition against Goree—Another against the French Caribbee Islands—Meeting of Parliament—Mr. Pitt's speech—Treaty with Prussia renewed—Conclusion of the year 1758 317

CHAPTER XIII.

1759.

Letter from Mr. Pitt to General Amherst—Intelligence from General Forbes respecting his capture of Fort du Quesne—Goree taken by Commodore Keppel—Death of the Princess Governante of the United Provinces—Conduct of the Dutch towards England—Firmness of Mr. Pitt—Guadaloupe and Marigalante taken by the English—Affairs of Spain—Correspondence between Mr. Pitt and the Earl of Bristol 363

CHAPTER XIV.

1759.

The French project an invasion of Great Britain—Admirable state of the country under Mr. Pitt's administration—Message from the King to Parliament respecting a French invasion—Exertions throughout the country in defence of Government—Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick—Battle of Minden—Lord George Sackville—Impartiality of Mr. Pitt—Operations of the British navy—Fleet under Boscawen—Victory over De la Clue—King of Prussia is defeated at Cunnersdorf—Brilliant successes of the English in America under General Amherst and Sir William Johnson—Letter from General Amherst to Mr. Pitt, and from Mr. Pitt to General Amherst—Spanish correspondence 396

CHAPTER XV.

1759.

Character of General Wolfe—Military force under him—Naval force under Admiral Saunders—Instructions of the Government to General Wolfe—Manifesto issued by that general—Description of Quebec—Difficulties opposed to the English—Wolfe's celebrated Letter to Mr. Pitt—Lord Orford's description of the death of General Wolfe—Quebec surrenders—Successes of the English arms in the East—Pococke, Lally, &c.—Public Thanksgiving in England—Parliament meets—Mr. Pitt's speech—Curious Anecdote respecting the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt—Sir Edward Hawke's victory over Conflans—Forlorn condition of France—Proposals of a general peace by the Kings of England and Prussia—The difficulties attending these overtures—Spanish correspondence 424

CHAPTER XVI.

1760.

	PAGE
Letter from Mr. Pitt to General Amherst—Severity of the Winter of 1759 and 1760—Expedition and death of Thurot—Dr. Warburton is elevated, through Mr. Pitt's interest, to the Bench of Bishops—General Murray sallies out of Quebec, and is repulsed by the French—Correspondence with Mr. Pitt respecting the disaster before Quebec, and the subsequent happy turn of affairs—Situation of England with regard to Spain—Extracts from two letters from Mr. Pitt to the Earl of Bristol—Death of George II.—Review of his character.	464

CHAPTER XVII.

1760.

Accession of George the Third—Lord Bute contrasted with Mr. Pitt—His Majesty's wise and upright measure respecting the twelve judges—Dismission of Mr. Legge—Character of Mr. Legge—Lord Bute appointed Secretary of State—Affairs of Spain—Extracts from Mr. Pitt's correspondence with the Earl of Bristol—Renewal of the negociation for peace—Plenipotentiaries respectively appointed by France and England—Mr. Stanley despatched to Paris, and M. de Bussy to London—Instructions from Government to Mr. Stanley—Letter from Mr. Pitt to Mr. Stanley—Letter from Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt—French Memorial of 26th March, minutely considered—Firmness of Mr. Pitt—Siege and surrender of Belle-Isle—Extracts from Mr. Stanley's correspondence with Mr. Pitt	493
--	-----

CHAPTER XVIII.

1761.

Further, and very important extracts from the correspondence between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Stanley—Within three days, intelligence of as many victories arrives at St. James's—The King announces his intention of demanding the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz in marriage—Suspicious in the mind of Mr. Pitt respecting the conduct of France and Spain—Review of Spanish affairs—Extracts from Mr. Pitt's correspondence with the Earl of Bristol—The celebrated Memorial of France respecting Spain is returned to M. de Bussy by Mr. Pitt—Difference in the terms of peace proposed by England and France—Letter from Mr. Pitt to the Earl of Bristol—Letters from M. de Bussy, and the Spanish Ambassador to Mr. Pitt—Family compact between the Sovereigns of France and Spain—Extract of a Letter from Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt—Letter from the Earl of Bristol to Mr. Pitt—Mr. Pitt affirms, at three different meetings of the Cabinet Council, the necessity of an immediate declaration of war with Spain—His advice is rejected—Resignation of Mr. Pitt—He receives a pension of 3000 <i>l.</i> a-year, and his wife, Lady Hester Pitt, is created Baroness of Chatham—Mr. Pitt, after his resignation, is at first assailed by obloquy—His subsequent popularity—Review of his administration	538
--	-----

A
HISTORY
OF THE
RIGHT HONORABLE WILLIAM PITT,
EARL OF CHATHAM.

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

1708.

Genealogy of Mr. Pitt—His birth—He is placed at Eton—Attacked by the gout—Entered at Trinity College, Oxford—Latin verses composed by him upon the death of George I.—Visits the continent of Europe—Is returned to Parliament—Obtains a cornetcy of horse—Characters of several leading men in the Administration, and in the Opposition—Sir R. Walpole, Lord Bolingbroke, &c.—Marriage of the Prince of Wales—Mr. Pitt's first speech in Parliament—He is deprived of his commission in the army—His intimacy with Lord Cobham—Stowe and its inmates—Verses of Thomson and Hammond upon Mr. Pitt—Mr. Pitt is appointed Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Prince of Wales—Death of Queen Caroline.

It is curious to observe the expedients to which malice will have recourse, in attempting to injure conspicuous merit. Where no possible stigma can attach to the character of many illustrious persons, they have often been upbraided with the lowness of their origin, or the misdeeds of their ancestors. It was said of the first Earl of Chatham that he was a new man. If the assertion meant that he owed his elevation simply to the vast force of his own genius and abilities, it is a proud, a most satisfactory testimonial. If it implied a sneer upon the meanness of his family, it is as false as it is malignant.

CHAP.

I.
1708.

CHAP. The annexed table will shew the eminent respectability of his family
 I.
 1708. for many generations. By referring to this table it will be seen that
 ===== the subject of these memoirs was the descendant of an ancient house,
 and allied to some of the first families in the kingdom. He was the
 second son of Robert Pitt, Esq. of Boconnock, in the County of
 Cornwall, by Harriet Villiers, fourth daughter of George Viscount
 Grandison. His uncle, Thomas Pitt, married Frances Ridgway,
 daughter of the Earl of Londonderry, and was himself created Earl of
 Londonderry. His grandfather, Thomas Pitt, Esq. was Governor of
 Madras, and afterwards Member of Parliament for Old Sarum, and
 Governor of Jamaica. This gentleman discharged with the highest
 honor the various public offices to which he was appointed, and was
 much esteemed for his private worth. He is, however, more generally
 known as the purchaser of the great diamond which still bears his
 name^a.

WILLIAM PITT, first Earl of Chatham, was born on the 15th
 November, 1708, in the parish of St. James, Westminster. Of his
 infancy and early youth I have not been able to collect any authenti-
 cated information. He was sent to Eton at an early age, and placed
 upon the foundation of that antient establishment. Dean Bland was
 at that time the head master of Eton, and is said to have highly
 valued the attainments of his pupil. Among the many recommenda-
 tions which will always attach to a public system of education, the
 value of early emulation, the force of example, the abandonment of
 sulky and selfish habits, and the acquirement of generous, manly, dis-

^a This was considered, at the beginning of the 18th century, the largest diamond in Europe. It weighed 127 carats, and was purchased, about the year 1717, by the Regent Orleans for the French King. The sum paid was 135,000*l.* but, allowing for the workmanship of the stone, and the expenses of negotiating the sale, the money received for it by Mr. Pitt was about 125,000*l.* He originally gave 20,400*l.* for the diamond, and was thus a gainer by it, upon the whole, of 104,600*l.* Considerable as was the weight of this diamond, it is perfectly insignificant when compared with the one sent from the Brazils to the King of Portugal in 1746. This wonderful jewel almost exceeds those which the gorgeous fictions of Eastern imaginations have assigned to the valley of diamonds. It weighed, we are told, 1680 carats, or 12 ounces and a half, and was valued at the enormous sum of 224,000,000*l.*

positions are not to be overlooked. All these I believe to have had weight in forming the character of Lord Chatham. Eton has ever been productive of great men, and, at the time I speak of, there were many whose names have subsequently become illustrious. George, afterwards Lord Lyttleton, Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, Henry Fielding, &c. were Pitt's youthful contemporaries. That painful and dangerous malady, the gout, which adhered to him through life, and which, ultimately, occasioned his death, here first attacked him. It was hereditary. It may be worth while to remark the different operations of the same cause upon different men. With the generality of mankind a predisposition to any acute disease is often a bar to intellectual improvement. The mind is solely occupied in endeavouring to alleviate or remove the pains of the body, and such a lassitude is produced, that reading is merely resorted to as a mode of destroying time, and is then limited to works of entertainment. With Pitt it was far otherwise. The strength of his genius, constantly impelling him to exertion, converted the very infirmities of his body into a source of improvement; and the disease which excluded him from the bodily exercises of his companions, served as an instrument to advance his intellectual superiority over them. He was admitted a *gentleman commoner* of Trinity College, Oxford, on the 10th January 1726^b. His time was here chiefly devoted to the study of history and the classical writers. His Majesty George I. dying in 1727, among the many tributes to his memory composed by different individuals of the University, the following by Mr. Pitt were published the first year after he went to College.

^b A very useful practice, not general in the University, prevails in Trinity College; the undergraduates, upon admission, enter their names, county, and parentage in a register provided for the purpose. From this register, Dr. Ingram, the president, has most politely allowed me to make the following extract: Ego Gulielmus Pitt Filius Rob^{ti}. Pitt armⁱ: de Old Sarum in comitatu Wilts, natus Londⁱⁿⁱ. in Par: Sancti Jacobi annorum circiter octodecim, admissus sum primi ordinis commensalis, sub tutamine Mag^{ri}. Stockwell, Jan^{rii}. decimo die anno Domini 1726.

CHAP.
I.
1727.

Angliacæ vos o præsentia numina gentis
 Libertas! atque Alma Themis! Neptune Britanni
 Tu pater Oceani! (si jam pacata Georgi
 Imperio tua perlabi licet æquora,) vestro,
 Triste ministerium! pia solvite munera regi.
 At teneri planctus absint, mollesque querelæ
 Herois tumulo; quas mors deflenda requirit,
 Gesta vetant lacrymas, justæque superbia laudis.
 Instare horribiles longè latèque tumultus
 Hic super Hispanos violenta tumescere campos
 Belli diluvies, illic ad flumina Rheni
 Ardentes furibundus equos immittere Mavors.
 Heu quam in se miseri cladem stragesque cierent!
 Quot fortes caderent animæ! quot gurgite torquens
 Sanguineo fluvijs morientia corpora in altum
 Volveret oceanum! ni te succurrere sæclo
 Te solum, visum superis, Auguste, labenti
 Tu miserans hominum pacem super astra volentem
 Imperio retines, terrasque revisere cogis.

Dextera quid potuit, primis ubi fervor in armis
 Impulit ulcisci patriam, populosque gementes,
 Turcarum dicant acies, versisque cohortes
 Turbatæ signis; dicat perterrita Buda,
 Invitaque tuos prætollat laude triumphos,
 Fulmina cum attonitum contra torquenda tyrannum
 Vidit et intremuit. Rerum at jam lenior ordo
 Arrisit, gladiumque manus consueta rotare,
 Majus opus! gratæ prætendit signa quietis.
 Quare agite, O populi, tantarum in munere laudum
 Sternite humum foliis. Sed vos ante omnia Musæ
 Cæsarem ac astra feretis; amavit vos quoque Cæsar;
 Vestraque cum placida laurus concrevit oliva.
 Felix, qui potuit mundi cohibere tumultus!
 Fortunatus et illi, ægri solamen amoris
 Qui subit Angliacis, tanti audit nominis hæres.
 Auspice te, diæves agitans discordia, ludo
 Heu satiata nimis! furias amnemque severum
 Cocyti repetat, propriosque perhorreat angues.
 At secunda quies, metuens et gratia culpæ
 Te circumvolitent. Themis hinc cœlestis, et illinc
 Sustentet solium clementia. Tu quoque magnam
 Partem habeas opere in tanto, Carolina labore

Imperii recreans fessum : nam Maximus ille
 Te colit, atque animi sensum tibi credit opertum,
 Curarum consorti, et multo pignore junctæ.
 Inclyta progenies ! Tibi quam dilecta Tonanti
 Latona invideat, quam vel Berecynthia Mater
 Centum enixa Deos ; si qua hæc sint dona Britannis
 Propria sintque precor, referant et utrumque parentem.

CHAP.
 I.
 1727.

GUL. PITT,

Coll. Trin. Socio Commens.

It was the opinion of Lord Chesterfield and of others that Lord Chatham, had he applied himself to poetry, would have greatly excelled in it ; and although a tolerable copy of Latin verses composed by a youth at College would of itself be but a mean argument of this, I think the rich flow of language and ideas which distinguished his public speeches and his ordinary conversation, were capable, had they been devoted to poetry, of being embodied into an heroic poem of the highest order. In confirmation of my remark we shall find, that during the brief intervals snatched from the arduous studies and occupations of his life, he produced several other elegant specimens of a poetic talent. These I shall insert in the order of time in which they were written. The gout attacked him with increased violence at Oxford, and compelled him to quit the University without taking a degree. Soon after he left Oxford he visited the Continent of Europe, and travelled through different parts of France and Italy. But, whatever accessions he made to his stores of elegant and useful knowledge, and however he improved his taste by the tour, it had no effect in removing his disorder. It was now time that he should devote himself to a profession. His ardent mind thirsted for employment, and, even had he been of an indolent disposition, his patrimony was inadequate to his support. Lord Chesterfield fixes his fortune at one hundred pounds a year. This, probably, is below the mark. His grandfather was, at different times, governor of two rich settlements, he had been fortunate in the sale of the celebrated diamond, and must have possessed considerable wealth. William Pitt himself was one of

CHAP. only two sons. He had, indeed, five sisters, but calculating the por-
 I.
 1727. tions which each of the younger children upon a very moderate scale
 would receive, I should estimate his property at about 4,000 pounds.
 His brother had wealth, and much borough influence, and it is prob-
 able that William Pitt soon regarded the House of Commons as a
 proper sphere for the exercise of his abilities. An opportunity of
 1735. coming into Parliament occurred to him in 1735. His brother, having
 been elected both for Old Sarum and for Oakhampton, and making
 his election for the latter place, William Pitt, together with Robert
 Needham, Esq. (who had married his sister Catherine,) was returned
 for Old Sarum. But the necessity of some honorable employment,
 by which his income might be augmented, still subsisting, he obtained
 a cornetcy in the regiment of the Blues, which was his first and only
 commission.

It would be idle to speculate, at any length, respecting Mr. Pitt's
 probable merits as a soldier, had fortune and his own constitution per-
 mitted his continuance in the army. There can, however, be little
 doubt that his talents were of that description to secure to him the
 largest portion of military renown. His ardent spirit and extraor-
 dinary readiness of mind were exactly calculated to strike an enemy
 with dismay, and to inspire an army with confidence and enthusiasm.
 The quickness of his eye, a bodily faculty which has given the victory
 in many memorable actions, ought not to be overlooked^c. But the
 occasional employment of a military commander would not have suited
 a mind which required to be ever in action. Had he been placed,
 indeed, at the head of a great military nation, with perpetual occupa-
 tion for his powers, I have no doubt he would have carried its glory to
 the utmost pinnacle of success. Had scope been given to his energy
 and decision of mind, they must have made him as terrible in the

^c It is my opinion that no man who does not possess eminent quickness of sight is capable
 of becoming a perfect general. History shews many errors of the most fatal description which
 have resulted from a defect in this organ: Tallard, from this cause, committed a tremendous
 oversight in the battle of Blenheim; and all men know that the eagle eye of the Duke of Wel-
 lington has given great effect to his other astonishing military powers.

field as they rendered him pre-eminent in the council and the senate. CHAP.
 But it is on rare occasions only that a general has an opportunity of ^{I.}
 distinguishing himself. And whilst the civil affairs of this mighty 1735.
 nation are constantly calling for the exertion of the greatest abilities,
 our history exhibits comparatively few who have immortalized their
 names by their successes in war.

Mr. Pitt's most intimate associates in Parliament at this time, and for several subsequent years, were his schoolfellow, George Lyttleton, member for Oakhampton, and Richard Grenville, (afterwards Earl Temple) member for Buckingham. These three gentlemen, indeed, were closely connected by marriage: Sir Thomas, the father of George Lyttleton, had married Christian, one of the daughters of Lord Cobham; Richard Grenville's father had married Hester, the other sister; and Thomas, the brother of William Pitt, was married to Christian, George Lyttleton's sister. It was by the interest of the Pitt family that George Lyttleton was returned for Oakhampton. A very short time after Mr. Pitt had taken his seat in Parliament, a motion being made by Mr. Pulteney to refer the navy estimates to a select committee, he was, with Mr. Sandys, appointed a teller of the minority upon that question. He did not speak in 1735. Nothing indeed of any great national importance occurred during this period, or, probably, his ardour would not have been restrained by the consideration of the short experience he possessed of parliamentary proceedings. We may suppose him, in the mean time, to have been intently observing the proceedings and characters of the many able men around him. It may be interesting to the reader, and enable him to form a clearer conception of Mr. Pitt's character and subsequent proceedings if I here give a short account of some of the principal persons at that time on the side of government, and in the opposition. The administration was then, and for many years before had been, conducted by one of the most extraordinary men the country has produced. By dint of industry and an uncommon talent for business and debate, Sir Robert Walpole had raised himself to the first appointments in the government of the kingdom. First Lord of the Treasury, Chancellor of the Ex-

CHAP. chequer, the friend of his sovereign, the manager of the House of
 I.
 1735. Commons, he wanted alone the favour of the people. His system of
 government was altogether pacific, and there can be little doubt that
 it was owing to the long repose the country enjoyed under his administration, that she was afterwards enabled to advance the prodigious sums expended on our different continental alliances. But with whatever ability Walpole might have discharged the duties of his financial and diplomatic departments, his public conduct is liable to two most serious charges of reproach. The constant ridicule which he cast upon the idea of patriotism and public spirit, and the undisguised manner in which he avowed his practices of corruption, although they exempt him from the charge of hypocrisy, must for ever destroy his claim to the character of an upright minister: whilst the tameness with which he suffered the insults of foreign nations exposed his country to continual shame. A wise minister will ever be desirous of peace, but he will possess the tact to perceive where war is unavoidable, and when he strikes a blow it will not be with the palsied arm of apathy or fear, but one which shall be long and deeply felt by the enemy. Every one is acquainted with the disputes between England and Spain during the first part of the last century. Whoever considers the state of the two countries, the peculiar ferment throughout England, and the contemptuous aggressions of Spain upon our navy, must acknowledge that Walpole could have no reasonable hopes of preventing a war; by protracting it, therefore, he was only subjecting the nation to added insolence and loss. I am not ignorant of all that has been written in his defence. But he has not been exculpated. The charges to which, in my opinion, the public character of Walpole is still amenable, are those of timidity and corruption. Corruption with regard to his internal arrangements, timidity with respect to our foreign affairs. Walpole's colleagues in the ministry at this time were men of ordinary talents. With the exception of Lord Hervey and the Earl of Hardwicke in the House of Lords; Henry Pelham, and Mr. Winnington in the House of Commons, there is scarcely a name which posterity would remember without a reference to the indices of

history. The abilities of the country were to be found in the ranks of CHAP. I.
 opposition. The formidable nature of that opposition will be seen, 1735.
 from a consideration of the threefold sources of its strength. In the
 first place, many of the most able among the Whigs, either from dis-
 appointed feeling in not obtaining employment under the government,
 or from personal dislike to the minister, were warmly opposed to
 his measures. In the second place, all the Tory interest, so strong in
 the latter years of Queen Anne, and which the lapse of twenty years
 had not very materially reduced, was combined against him. In the
 third place, the Jacobite party, with a few sturdy champions at its
 head, who scarcely shrunk from the avowal of their principles, were
 his determined opponents. At the head of the first class in the House
 of Commons were William and Daniel Pulteney, Sir J. Barnard, Lord
 Polwarth and Mr. Sandys. Sir W. Wyndham was the leader of the
 Tories. His opposition was grounded upon hostility to the government
 as well as to the minister. Although he was highly esteemed by his
 party, his conduct in the year 1716 seems to have justified Walpole
 in classing him with the favourers of the Pretender. The eloquence
 of this gentleman was of the most animated kind, and rendered him,
 with the exception of William Pulteney, the most formidable opponent
 of Sir R. Walpole in the House of Commons. The disinterested and
 inflexible William Shippen was an avowed Jacobite. Although not a
 graceful, he was a pointed and energetic speaker. However we may
 condemn his political principles, we must deeply respect the virtue of
 the only man whom Walpole could affirm to be beyond the reach of
 corruption. In the House of Lords, the highest male subject in the realm,
 the immediate heir to the throne, was the patron of the adversaries of
 Sir R. Walpole. The polished and witty Chesterfield, the elegant and
 impassioned Carteret, there employed their learning and eloquence
 against him. Of his opposers, who did not possess a seat in either
 House of Parliament, Lord Bolingbroke was, by far, the most eminent.
 In the charms of conversation, in personal address, in elegance and
 richness of written composition he was excelled by none. With such
 talents it is not surprising that he possessed great influence with the

CHAP. Prince of Wales, and with all his associates. Every one knows in
 I.
 1735. what fervent strains Pope and Swift have declared their admiration of
 ————— *the all-accomplished Bolingbroke*. His character is now better understood. His writings are before the world, and prove him to have been a visionary and dangerous politician: and many circumstances have transpired to shew that he was a treacherous friend and a dishonest subject. Happily the known immorality of his life prevented the more general reception of his principles. Besides these elevated characters, Walpole by his neglect of literary genius had enlisted nearly all the talent of the country against him. The press was continually attacking him in every possible manner.

With such formidable opponents in Parliament, and with such adversaries among the people, it is most extraordinary that Sir R. Walpole should have been so long able to retain his authority. It has been said that his power was at its greatest height about the year 1735, but whoever attentively considers the exertions and sacrifices the minister was compelled to make in support of his friends in the different contested elections, and the diminished number of his adherents in the parliament assembled in the preceding year, will perceive that it was otherwise. The strength of his adversaries was at once seen upon the opening of parliament on the 14th January, 1734. The formidable minority of 185 against 265, upon the question of a vote of address to the throne, was ominous of a prevailing opposition upon future occasions.

The principal friends of Mr. Pitt were in opposition to the minister, and attached to the party of the Prince of Wales. Mr. Pitt had soon an opportunity of testifying his zeal in the cause of that illustrious personage. The attachment of Frederick, Prince of Wales, to the Princess Royal of Prussia, and the causes which prevented his marriage with her, although not mentioned by many English historians, are facts well known. It is so very seldom that princes can have the opportunity of forming a union upon the principles of real affection, that one cannot help feeling much at the disappointment of these royal lovers. Some time after this, an arrangement was made for the

Prince's marriage with Augusta, Princess of Saxe-Gotha. However CHAP.
the feelings of his former attachment might lead the Prince to oppose I.
this marriage in the first instance, it is certain that his heart soon sur- 1736.
rendered itself to the beauty and accomplishments of the Princess of
Saxe-Gotha, and that he subsequently became a most attached and
devoted husband. The marriage was solemnized on the 27th April,
1736. Upon this occasion Mr. Pulteney moved an address of con-
gratulation to the throne; and now it was that Mr. Pitt, in a maiden
speech, first drew attention to his words, which never afterwards were
heard with indifference. *Monstratus fatis Vespasianus*. That the
reader may be the better able to judge of the effect produced by
the eloquence of Mr. Pitt upon all occasions, it will be necessary to
keep constantly in mind the personal and organic excellencies of this
vehement orator. If the remark of Demosthenes respecting the pre-
eminent advantages of pronunciation possess any truth, it was never
more completely verified than in the instance of Mr. Pitt. "His
voice was both full and clear; his lowest whisper was distinctly heard;
his middle tones were sweet, rich, and beautifully varied; when he
elevated his voice to its highest pitch, the house was completely
filled with the volume of the sound. The effect was awful, except
when he wished to cheer or animate. He then had spirit-stirring
notes which were perfectly irresistible. He frequently rose, on a
sudden, from a very low to a very high key, but it seemed to be with-
out effort." As to person, nature had stamped more forcibly on no
man the impression of an orator. His figure was tall and manly, and
the ordinary spectator was struck with the grace and dignity of his
look and deportment. But the eye was his most wonderful feature.
It is neither the language of romance nor of exaggeration to say that
the keen lightning of that eye often blasted the courage of the most
intrepid of his opponents. Its other powers were peculiar and unri-
valled, and the fascination of its glance was such, that few could with-
stand it. A contemporary historian describes Mr. Pitt's first speech

^d Butler's Reminiscences—Lord Chatham.

CHAP. as superior even to the models of antient eloquence. According to
 I.
 1736. Tindal, it was more ornamented than the speeches of Demosthenes,
 and less diffuse than those of Cicero. The following is the imperfect
 specimen of it which remains*.

“I am unable, Sir, to offer any thing suitable to the dignity and importance of the subject, which has not already been said by my Honourable Friend^f who made the motion. But I am so affected with the prospect of the blessings to be derived by my country from this most desirable, this long desired measure—the marriage of his Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, that I cannot forbear troubling the House with a few words expressive of my joy. I cannot help mingling my offering, inconsiderable as it is, with this oblation of thanks and congratulation to his Majesty.

“However great, Sir, the joy of the public may be, and great undoubtedly it is, in receiving this benefit from his Majesty, it must yet be inferior to that high satisfaction which he himself enjoys in bestowing it. If I may be allowed to suppose that any thing in a Royal mind can transcend the pleasure of gratifying the earnest wishes of a loyal people, it can only be the tender, paternal delight of indulging the most dutiful application, the most humble request of a submissive and obedient son. I mention, Sir, His Royal Highness’ having asked a marriage, because something is in justice due to him for having asked that, for which being granted, we are so strongly bound, by all the ties of duty and gratitude, to return his Majesty our humble acknowledgments.

“The marriage of a Prince of Wales, Sir, has at all times, been a matter of the highest importance to the public welfare, to present, to future generations. But at no time, (if a character at once amiable and respectable, can embellish and even dignify, the elevated rank of a Prince of Wales,) has it been a more important, a dearer con-
 sideration.

* This Speech was originally reported by Guthrie. It was then inserted into the Gentleman’s Magazine for 1736, and afterwards introduced by Chandler and others into their collections of Debates.

^f Mr. Lyttleton.

ration than at this day. Were it not a sort of presumption to follow so great a personage through his hours of retirement ; to view him in the milder light of domestic life, we should find him engaged in the noble exercise of humanity, benevolence, and every social virtue. But, Sir, however pleasing, however captivating such a scene may be, yet, as it is a private one, I fear I should offend the delicacy of that virtue to which I so ardently desire to do justice, were I to offer it to the consideration of this House. But, Sir, filial duty to his Royal parents, a generous love of liberty, and a just reverence of the British constitution—these are public virtues, and cannot escape the applause and benedictions of the public. These are virtues, Sir, which render his Royal Highness, not only a noble ornament, but a firm support, if any could possibly be wanting, of that throne so greatly filled by his Royal father.

CHAP.
I.
1736.

“ I have been led to say thus much of his Royal Highness’ character, because it is the consideration of that character which, above all things, enforces the justice and goodness of his Majesty in the measure now before us—a measure which the nation thought could never be taken too soon, because it brings with it the promise of an additional strength to the Protestant succession in his Majesty’s illustrious and Royal House. The spirit of liberty dictated that succession, the same spirit now rejoices in the prospect of its being perpetuated to latest posterity. It rejoices in the wise and happy choice which his Majesty has been pleased to make of a Princess so amiably distinguished in herself, so illustrious in the merit of her family, the glory of whose great ancestor it is to have sacrificed himself in the noblest cause for which a prince can draw his sword—the cause of liberty and the Protestant religion.

“ Such, Sir, is the marriage, for which our most humble acknowledgments are due to his Majesty. May it afford the comfort of seeing the Royal Family, numerous as, I thank God, it is, still growing and rising up into a third generation ! A family, Sir, which I most earnestly hope may be as immortal as those liberties and that constitution which they came to maintain. Sir, I am heartily for the motion.”

CHAP.

I.

1736.

Mr. Pitt's name at this time constantly appeared in the list of the minority. His determined opposition and his known abilities necessarily rendered him an object of marked attention to the minister. It is said that Walpole no sooner heard the sound of his voice in Parliament than he confessed an alarm. "We must at all events," said he, "muzzle that terrible cornet of horse." The services of such an ally would have been most valuable to the minister, who, to secure them, would, doubtless, have promoted Mr. Pitt's advancement in the army. But the honor of the man was an insurmountable bar to the purposes of corruption. Sir R. Walpole knew this, and, irritated against the young senator, took from him his commission in the army. The measure was as unwise as it was ungenerous. The minister might have known that the man whom he could not bribe, he could not hope to intimidate. But the same violent treatment had recently been experienced by the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham. They had been deprived of their regiments in consequence of their parliamentary opposition. The displeasure of Sir R. Walpole served but to raise Mr. Pitt in the estimation of the public. It was upon this occasion that his friend, Mr. Lyttleton, addressed to him the following lines.

"Long had thy virtues mark'd thee out for fame,
Far, far superior to a Cornet's name;
This gen'rous Walpole saw, and griev'd to find
So mean a post disgrace the human mind,
The servile standard from the free-born hand
He took, and bade thee lead the patriot band."

Nothing contributes more to cement friendship than similarity of circumstances and sufferings. Mr. Pitt, from the time he lost his commission, seems to have been more intimately admitted to the confidence and esteem of Lord Cobham. But it was the corresponding harmony of mind, the highest and most heroic qualities, the virtue and good sense of each, which constituted the basis of their friendship.

I can imagine nothing more delightful than the society assembled by Lord Cobham at his palace of Stowe. It has been truly said, CHAP. I.
1736. that the society of a friend will reconcile the mind to the most dreary abode. What then must have been the attractions of Stowe! That paradise of England, with its splendid mansion, its temples, and its walks, was then inhabited by those whose lofty minds were as cultivated as the scenes around them. The gaze of the enquiring traveller was then withdrawn from the beauties of the place, to rest with more intense interest on the forms of senators and warriors, who seemed worthy inmates for the temples they beheld. The charms of Mr. Pitt's manners must have been as irresistible as his eloquence. The fastidious Chesterfield tells us that he was a most agreeable and lively companion in social life, and that he had such a versatility of wit that he could adapt it to all sorts of conversation. The poet Thomson has celebrated these qualities in the following lines.

“ The fair majestic paradise of Stowe——
 And there, O Pitt! thy country's early boast,
 There let me sit beneath the shelter'd slopes;
 Or in that temple^s, where in future times,
 Thou well shalt merit a distinguish'd name;
 And with thy converse blest, catch the last smile
 Of Autumn beaming o'er the yellow woods.
 While there with thee th' enchanted round I walk,
 The regulated wild, gay fancy then
 Will tread in thought the groves of Attic land;
 Will from thy standard taste refine her own,
 Correct her pencil to the purest truth
 Of Nature; or, the unimpassion'd shades
 Forsaking, raise it to the human mind.
 Or, if hereafter she, with juster hand,
 Shall draw the tragic scene, instruct her, thou!
 To mark the varied movements of the heart,
 What every decent character requires,
 And every passion speaks. O, thro' her strain
 Breathe thy pathetic eloquence! that moulds

^s The Temple of Virtue in Stowe Gardens.

CHAP.
I.
1737.

Th' attentive Senate, charms, persuades, exalts;
Of honest zeal th' indignant lightning throws,
And shakes Corruption on her venal throne."

Hammond also, with no less elegance, has thus described Mr. Pitt^b;

" To Stowe's delightful scenes I now repair,
In Cobham's smile to lose the gloom of care——
There Pitt, in manners soft, in friendship warm,
With mild advice my listening grief shall charm,
With sense to counsel, and with wit to please,
A Roman's virtue, with a courtier's ease."

The marriage of the Prince of Wales, although originally proposed by the King, had by no means effected a lasting reconciliation between those personages. The Prince, as I have observed, was in habits of intimacy with many of the bitterest enemies of Sir R. Walpole, and, as the latter represented them, with many enemies of the crown. It is not extraordinary, therefore, that the measures recommended by the advisers of the Prince, were opposed by the Minister. Of this description was a scheme, devised several years before by Bolingbroke, to augment the revenues of the heir apparent. On the 22nd February, 1737, Mr. Pulteney brought forward his celebrated motion of an address to the King beseeching his Majesty to settle 100,000*l.* per annum on the Prince of Wales. After long and vehement debates in both houses of Parliament, the motion was rejected by the small majority of 234 against 204 in the Commons,

^b The following anecdote relates to the time of which I now write. It is, beyond doubt, authenticated, and well illustrates the power of Mr. Pitt's conversation. "The Prince of Wales and Mr. Pitt were walking in the gardens of Stowe, apart from the general company, who followed them at some distance. They were engaged in earnest conversation, when Lord Cobham expressed his apprehension to one of his guests that Mr. Pitt would draw the Prince into some measures of which his Lordship disapproved. The gentleman observed, that the *tête-à-tête* could not be of long duration. 'Sir,' said Lord Cobham, with eagerness, 'you don't know Mr. Pitt's talent of insinuation; in a very short quarter of an hour, he can persuade any one of any thing.'" *Butler's Reminiscences.*

and in the Lords by the considerable one of 103 against 40. It was supported by Mr. Pitt, and it is to be regretted that his speech, which is said to have been most masterly, is no where preserved.

CHAP.
I.
1737.

The continued opposition of Mr. Pitt to Sir R. Walpole drew upon him, at this time, the coarse and personal animadversion of the *Gazetteer*, a periodical paper supported by the administration. The attack was as illiberal as it was unjust, and whilst it throws not the shadow of a fault upon Mr. Pitt's character, proves how much the minister was galled by his eloquence. In answer to this attack, Mr. Pitt was defended by the *Craftsman*, another periodical paper, but written with much greater talent than the *Gazetteer*, and the occasional vehicle of the opinions of Lord Bolingbroke. The unhappy difference between the King and the Prince of Wales was now at its height. It is not my intention to discuss the propriety of the measures which each adopted. There were faults, (if I may be allowed to say so,) on both sides. Perhaps the Prince was, in some points, treated with unnecessary severity. He possessed many amiable qualities, but his conduct, in twice removing the Princess, when in a pregnant state, was highly reprehensible, and seems only designed to harass and incense his parents. It was in consequence of this conduct, that his Royal Highness, on the 10th September, received a message from his Majesty, desiring him to quit the palace of St. James's. Accordingly he retired with the Princess to Norfolk House, in St. James's Square, where he took up his residence. It was at this time that Mr. Pitt was appointed groom of the bed-chamber, and Mr. Lyttleton private secretary, to his Royal Highness.

The death of Queen Caroline, on the 20th November, was a dreadful blow upon the minister, who, since the accession of George II., had been highly honored with her confidence. Her Majesty's influence with the King was great, being founded upon affection as well as respect. Soon after this event, the opposition brought forward, with increased violence, the long agitated question of the Spanish aggressions upon our merchants in the American seas. As Mr. Pitt took a prominent part in this question, and as it was one which

CHAP. then completely engrossed the public attention, and was attended by
the most important results, it will be proper to consider it with care.
1737. — For this purpose, it will be necessary to trace the line of conduct
adopted by England and Spain for many years previous to this
period.

CHAPTER II.

1738.

Disputes between England and Spain—Disgraceful apathy of Sir R. Walpole upon that subject—Speech of Mr. Pitt in favour of a reduction in the army—Celebrated convention with Spain—Speech of Mr. Pitt against the convention—War with Spain—Speech of Mr. Pitt upon Admiral Haddock's instructions—Upon Sir C. Wager's bill for the encouragement of seamen—Reply to Horace Walpole and Mr. Winnington—Decline of Sir R. Walpole's power—Mr. Pitt's speech on the motion to remove him—The minister is left in a minority upon several questions—He resigns, and is created Earl of Orford—His policy in dividing his political adversaries.

THE preposterous claim of an exclusive right to the whole continent of America assumed by Ferdinand, soon after the discoveries of Columbus, had never been relinquished by the succeeding Sovereigns of Spain. Although the naval power of that kingdom had sustained the severest losses, and its extensive empire had been vastly reduced ; although settlements on the continent and islands of America had been formed by the Dutch, the French, and the English, still its original title had not been renounced. Much altercation continued between the Courts of London and Madrid respecting the possessions of the two countries in America, and much hostility between the respective subjects of each till the year 1667, when the possessions of England in America were tacitly admitted by Spain. With the exception of the eighth article, the treaty of 1667 related to Europe alone ; but in 1670 another treaty was concluded between the two countries for the purpose of adjusting their maritime disputes. The express meaning of certain articles in these treaties went to prohibit the mutual trade between the subjects of the two countries in

CHAP.
II.
1738.

CHAP. II.
1738. America ; and the Spaniards, upon the strength of the same treaties, had ever claimed the right of searching British vessels which passed near their American ports. So long as the rivalry between France and Spain subsisted, the latter kingdom naturally favored the interest of the British, and considered their possessions in America as affording strength and protection to its own. The letter of the treaties was, therefore, not rigidly enforced, and much latitude was allowed to the English in their commercial intercourse with America. But this was not to endure. The accession of a Bourbon prince to the throne of Spain was one of those events which are perpetually occurring to disturb the harmony of kingdoms, and to occasion embarrassments in the fulfilment of treaties.

The views of Philip the Vth were naturally favorable to France. No sooner had he obtained secure possession of his throne than he was led to regard America with particular attention. The ninth article of the treaty of 1670, which permitted a commercial intercourse between the English and Spaniards in America, (a licence from the Sovereign for the purpose being first obtained,) was annulled, and the remaining articles ordered to be literally enforced. This, of course, created the greatest confusion. Nothing is more difficult than to compel men to forego customs and advantages to which they have long considered themselves entitled. Our merchants and seamen for a length of time had been allowed to transgress the letter of the treaties of 1667 and 1670, and had carried on a trade with the Spanish Settlements in America to a very considerable extent. It was very difficult to convince men of the illegality of practices in which for years they had indulged with impunity ; and it was absurd to suppose they would abandon them without resistance. The means adopted by the Spaniards to enforce the strict observance of the treaties were calculated still more to inflame the hostility of the British. There can be no doubt that the Spanish Government not only authorized its subjects in America to resist the encroachments of the English merchants, but connived at many gross outrages upon their liberty and their property. Many of these grievances were probably exaggerated by the

leaders of opposition in this country, but they certainly were too tamely submitted to by the government. The rights, the liberty of a British subject, like those of an antient Roman, cannot be too jealously guarded, and that minister undoubtedly compromises the dignity of the empire, who views with apathy the injuries sustained by the meanest of his countrymen^a. To such a charge, the conduct of Walpole, with regard to those who had suffered by Spanish oppression, is justly amenable. He himself acknowledged, that the subjects of this kingdom had met with treatment from the Spanish guardships and governors in America, which called for the highest resentment, and it was a mean and short sighted policy to endeavour to film over a wound which was daily becoming wider, and beyond his power to heal. The strongest measures should then have been taken by the government. Remonstrances had been long ineffectually tried, and redress was to be expected from arms alone. The nation was in a state of agitation on the subject of these disputes when the Parliament assembled on the 24th January, 1738. A motion was made by the ministry on the 3d February for maintaining 17,400 men for the army; this was vehemently resisted by the opposition, who, in a spirit certainly at variance with their avowed sentiments in favor of war, proposed that the number should be reduced to 12,000. On this occasion, Mr. Shippen pronounced a warm eulogium upon the Tories; he contended that the liberties of the people were more secure in times previous to the Revolution, than they subsequently had been, and he charged the Whigs who now voted in support of a standing army, with abandoning the principles of their ancestors. He was answered by Sir R. Walpole in a speech of considerable artifice and argument, in which he affected to comprehend the Tory and Jacobite parties under one class. To this speech Sir J. H. Cotton replied; Sir R. Walpole rejoined, pointedly adverting to the Pretender, and again bringing forward his charge of Jacobitism upon the Tories.

CHAP.
II.
1738.

^a The apathy of Sir. R. Walpole is forcibly contrasted to the decided measures taken many years after, by Mr. Pitt, when minister, for the liberation of Mr. Irwin and Captain Tate, then prisoners in Spain. See Mr. Pitt's letter to the Earl of Bristol, Chap. xv.

CHAP. After Mr. Pulteney had spoken, and a few others of inferior consideration, the debate concluded on that day without a division. It was, however, subsequently renewed, and speeches were delivered by Colonel Mordaunt, Lord Polwarth, Sir Thomas L. Saunderson, Sir Joseph Jekyl, and Mr. Lyttleton. In the course of his speech Sir T. Saunderson expressed surprise that any persons, holding places under government, should argue in favour of a reduction of the army, pointedly alluding to Sir J. Jekyl and Mr. Lyttleton. It was with particular reference to this declaration that Mr. Pitt spoke. The sentiments of most of the speakers, on this occasion, have been grossly misrepresented by historians. The following speech assigned by Chandler to Mr. Pitt, is, in many points, defective in that energy of thought and expression by which he was characterized^b.

“As to what the Honorable Gentleman has said respecting those whom he calls Placemen, I shall agree with him, that, if they were to be directed in their opinions by the places they held, they might unite for the support of each other against the general good of the nation: but I hope none are under such directions, I am sure the honourable gentleman himself is not, and therefore I am convinced he is not serious when he talks of being surprised at any placeman’s declaring for a reduction of our army. Of all men, those, who enjoy places of profit under our government, ought to be the most cautious of loading the public with any unnecessary tax or expense, because as the places they possess generally bring them in more than their share of our taxes can amount to, it may properly be said that by consenting to any article of public expense, they lay a load upon others of which they themselves bear no share.

“I must look upon myself as a Placeman, as well as the Honorable Gentleman who spoke last. I am in the service of one of the branches of the Royal Family, I think it an honour to be so; but I should think otherwise were I not as free to give my opinion upon any question that happens in this house, as I was before I possessed such

^b This speech first appeared in the London Magazine, where the reader will find it assigned to Mr. Pitt under the appellation of Julius Florus.

place, and I believe, from the behaviour of Gentlemen upon this very occasion, it will appear that all those in the same service with myself possess the same freedom, because I believe they will, upon the question before us, appear to hold different opinions. But there is another set of Placemen whose behaviour surprises me much, because upon every question respecting public affairs they are always unanimous; and I confess it is to me a little astonishing, that two or three hundred Gentlemen should, by an unaccountable sort of unanimity, always agree in opinion, upon the many different questions which annually occur. I am convinced, this surprising unanimity does not proceed from any effect of the places they hold under the crown; for if it did, a man's being possessed of any place under the crown, would be an infallible reason for the people not to trust him with the preservation of their liberties, or the disposal of their properties in Parliament.

CHAP
II.
1738.

“Then, as to the Tories, and suspected Jacobites, I am surprised to hear any comparison made between them and the fat man in the crowd. There are so few of either class in the kingdom, that I am sure they can give no man an occasion of being afraid of them, and therefore there is not the least shadow of reason for saying, that they compel us to keep up such a numerous standing army.

“Our large army, may properly be compared to the fat man in the crowd, for the maintaining such an army is the first cause of our discontents, and those discontents we now find are made the chief pretext for the necessity of an army. Remove therefore the army, or but a considerable part of it, and the discontents complained of will cease.

“I come now to the only argument employed by the Honorable Gentleman which can admit of serious consideration; and if our army were entirely, or but generally composed of veterans inured to the fatigues and the dangers of war, and such as have often ventured their lives against the enemies of their country, I confess it would possess considerable weight. But, considering the circumstances of our present army, I can scarcely think my Honorable Friend serious, when he made use of such argument. As for the *officers* of the army, they

CHAP. are quite out of the question, for in case of a reduction there is a hand-
 II. some provision for every one of them. No man can doubt that they
 1738. would be put upon half pay, nor would any man oppose it. And here I must observe, that I believe our half pay is as good, or better, than full pay in any other country in Europe, for, according to the method in which our army is now maintained, I could shew by calculation that it costs the nation more than would maintain three times the number of men, either in Germany or France. As to the soldiers, I believe it may be said, of at least three-fourths of them, that they never underwent any fatigues beside those of reviews, nor were ever exposed to danger beside that of apprehending smugglers or dispersing mobs; therefore I must think they have no claim to any greater reward than the pay they have already received, nor should I think we were guilty of the least ingratitude were they all turned adrift to-morrow morning.

“ But suppose, Sir, the soldiers of our army were all such as had served a campaign or two against a public enemy, is it from this to be inferred that they must for ever after live idly? That they must be maintained at the public expense, in such a manner as to be dangerous to the liberties of their country? At this rate, if a man has but once ventured his life in the public service, he must for ever be, not only a burthen, but a terror to his country. This would be a reward of which I am sure no brave soldier would accept, and which no honest soldier would desire. That we should shew a proper gratitude to those who have ventured their lives in the service of their country, is what I most readily allow, but this gratitude ought to be shewn in such a way as not to be dangerous to our liberties, nor too burthensome to the people; and therefore, when a war is at an end, if a soldier can provide for himself, either by his labour, or by his own private fortune, he ought not to expect, and, if he is not of a mercenary disposition, he will scorn to receive, any other rewards than those which consist in the peculiar honour and privileges, which may and ought to be conferred upon him.

“ That we ought to shew a proper gratitude to all who have

ventured their lives in the cause of their country, is, I repeat, what none can deny; yet, as these laws now stand, an old officer who has often spilt his blood in the public service may be dismissed and reduced, perhaps to a starving condition, at the arbitrary will and caprice of a minister. So that, by the present establishment of the army, the reward of a soldier seems to depend, not upon the services done to his country, but upon the services he does to those who happen to be ministers at the time. Is not this a defect in the present establishment? And yet, when a law was proposed for supplying this defect, we may remember the reception it met with, even from those who now insist upon the gratitude which is due to the army."

CHAP.
II.
1738.

The motion for a reduction in the number of troops was lost by 249 against 164. Soon after this, the House passed the resolution, to which I have alluded in the preface, prohibiting the publication of its debates and proceedings. The remainder of the session was occupied by the discussion of the Spanish aggressions. Parliament again assembled on the 1st of February, 1739. The convention which had been made with Spain was now the great subject of consideration. This celebrated measure, chiefly framed by the two Walpoles, was to the following effect: "That the respective claims of England and Spain, as to the trade and navigation in America and Europe, and as to the limits of Florida and Carolina and other points in dispute, should be regulated by plenipotentiaries, according to the former treaties subsisting between the two kingdoms: That the plenipotentiaries should finish their conferences within eight months: That, in the mean time, no progress should be made in the fortifications of Florida and Carolina: That his Catholic Majesty should pay 95,000*l.* to the King of Great Britain, as a balance due, after deducting the demands of Spain: That this sum should be employed for the satisfaction, discharge, and payment, of the demands of the British subjects upon the crown of Spain: That this reciprocal discharge, however, should not extend or relate to the accounts and differences subsisting between the crown of Spain and the Assiento company, nor to

CHAP. any particular or private contracts that might subsist between either
II. of the two crowns or their ministers, with the subjects of the other ;
1739. or between the subjects of each nation respectively."

It surely was not from such a treaty, which left undefined so many subjects of dispute, and which seemed to shrink from a consideration of the chief causes of the alleged violence and depredations, that any proper atonement for past injuries, any solid foundation of future security, could reasonably be expected. As to the great address, which his admirers have attributed to Sir R. Walpole, for avoiding the mention of the obnoxious claim of searching our vessels, upon which he believed the King of Spain would insist, I think it the height of timidity and meanness. A statesman, of such experience as Walpole, ought to have long seen, from the temper of the country, that it was vain to conceal the great causes of complaint. He ought to have seen that, if even Spain had fulfilled the terms of the convention, in the most explicit and honorable manner, the exposure of our vessels to the miseries and indignities of search, however agreeable to treaties, would no longer be endured. The most he could hope from the convention, was a short protraction of hostilities ; but he clung to a prolongation of peace with the same sort of eagerness that the wretched prisoner does to a respite of his final sentence. He possibly supposed that some favourable accident might occur to change the public tide of opinion.

At this distance of time, when the difference in the situation of Spain and England is so immeasurably great, it is difficult to convey an adequate idea of the tremendous sensation throughout the country, occasioned by the discussion of this convention. No subsequent events, neither the French Revolution, nor the successes nor overthrow of Napoleon, have more intensely interested the nation. Nothing was heard of but the cruelties, insults, and depredations inflicted by the Spaniards ; the losses, sufferings, and disgraces sustained by the British. On the day appointed for the discussion of the convention in the House of Commons, four hundred members had taken

their seats before eight o'clock in the morning. Two days were employed in reading papers and obtaining information on the subject. On the 8th of March, Mr. Horace Walpole, after a very able speech, in which he considered at great length the various points involved by the convention, concluded with moving that "the House return thanks to his Majesty for the communication of the convention; for bringing the demands of his subjects to a final determination, and for procuring a speedy payment for the losses sustained by the merchants; declaring their satisfaction in the foundation laid, for preventing and removing similar abuses in future, and for preserving peace; to express a reliance on the King, that effectual care would be taken for securing and establishing the freedom of navigation in the American seas; that the British subjects may enjoy, unmolested, their undoubted right of navigating and trading to and from any part of his Majesty's dominions, without being liable to be stopped, visited, or searched in the open seas, or being subject to any other violation of the treaties subsisting; and that, in settling the limits of his dominions in America, the greatest regard would be had to the rights and possessions belonging to the crown and subject; and to assure the King, that, in case his just expectations should not be answered, the House would support him in taking such measures, as might be most conducive to vindicate the honour and dignity of his crown, and the rights of his people."

CHAP.
II.
1739.

This address went infinitely further than the convention, and was calculated of itself to procure unanimity. But it was remembered, that the convention itself, and not any address upon the subject, was the chief object of consideration. After several members of the opposition had vehemently expressed their objections to it, Mr. Pitt rose and delivered the following celebrated speech^c.

"I can by no means think that the complicated question now before us, is the proper, the direct manner of taking the sense of this

^c This Speech also first appeared in the London Magazine. It is marked by that force and fire which characterized the language of Mr. Pitt.

CHAP. committee. We have here the soft name of an humble address to
 II.
 1739. the throne proposed, and for no other end than to lead gentlemen into
 an approbation of the convention. But is this that full, deliberate
 examination, which we were with defiance called upon to give? Is
 this cursory, blended disquisition of matter of such variety and extent,
 all we owe to ourselves and our country? When trade is at stake, it
 is your last entrenchment; you must defend it or perish; and whatever
 is to decide, *that* deserves the most distinct consideration, and the
 most direct, undisguised sense of Parliament. But how are we now
 proceeding? Upon an artificial, ministerial question;—Here is all
 the confidence, here is the conscious sense of the greatest service that
 ever was done to this country^d; to be complicating questions, to be
 lumping sanction and approbation like a commissary's account; to be
 covering and taking sanctuary in the Royal name, instead of meeting
 openly and standing fairly the direct judgment and sentence of Parlia-
 ment upon the several articles of this convention.

“ You have been moved to vote an humble address of thanks to
 his Majesty for a measure which, (I will appeal to gentlemen's con-
 versation in the world) is odious throughout the kingdom. Such
 thanks are only due to the fatal influence that framed it, as are due
 for that low, unallied condition abroad which is now made a plea for
 this convention.

“ To what are gentlemen reduced in support of it? They first
 try a little to defend it upon its own merits; if that is not tenable,
 they throw out general terrors—the House of Bourbon is united, who
 knows the consequence of a war? Sir, Spain knows the consequence
 of a war in America; whoever gains, it must prove fatal to her; she
 knows it, and must therefore avoid it; but she knows that England
 dares not make it. And what is a delay, (which is all this magnified
 convention is sometimes called,) to produce? Can it produce such
 conjunctions as those you have lost whilst you were giving kingdoms

^d Alluding to the extravagant terms of praise in which Mr. H. Walpole had spoken of the convention, and of those who framed it.

to Spain, and all to bring her back again to that great branch of the CHAP.
House of Bourbon, which is now held out to you as an object of so II.
much terror? If this union be formidable, are we to delay only till 1739.
it becomes more formidable, by being carried further into execution,
and by being more strongly cemented? But be what it will, is this
any longer a nation? Is this any longer an English Parliament, if
with more ships in your harbours than in all the navies of Europe;
with above two millions of people in your American colonies, you will
bear to hear of the expediency of receiving from Spain an insecure,
unsatisfactory, dishonorable convention? Sir, I call it no more than
it has been proved in this debate; it carries fallacy or downright
subjection in almost every line. It has been laid open and exposed in
so many strong and glaring lights, that I can pretend to add nothing
to the conviction and indignation which it has raised.

“ Sir, as to the great national objection, the searching your ships,
that favorite word, as it was called, is not, indeed, omitted, in the
preamble to the convention, but it stands there as the reproach of the
whole, as the strongest evidence of the fatal submission that follows.
On the part of Spain, an usurpation, an inhuman tyranny, claimed
and exercised over the American seas; on the part of England, an
undoubted right by treaties, and from God and nature declared and
asserted in the resolutions of Parliament, are referred to the discus-
sion of plenipotentiaries upon one and the same equal foot. Sir, I
say this undoubted right is to be discussed and regulated. And if
to regulate is to prescribe rules, (as in all construction it is,) this
right is, by the express words of this convention, to be given up and
sacrificed; for it must cease to be any thing from the moment it is
submitted to limits.

“ The court of Spain has plainly told you, (as appears by
papers upon the table,) that you shall steer a due course, that you
shall navigate by a line to and from your plantations in America; if
you draw near to her coast, (though from the circumstances of the
navigation you are under an unavoidable necessity of doing so,) you
shall be seized and confiscated. If, then, upon these terms only she

CHAP. has consented to refer, what becomes at once of all the security we
 II.
 1739. are flattered with, in consequence of this reference? Plenipoten-
 ————— tiaries are to regulate finally the respective pretensions of the two
 crowns with regard to trade and navigation in America; but does a
 man in Spain reason that these pretensions must be regulated to the
 satisfaction and honor of England? No, Sir, they conclude, and
 with reason, from the high spirit of their administration, from the
 superiority with which they have so long treated you, that this refe-
 rence must end, as it has begun, to their honour and advantage.

“ But, gentlemen say, the treaties subsisting are to be the mea-
 sure of this regulation. Sir, as to treaties, I will take part of the
 words of Sir William Temple, quoted by the honourable gentleman
 near me; *it is vain to negociate and to make treaties if there is not
 dignity and vigour sufficient to enforce their observance.* Under
 the misconstruction and misrepresentation of these very treaties subsist-
 ing, this intolerable grievance has arisen; it has been growing upon
 you, treaty after treaty, through twenty years of negotiation, and even
 under the discussion of commissaries, to whom it was referred. You
 have heard from Captain Vaughan, at your bar, at what time
 these injuries and indignities were continued. As a kind of explana-
 tory comment upon this convention which Spain has thought fit to
 grant you, as another insolent protest, under the validity and force of
 which she has suffered this convention to be proceeded upon, she
 seems to say, we will treat with you, but we will search and take your
 ships; we will sign a convention, but we will keep your subjects
 prisoners in Old Spain; the West Indies are remote; Europe shall
 witness in what manner we use you.

“ As to the inference of an admission of our right not to be
 searched, drawn from a reparation made for ships unduly seized and
 confiscated, I think that argument is very inconclusive. The right
 claimed by Spain to search our ships is one thing, and the excesses
 admitted to have been committed in consequence of this pretended
 right, is another. But surely, Sir, to reason from inference and impli-
 cation only, is below the dignity of your proceedings upon a right of

this vast importance. What this reparation is, what sort of composition for your losses, forced upon you by Spain, in an instance that has come to light, where your own commissaries could not in conscience decide against your claim, has fully appeared upon examination ; and as for the payment of the sum stipulated, (all but seven and twenty thousand pounds, and that too subject to a drawback,) it is evidently a fallacious nominal payment only. I will not attempt to enter into the detail of a dark, confused, and scarcely intelligible account ; I will only beg leave to conclude with one word upon it, in the light of a submission, as well as of an adequate reparation. Spain stipulates to pay to the crown of England ninety-five thousand pounds ; by a preliminary protest of the King of Spain, the South Sea Company is at once to pay sixty-eight thousand of it : if they refuse, Spain, I admit, is still to pay the ninety-five thousand pounds : but how does it then stand ? The Assiento contract is to be suspended. You are to purchase this at the price of an exclusive trade, pursuant to a national treaty, and of an immense debt, of God knows how many hundred thousand pounds, due from Spain to the South Sea Company. Here, Sir, is the submission of Spain by the payment of a stipulated sum ; a tax laid upon subjects of England, under the severest penalties, with the reciprocal accord of an English minister as a preliminary that the convention may be signed ; a condition imposed by Spain in the most absolute, imperious manner, most tamely and abjectly received by the ministers of England. Can any verbal distinctions, any evasions whatever possibly explain away this public infamy ? To whom would we disguise it ? To ourselves and to the nation. I wish we could hide it from the eyes of every court in Europe. They see that Spain has talked to you in the language of a master ; they see this arbitrary fundamental condition, standing forth with a pre-eminence of shame, as a part of this very convention.

“ This convention, Sir, I think from my soul, nothing but a stipulation for national ignominy ; an illusory expedient, to baffle the resentment of the nation. A truce without a suspension of hostilities on the part of Spain ; on the part of England, a real suspension.

CHAP.
II.
1739.

CHAP. As to Georgia, a suspension of the first law of nature, self-preserva-
 II. tion and self-defence; a surrender of the rights and trade of England
 1739. to the mercy of plenipotentiaries, and, in this infinitely highest and
 most sacred point—future security, not only inadequate, but directly
 repugnant to the resolutions of Parliament, and the gracious promise
 from the throne. The complaints of your despairing merchants, and
 the voice of England have condemned it. Be the guilt of it upon the
 head of the adviser. God forbid that this committee should share
 the guilt by approving it!”

Sir R. Walpole spoke last on this very important question, and reiterated the boasts which his brother had before made, of being the principal author and adviser of the convention. The debate at length closed in the Commons, and Horace Walpole's address was carried by the small majority of 28, the numbers being 260 against 232. If the struggle was severe in the lower house, it was maintained with equal warmth and ability in the House of Lords. The speeches of the Earl of Chesterfield and Lord Carteret against the articles of the convention are replete with argument, point, and knowledge; and the impetuous declamation of the Duke of Argyle, who had recently deserted the minister, produced the most animated effect. The House indeed agreed to an address, but the victory of the minister was most dearly purchased. The Prince of Wales, 6 Dukes, 22 Earls, 4 Viscounts, 18 Barons, 4 Bishops, with 16 proxies, formed the minority; and thirty-nine of the most eminent among the nobility subscribed a protest against the convention.

Spain failed, as it was foreseen, in the fulfilment of the convention, and however desirous Sir R. Walpole still was of peace, he was compelled to yield to the sense of the nation^c. War was accordingly declared against Spain on the 19th October, 1739^f. It is painful

^c The conduct of Walpole with respect to the convention reminds one of an observation of Tacitus: “*honestum pacis nomen segni otio imposuit.*”

^f Frederick of Prussia has several times remarked of this war, “*que l'Angleterre et l'Espagne se faisoient la guerre dans le nouveau monde pour deux oreilles Angloises que les Espagnols avoient coupées, et qui depensoient des sommes immenses pour des objets de contrebande bien*

to look back, even at this remote period, upon the disasters which attended our arms in the prosecution of this war. The event ought to have been otherwise. Our sailors were then, and for ages had been, the bravest and the best in the world, and commanders might surely have been found to lead them on to victory wherever it was of possible attainment. Had a naval armament then been equipped with a judgment and zeal at all resembling that which we have seen on more recent occasions; had a Blake, a Hawke, or a Nelson, (and such men must then have lived,) been invested with the chief command, instead of the blustering and empty Vernon; I firmly believe that the enthusiasm of our seamen, in so popular a cause, would almost have fulfilled the expectations of the nation, would have enriched the country with the wealth of Spain, and gone near to annihilate her navy.

Mr. Waller, on the 24th of January, 1740, having moved for copies of letters and orders sent to Admiral Haddock, Mr. Pitt supported his motion. Sir Robert Walpole concluded his speech by saying, that the time which would be taken up with such a fruitless enquiry, might be more usefully employed. Mr. Pitt then said^g:

“It is my opinion, that our time cannot be more usefully employed, during a war, than in examining how it has been conducted, and settling the degree of confidence that may be reposed in those to whose care are entrusted our reputations, our fortunes, and our lives.

“There is not any enquiry, Sir, of more importance than this; it is not a question about an uncertain privilege, or a law which, if found inconvenient, may hereafter be repealed. We are now to ex-

indignes des grands efforts que faisoient ces deux nations.”—Œuvres posthumes. The story to which Frederick refers is well known. Jenkins was Captain of an English vessel. Sailing for Jamaica in 1731 he was boarded by a Spanish guard-ship and treated with much insult and cruelty. In the opposition publications of the time it was said that the Spanish Captain, after inflicting the grossest barbarity upon the English sailors and their captain, cut off one of Jenkins's ears and bid him carry it to his king. No doubt the indignation of this country, before deeply excited, was still farther enflamed by the exaggerated accounts of this story. But the fact, whether true or not, was only one of a thousand which had occurred to irritate England against Spain.

^g This Speech is taken from Chandler's collection of parliamentary debates.

CHAP. amine whether it is probable that we shall preserve our commerce
 II.
 1740. and our independence, or whether we are sinking into subjection to
 foreign power.

“ But this enquiry, Sir, will produce no great information, if those whose conduct is examined, are allowed to select the evidence; for what accounts will they exhibit but such as have often already been laid before us, and such as they now offer without concern? Accounts, obscure and fallacious, imperfect and confused; from which nothing can be learned, and which can never entitle the minister to praise, though they may screen him from punishment.”

The Government having experienced considerable inconvenience in manning their ships of war, a bill, for a general register of all seamen, and watermen capable of service, was prepared by Sir Charles Wager and Sir John Norris and presented to the House of Commons on the 5th February, 1740, under the specious title of “ A bill for the encouragement and increase of seamen, and for the better and speedier manning his Majesty’s fleet.” The hardships which would have resulted to seamen from the passing of this bill were evidently great. The justices of the peace were authorized by it to issue warrants to search for such seamen as might conceal themselves within their respective jurisdictions. A power was granted them of breaking open doors in case of resistance, and the miserable victim, after being registered at the Navy Office, was to be forcibly compelled to re-enter the service. These oppressive evils were acknowledged by the framers of the bill, which was defended upon the plea of expediency alone. But such was the sensation which it excited, that the minister was, for a time, compelled to abandon it. Sir C. Wager, however, brought forward a similar bill some time after. On this occasion Mr. Pitt is reported to have thus delivered his opinion against it^b:

“ It is common for those to have the greatest regard to their own interest, who discover the least for that of others. I do not, there-

^b This Speech, with Mr. Pitt’s replies to Horace Walpole and to Mr. Winnington were originally written by Dr. Johnson for the Gentleman’s Magazine, and afterwards inserted by Chandler in his debates.

fore, despair of recalling the advocates of this bill from the prosecution of their favourite measures, by arguments of greater efficacy than those which are pretended to be founded on reason and justice.

CHAP.
II.
1740.

“ Nothing is more evident, than that some degree of reputation is absolutely necessary to men who have any concern in the administration of a government like ours ; they must either secure the fidelity of their adherents, by the assistance of wisdom or of virtue ; their enemies must either be awed by their honesty, or overcome by their cunning. Mere artless bribery will never gain a sufficient majority to set them entirely free from apprehensions of censure. To different tempers, different motives must be applied. Some, who place their felicity in being accounted wise, care very little to preserve the character of honesty ; others may be persuaded to join in measures which they easily discover to be weak and ill-concerted, because they are convinced that the authors of them are not corrupt but mistaken, and are unwilling that any man should be punished for natural defects or casual ignorance.

“ I cannot say which of these motives influence the advocates of the bill before us ; a bill in which such cruelties are proposed, as are yet unknown among the most savage nations, such as slavery has not yet borne or tyranny invented ; such as cannot be heard without resentment, nor thought of without horror.

“ It is, perhaps, not unfortunate that one more expedient has been added, rather ridiculous than shocking, and that these tyrants of administration, who amuse themselves with oppressing their fellow-subjects, who add, without reluctance, one hardship to another, invade the liberty of those whom they have already overborne with taxes ; first plunder, and then imprison ; who take all opportunities of heightening the public distresses, and make the miseries of war the instruments of new oppressions, are too ignorant to be formidable, and owe their power, not to their abilities, but to casual prosperity, or to the influence of money.

“ The other clauses of this bill, complicated at once with cruelty and folly, have been treated with becoming indignation ; but this

CHAP. may be considered with less ardour and resentment, and fewer emo-
 II. tions of zeal; because, though not perhaps equally iniquitous, it will
 1740. do no harm; for a law that can never be executed can never be
 felt.

“That it will consume the manufacture of paper, and swell the book of statutes, is all the good or hurt that can be hoped or feared from a law like this; a law which fixes what is in his own nature mutable, which prescribes rules to the seasons and limits to the wind.

“I am too well acquainted, Sir, with the disposition of its two chief supporters, to mention the contempt with which the law will be treated by posterity; for they have already shewn abundantly their disregard of succeeding generations; but I will remind them, that they are now venturing their whole interest at once, and I hope they will recollect, before it is too late, that those who believe them to intend the happiness of their country, will never be confirmed in their opinion by open cruelty and notorious oppression; and that those who have only their own interest in view, will be afraid of adhering to those leaders, however old and practised in expedients, however strengthened by corruption, or elated with power, who have no reason to hope for success from either their virtue or their abilities.”

Mr. Pitt was answered by Horace Walpole who, in the course of his speech, directed towards him some illiberal and personal remarks, reflecting upon his youth, and observed that the cause of truth was but little assisted by vehement gesture and theatrical emotion. The caustic satire of Mr. Pitt's well known reply is not to be exceeded.

¹ Mr. Archdeacon Coxe has, more than once, stated that he has generally found Sir R. Walpole's speeches accurately preserved in Chandler, and that Dr. Johnson must have deceived himself when he claimed the exclusive composition of certain debates. This is also my own opinion, but I do not see how it can be reconciled with what Mr. Coxe says of the above reply, namely, that it was written by Johnson, in conformity to the observation recorded by Boswell; “that he was determined the Whig dogs should not have the best of it.” I admit, however that Johnson in his reports has often allowed the essayist to predominate over the speaker.

“ The atrocious crime of being a young man, which the Honorable Gentleman has with such spirit and decency charged upon me, I shall neither attempt to palliate nor deny, but content myself with wishing that I may be one of those whose follies may cease with their youth, and not of that number who are ignorant in spite of experience. CHAP.
II.
1740.

“ Whether youth can be imputed to any man as a reproach, I will not assume the province of determining : but surely age may become justly contemptible, if the opportunities which it brings have past away without improvement, and vice appears to prevail when the passions have subsided. The wretch who, after having seen the consequences of a thousand errors, continues still to blunder, and whose age has only added obstinacy to stupidity, is surely the object of either abhorrence or contempt, and deserves not that his grey head should secure him from insults.

“ Much more is he to be abhorred, who, as he has advanced in age, has receded from virtue, and becomes more wicked with less temptation ; who prostitutes himself for money which he cannot enjoy, and spends the remains of his life in the ruin of his country.

“ But youth is not my only crime !—I have been accused of acting a theatrical part. A theatrical part may either imply some peculiarities of gesture, or a dissimulation of my real sentiments, and an adoption of the opinions and language of another man.

“ In the first sense, the charge is too trifling to be confuted, and deserves only to be mentioned, that it may be despised ; I am at liberty, like every other man, to use my own language ; and though I may, perhaps, have some ambition, yet, to please this gentleman, I shall not lay myself under any restraint, nor very solicitously copy his diction, or his mien, however matured by age, or modelled by experience.—If any man shall, by charging me with theatrical behaviour, imply that I utter any sentiments but my own, I shall treat him as a calumniator and a villain ; nor shall any protection shelter him from the treatment which he deserves. I shall on such an occasion, without scruple, trample upon all those forms with which wealth

CHAP. and dignity entrench themselves, nor shall any thing but age restrain
 II.
 1740. my resentment ; age, which always brings one privilege, that of being
 insolent and supercilious without punishment.

“ But with regard to those whom I have offended, I am of opinion, that if I had acted a borrowed part, I should have avoided their censure ; the heat that offended them is the ardour of conviction, and that zeal for the service of my country, which neither hope nor fear shall influence me to suppress. I will not sit unconcerned while my liberty is invaded, nor look in silence upon public robbery. I will exert my endeavours, at whatever hazard, to repel the aggressor, and drag the thief to justice, whoever may protect them in their villainy, and whoever may partake of their plunder. And if the Honourable Gentleman”——

Mr. Pitt was here interrupted by Mr. Winnington, who called him to order with much bitterness of language, and was himself proceeding in a more violent strain than that which he affected to condemn, when Mr. Pitt is said to have retorted upon him his own accusation in these spirited words :

“ If this be to preserve order, there is no danger of indecency from the most licentious tongue ; for what calumny can be more atrocious, or what reproach more severe, than that of speaking without any regard to truth ? Order may sometimes be broken by passion or inadvertency, but will hardly be re-established by a monitor like this, who cannot govern his own passion whilst he is restraining the impetuosity of others.

“ Happy would it be for mankind, if every one knew his own province ; we should not then see the same man at once a criminal and a judge ; nor would this gentleman assume the right of dictating to others what he has not learned himself.

“ That I may return, in some degree, the favour which he intends me, I will advise him never hereafter to exert himself on the subject of order ; but whenever he finds himself inclined to speak on such occasions, to remember how he has now succeeded, and condemn in silence what his censures will never reform.”

Several corrections and amendments being introduced into Sir C. Wager's bill, it passed by a majority of 155 against 79. CHAP.
II.
1740.

The power of Sir R. Walpole was now rapidly declining. His name was not only unpopular, but odious throughout the country. The most illiberal and absurd comparisons were made between him and the worst ministers and favourites that at any time have disgraced a government. The unwillingness with which he had entered into the war, the inability, supineness, and even treachery with which he had conducted it, were charges every where echoed against him. Without attempting to substantiate all these accusations, I think it must be allowed that Walpole's conduct of the war was feeble and injudicious. His talents, like his inclinations, were of the peaceful kind, well adapted for the internal management of a country, for finance, and negotiation, but wanting that energy which is necessary for war. His influence in the cabinet had suffered a considerable diminution upon the death of the Queen, and his extraordinary powers of memory and application were perhaps, in some degree, impaired by age. The death of Sir William Wyndham, indeed, was favourable to his interests. It had weakened the opposition in the lower House, by shaking the union between the Whigs and Tories: but his adversaries were more powerful and numerous than ever in the House of Lords. It was owing to the frequent protests of the Peers against the conduct of the minister, that a personal attack upon him was at length instituted in the House of Commons. Mr. Sandys having informed the House that he should on the 13th February bring forward an accusation against the minister, the public mind was excited to a fever of expectation. On the day appointed for the motion, four hundred and fifty members attended in the House of Commons, many of them having secured their seats so early as six o'clock in the morning. The passages and gallery of the House were thronged to excess, and the nation, at large, was ardently looking for the result of the proceedings. After a severe criminating speech, Mr. Sandys moved an address to the King, requesting his Majesty to remove Sir R. Walpole from his presence and councils for ever. Lord Limerick seconded

CHAP. the motion. Pulteney, Bootle, Fazakerly, and Lyttleton, spoke in
 II. its favour, and Mr. Pitt, on the same side, thus gave his opinions^k.
 1740.

“As it has been observed, that those who have formerly approved the measures of the Gentleman into whose conduct we are now inquiring, cannot be expected to disavow their former opinions, unless new arguments are produced of greater force than those which have formerly been offered; so the same steadiness must be expected in those who have opposed them, unless they can now hear them better defended.

“It is an established maxim, Sir, that as time is the test of opinions, falsehood grows every day weaker, and truth gains upon mankind. This is most eminently just in political assertions, which often respect future events, and the remote consequences of transactions; and therefore never fails to be, by time, incontestably verified, or undeniably disproved. On many occasions it is impossible to determine the expediency of measures otherwise than by conjecture; because almost every step that can be taken, may have a tendency to a good, as well as to a bad end: and as he who professes, and he who promotes, may conceal their intentions till they are ripened into execution, time only can discover the motives of their demands, and the principles of their conduct.

“For this reason it may easily be expected, that bad measures will be condemned by men of integrity, when their consequences are fully discovered, though, when they were proposed, they might by plausible declarations and specious appearances, obtain their approbation and applause. Those, whose purity of intention and simplicity of morals, exposed them to credulity and implicit confidence, must resent the arts by which they were deluded into a concurrence with projects detrimental to their country, but of which the consequences were artfully concealed from them, or the real intention steadily denied.

“With regard to those gentlemen, whose neglect of political

^k This Speech is taken from Chandler. It is much too sententious for Mr. Pitt, and bears strong marks of Dr. Johnson's composition, although it has not been assigned to him.

studies has not qualified them to judge of the questions when they were first debated; and who giving their suffrages, were not so much directed by their own conviction, as by the authority of men whose experience and knowledge they knew to be great, and whose integrity they had hitherto found no reason to distrust; it may be naturally expected that when they see those measures which were recommended, as necessary to peace and happiness, productive only of confusion, oppression, and distress, they should acknowledge their error and forsake their guides, whom they must discover to have been either ignorant or treacherous, and by an open recantation of their former decisions, endeavour to repair the calamities which they have contributed to bring on their country.

CHAP.
II.
1740.

“ The extent and complication of political questions is such, that no man can justly be ashamed of having been sometimes mistaken in his determinations; and the propensity of the human mind to confidence and friendship is so great, that every man, however cautious, however sagacious, or however experienced, is sometimes exposed to the artifices of interest and the delusions of hypocrisy; but it is the duty, and ought to be the honour, of every man to own his mistake, whenever he discovers it, and to warn others against those frauds which have been too successfully practised upon himself.

“ I am, therefore, inclined to hope, that every man will not be equally pre-determined in the present debate, and that as I shall be ready to declare my approbation of integrity and wisdom, though they should be found where I have long suspected ignorance and corruption; so others will, with equal justice, censure wickedness and error, though they should have been detected in that person whom they have been long taught to reverence as the oracle of knowledge and the pattern of virtue.

“ In political debates, time always produces new lights; time can, in these inquiries, never be neutral, but must always acquit or condemn. Time, indeed, may not, always produce new arguments against bad conduct, because all its consequences might be originally foreseen and exposed; but it must always confirm them, and ripen

CHAP. conjectures into certainty. Though it should, therefore be truly
 II. asserted, that nothing is urged in this debate which was not before
 1740. mentioned and rejected, it will not prove that because the arguments
 are the same, they ought to produce the same effect; because what
 was then only foretold, has now been seen and felt, and what was
 then but believed is now known.

“ But if time has produced no vindication of those measures which were suspected of imprudence or of treachery, it must be at length acknowledged that those suspicions were just, and that what ought then to have been rejected, ought now to be punished.

“ This is, for the most part, the state of the question. Those measures which were once defended by sophistical reasoning, or palliated by the warm declamation of sincerity and disinterested zeal for the public happiness, are found to be such as they were represented by those who opposed them. It is now discovered that the treaty of Hanover was calculated only for the advancement of the House of Bourbon; that our armies are kept up only to multiply dependence, and to awe the nation from the exertion of its rights; that Spain has been courted only to the ruin of our trade; and that the convention was little more than an artifice to amuse the people with an idle appearance of a reconciliation, which our enemies never intended.

“ Of the stipulation which produced the memorable treaty of Hanover, the improbability was often urged, but the absolute falsehood could be proved only by the declaration of one of the parties. This declaration was at length produced by time, which was never favourable to the measures of our minister. The Emperor of Germany asserted, with the utmost solemnity, that no such article was ever proposed; and that his engagements with Spain had no tendency to produce any change in the government of this kingdom.

“ Thus it is evident, Sir, that all the terrors which the apprehension of this alliance produced, were merely the operation of fraud upon cowardice; and that they were only raised by the artful French, to disunite us from the only power with which it is our interest to cultivate an inseparable friendship. This disunion may therefore be

justly charged upon the minister, who has weakened the interest of his country, and endangered the liberties of Europe.

CHAP.
II.
1740.

“ If it be asked, Sir, how he could have discovered the falsehood of the report before it was confuted by the late Emperor, it may easily be answered, that he might have discovered it by the same tokens which betrayed it to his opponents,—the impossibility of carrying it into execution. For it must be confessed, that his French informers, well acquainted with his disposition to panic fears, had used no caution in the construction of their imposture, nor seem to have had any other views, than to add one error to another, to drown his reason in alarm, and to overbear him with astonishment.

“ When they found he began to be disordered at the danger of our trade from enemies destitute of naval forces, they easily discovered that to make him the slave of France, nothing more was necessary than to add, that these bloody confederates had projected an invasion; that they intended to add slavery to poverty, and to place the Pretender upon the throne.

“ To be alarmed into vigilance had not been unworthy of the firmest and most sagacious minister; but to be terrified by such reports into measures which even an invasion could scarcely have justified, was, at least, a proof of a capacity not formed by nature for the administration of government.

“ If it be asked what advantage was derived from this treaty by France, and to what inconveniences it has subjected this nation, an answer may very justly be refused, till the minister or his apologists shall explain his conduct in the last war with Spain; and inform us why the Plate fleet was spared, our ships sacrificed to the worms, and our admiral and his sailors poisoned in an unhealthy climate? Why the Spaniards, in full security, laughed at our armaments, and triumphed in our calamities?

“ The lives of Hosier and his forces are now justly to be demanded of this man; he is now to be charged with the murder of those unhappy men, whom he exposed to misery and contagion, to pacify, on the one hand, the British, who called out for war, and

CHAP. to gratify on the other, the French, who insisted that the Spanish
 II.
 1740. treasures should not be seized.

“ The minister who neglects any just opportunity of promoting the power, or increasing the wealth, of his country, is to be considered as an enemy to his fellow-subjects ; but what censure is to be passed upon him who betrays that army to a defeat, by which victory might have been obtained ; impoverishes the nation, whose affairs he is entrusted to transact, by those expeditions which might have enriched it ; who levies armies only to be exposed to pestilence, and compels them to perish in sight of their enemies, without molesting them ? It cannot, surely, be denied, that such conduct may justly produce a censure more severe than that which is intended by this motion ; and that he who has doomed thousands to the grave ; who has co-operated with foreign powers against his country ; who has protected its enemies, and dishonored its arms ; should be deprived not only of its honors, but his life ; that he should at least be stripped of those riches which he has amassed during a long series of successful wickedness ; and not barely be hindered from making new acquisitions, and increasing his wealth by multiplying his crimes.

“ But no such penalties, Sir, are now required ; those who have long stood up in opposition to him, give a proof, by the motion, that they were not incited by personal malignity. They are not provoked to propose any treasonable censure, nor have they recommended what might be authorized by his own practice—an act of attainder, or a bill of pains and penalties. They desire nothing further than that the security of the nation may be restored, and the discontents of the people asswaged by his removal from that trust which he had so long abused.

“ The discontent of the people is, in itself, a reason for agreeing to this motion, which no rhetorical vindicator of his conduct will be able to counterbalance ; for since it is necessary to the prosperity of the government, that the people should believe their interest favoured, and their liberties protected ; since to imagine themselves neglected, and to be neglected in reality, must produce in them the same sus-

picious and the same distrust, it is the duty of every faithful subject whom his station qualifies, to offer advice to his Sovereign, to persuade him, for the preservation of his own honor, and the affection of his subjects, to remove from his councils that man whom they have long considered as the author of pernicious measures, and a favourer of arbitrary power.”

CHAP.
II.
1740.

Several very singular causes led to the rejection of Sandys' motion, the principal of which were the disunion of the Whigs and the Tories, occasioned by the death of Sir W. Wyndham, and the secession of Shippen, who, with a number of his friends, quitted the House before the question came to a division. Sandys' motion was, accordingly, negatived by the great majority of 290 against 106. But the triumph of the minister on this occasion, by rendering him too confident of his own influence, and negligent in providing against the measures of his adversaries, paved the way for his certain downfall upon a subsequent occasion. The Parliament was dissolved on the 25th April, 1741. The struggles of parties for the fresh elections then begun, and it was soon seen that the minister had not sufficient interest to secure a majority. The new Parliament assembled on the 4th December, 1741, Mr. Pitt having been re-elected for Old Sarum. Sir R. Walpole having proposed the re-appointment of Mr. Earle, (notwithstanding the extreme unpopularity of that gentleman,) to the chair of the committee upon elections, had the mortification to find himself in a minority upon that question. This defeat ought instantly to have caused his resignation, but he clung to power, and was destined to suffer further humiliation. The opposite party several times outnumbered him in questions upon contested elections, and upon the 2nd February, 1742, the majority was so considerable against him, that he never could hope to resist it. That day saw him for the last time in the House of Commons. On the 9th February he was created Earl of Orford, and on the 11th he resigned his employments. But if Sir R. Walpole was no longer minister, he ceased not to be a politician. He had a negociation, on his own account, to conduct, as difficult and embarrassing as any he had ever transacted for the

1741.

1742.

CHAP. country. He well knew the obloquy in which his name was held.
II.
1742. He had experienced much ingratitude and treachery from many of his nominal friends, who had entered into private engagements with his enemies. The terrors of a public investigation and impeachment sounded in his ears. Amidst the heat of party, and the violent prejudices which prevailed against him, he could not but feel alarmed at the probable calamities which would ensue to him on his fall from power. His administration had been continued for more than twenty years, and in his complicated transactions with the public revenue of this opulent and commercial country, many things had occurred which it was impossible to explain to the general satisfaction. His enemies were numerous and mighty, some of them capable of colouring the fairest measures of his life, and most of them avowedly intent on his destruction. He could only hope to remain unmolested during the remainder of his life by dividing their strength. In this emergency the great object of Walpole was to disunite the opposition, and the dexterity with which he effected this, was never exceeded by any previous effort of his life. It was on this occasion that the King's support, and the steady adherence of a few tried friends, gave scope to his great powers of negotiation. Early in January, 1742, overtures were made to the leaders of opposition by some of Walpole's colleagues, who were high in the confidence of the crown. It was intimated to Lord Carteret, that proposals from the highest quarter would speedily be made to Mr. Pulteney for the arrangement of a new ministry. Nothing was better calculated to soothe the vanity of Pulteney, or to detach him from the great body of the opposition, than such an intimation. Some days, however, intervened before any formal communication was made to him. Perhaps this delay was favourable to the interests of Lord Orford, as it naturally kept Pulteney in a state of suspense. The opposition, as I before observed, had for some time been composed of men of the most various and opposite opinions. Discontented Whigs and violent Tories, Jacobites and republicans, were united for the sole purpose of overthrowing the minister. The mere surmise of a partial negotiation from the Court

with Pulteney excited suspicion. But when it was known that that gentleman had acquiesced in the proposition to retain most of Walpole's associates in power; that, with a few slight exceptions, the government was to be conducted by the same persons, the mortification of the country was proportioned to the previous exuberance of its expectation. Mr. Pulteney himself now sank beneath the tide of popular indignation which before had overwhelmed the minister. The celebrated meeting at the Fountain Tavern, for the proposed intention of considering the public state of affairs, and arranging a ministry, was held on the 11th February, 1742. It consisted of nearly three hundred members of both Houses of Parliament. There was much speaking, much virulence, and no harmony at this meeting, and it separated, as it had assembled, with a general feeling of suspicion and dissatisfaction.

CHAP.
II.
1742.

CHAPTER III.

1742.

Lord Limerick's motion for an enquiry into the conduct of the late Minister—Mr. Pitt's speech in support of that motion—The motion is lost—Lord Limerick's second motion—Mr. Pitt's speech in support of it—Observation of Mr. Pitt in reply to the younger Horace Walpole—Mr. Pitt is appointed one of a Committee of secrecy to enquire into the conduct of the late Minister—Bill of indemnity to protect witnesses—Brief retrospect of Sir R. Walpole's administration—The Bill of Indemnity is rejected by the House of Peers—Lord Orford in retirement—Changes in the ministry considered—John Duke of Argyle—Disappointment of parties—A new opposition—Of whom composed—Characters of Lord Carteret and the Duke of Newcastle.

CHAP. ^{III.} ALTHOUGH Lord Orford had been successful in dividing his enemies ;
^{1742.} although during the time spent in adjusting the new ministry he had
created a pause, in which his opponents in their eager expectation of
office had ceased to attack him ; no sooner were the places filled, and
the hope of each individual either realized or disappointed, than the
clamour was renewed. The cry was, however, feebler, for it came
from fewer throats, and it was also directed against others as well as
against the late minister. Although I think it clear that Pulteney
had never pledged himself to screen him from justice, still the sus-
picions of that gentleman's political integrity, and his alleged eager-
ness for a peerage, rendered men less violent in their enmity to Lord
Orford. Walpole's danger was passed, but he was still threatened
with impeachment. On the 9th March, 1742, a motion was made
in the House of Commons, by Lord Limerick, for an inquiry into the
conduct of the late administration during the last twenty years. This

motion was opposed by Mr. Pelham, who, in the course of his speech, observed that "it would considerably shorten the debate, if gentlemen would keep close to the argument, and not run into long harangues and flowers of rhetoric which might be introduced upon any other subject as well as the present."

CHAP.
III.
1742.

Mr. Pitt answered him thus^a:

"What the gentlemen on the other side mean by long harangues or flowers of rhetoric I shall not pretend to determine, but if they make use of nothing of the kind, it is no very good argument of their sincerity, because a man who speaks from his heart and is sincerely affected with the subject upon which he speaks, as every honest man must be when he speaks in the cause of his country, such a man, I say, falls naturally into expressions which may be called flowers of rhetoric, and therefore deserves as little to be charged with affectation, as the most stupid serjeant at law that ever spoke for a half guinea fee. For my part, I have heard nothing in favour of the question but what I thought very proper, and very much to the purpose. What has been said, indeed, on the other side of the question, especially the long justification that has been made of our late measures, I cannot think so proper, because this motion is founded upon the present melancholy situation of affairs, and upon the general clamour without doors, against the late conduct of our public servants; and either of these, with me, shall always be a sufficient reason for agreeing to a parliamentary enquiry, because, without such enquiry, I cannot, even in my own mind, enter into the disquisition, whether our public measures have been right or not; without such enquiry I cannot be furnished with the necessary information.

"But the Honorable Gentlemen who oppose this motion seem to mistake, I do not say wilfully, the difference between a motion for an impeachment, and a motion for an enquiry. If any member of this House were to stand up in his place and move for impeaching a

^a This and the other speech contained in the present chapter are taken, with some slight variations, from Chandler's collection of debates.

CHAP.
III.
1742.

minister, he would be obliged to charge him with some particular crimes or misdemeanors, and produce some proof, or declare that he was ready to prove the facts; but any gentleman may move for an enquiry without any particular allegation, and without offering any proof, or declaring that he is ready to prove; because the very design of an enquiry is to find out particular facts and particular proofs. The general circumstances of things, or general rumours without doors, are a sufficient foundation for such a motion, and for the House agreeing to it when it is made. This, Sir, has always been the practice, and has been the foundation of almost all the enquiries that were ever set on foot in this House, especially those that have been carried on by secret and select committees. What other foundation was there for the secret committee appointed in the year 1694, (to go no further back,) to enquire into, and inspect the books and accounts of the East India Company and Chamber of London? Nothing but a general rumour that some corrupt practice had been made use of. What was the foundation of the enquiry in the year 1714? Did the Honorable Gentleman who moved for appointing that secret committee charge the former administration with any particular crimes? Did he offer any proofs, or declare that he was ready to prove any thing? It is said, the measures pursued by that administration were condemned by a great majority of that House of Commons. What, Sir! were those ministers condemned before they were heard? Could any gentleman be so unjust as to pass sentence, even in his own mind, upon a measure before he had enquired into it? He might perhaps dislike the treaty of Utrecht, but upon enquiry, it might appear to be the best that could be obtained; and it has since been so far justified, that it appears at least as good, if not better than any treaty we have subsequently made.

“ Sir, it was not the treaty of Utrecht, nor any measure openly pursued by the administration, that was the foundation or the cause of an enquiry into their conduct. It was the loud complaints of a great party against them, and the general suspicion of their having carried on treasonable negotiations in favour of the Pretender, and for

defeating the Protestant succession. The enquiry was set on foot in order to detect those practices, if any such existed, and to find proper evidence for convicting the offenders. The same argument holds with regard to the enquiry into the management of the South Sea Company in the year 1721. When that affair was first moved in the House, by Mr. Neville, he did not, he could not, charge those directors, or any of them, with any particular proofs. His motion was, 'That the directors of the South Sea Company should forthwith lay before the House an account of their proceedings,' and it was founded upon the general circumstances of things, the distress brought upon the public credit of the nation, and the general and loud complaints without doors. This motion indeed, reasonable as it was, we know was opposed by the court party at the time, and, in particular, by two doughty brothers, who have been attached to the court ever since; but their opposition raised such a warmth in the House, that they were glad to give it up, and never after durst directly oppose that enquiry. I wish I could now see the same zeal for public justice. The circumstances of affairs I am sure deserve it. Our public credit was then indeed brought into distress; but now the nation itself, nay, not only this nation, but all our friends upon the continent, are brought into the most imminent danger.

"This, Sir, is admitted even by those who oppose this motion; and if they have ever lately conversed with those that dare speak their minds, they must admit, that the murmurs of the people against the conduct of the administration are now as general and as loud as ever they were upon any occasion. But the misfortune is, that gentlemen who are in office seldom converse with any but such as either are, or want to be, in office; and such men, think as they will, will always applaud their superiors; consequently, gentlemen who are in administration, or in any office under it, can rarely know the voice of the people. The voice of this House was formerly, I grant, and always ought to be, the voice of the people. If new Parliaments were more frequent, and few placemen, and no pensioners admitted, it would be so still; but if long Parliaments be continued, and a corrupt influence

CHAP
III.
1742.

CHAP. should prevail, not only at elections, but in this House, the voice of
 III.
 1742. this House will generally be very different from, nay, often directly
 ——— contrary to, the voice of the people. However, as this is not, I
 believe, the case at present, I hope there is a majority of us who know
 what is the voice of the people; and if it be admitted by all, that the
 nation is at present in the utmost distress and danger, if it be admitted
 by a majority, that the voice of the people is loud against the late
 conduct of our administration, this motion must be agreed to, because
 I have shewn that these two circumstances, without any particular
 charge, have been the foundation of almost every parliamentary
 enquiry.

“I readily admit, Sir, that we have very little to do with the
 character or reputation of a minister, but as it always does, and must
 affect our Sovereign. But the people may become disaffected as well
 as discontented, when they find the King continues obstinately to em-
 ploy a minister who, they think, oppresses them at home, and betrays
 them abroad. We are therefore, in duty to our Sovereign, obliged
 to enquire into the conduct of a minister, when it becomes generally
 suspected by the people, in order that we may vindicate his character
 if he be innocent of the charges brought against him, or, if he be guilty,
 that we may obtain his removal from the councils of our Sovereign,
 and also condign punishment upon his crimes.

“After having said thus much, Sir, I need scarcely answer what
 has been asserted, that no parliamentary enquiry ought ever to be in-
 stituted, unless we are convinced that something has been done amiss.
 Sir, the very name given to this House of Parliament proves the con-
 trary. We are called The Grand Inquest of the Nation; and as such,
 it is our duty to inquire into every step of public management, both
 abroad and at home, in order to see that nothing has been done amiss.
 It is not necessary, upon every occasion, to establish a secret com-
 mittee. This is never necessary but when the affairs to be brought
 before them, or some of those affairs, are supposed to be of such
 nature as to require secrecy. But as experience has shewn that no-
 thing but an enquiry is ever made by a general committee, or a com-

mittee of the whole House, I wish that all estimates and accounts, and many other affairs, were respectively referred to select committees. Their enquiries would be more exact, and the receiving of their reports would not occupy so much of our time as is represented ; but if it did, our duty being to make strict enquiries into every thing relative to the public ; our assembling here being for that purpose, we must perform our duty before we break up ; and his present Majesty, I am sure, will never put an end to any session till that duty has been fully performed.

CHAP.
III.
1742.

“ It is said by some gentlemen, that by this enquiry we shall be in danger of discovering the secrets of our government to our enemies. This argument, Sir, by proving too much, proves nothing. If it were admitted, it would always have been, and its admission for ever will be, an argument against our enquiring into any affair in which our government can be supposed to be concerned. Our enquiries would then be confined to the conduct of our little companies, of inferior custom-house officers and excisemen ; for, if we should presume to enquire into the conduct of commissioners of great companies, it would be said the government had a concern in their conduct, and the secrets of government must not be divulged. Every gentleman must see that this would be the consequence of admitting such an argument ; but, besides, it is false in fact, and contrary to experience. We have had many parliamentary enquiries into the conduct of ministers of state, and yet I defy any one to shew that any state affair which ought to have been concealed was thereby discovered, or that our affairs, either abroad or at home, ever suffered by such discovery. If his Majesty should, by message, inform us, that some of the papers sealed up, and laid before us, required the utmost secrecy, we might refer them to our committee, instructing them to order only two or three of their number to inspect such papers, and to report from them nothing but what they thought might safely be communicated to the whole. By this method, I presume, the danger of discovery would be effectually removed ; this danger, therefore, is no good argument against a parliamentary enquiry.

CHAP.
III.
1742.

“The other objection, Sir, is really surprising, because it is founded upon a circumstance which, in all former times, has been admitted as a strong argument in favour of an immediate enquiry. The Honorable Gentlemen are so ingenuous as to confess that our affairs, both abroad and at home, are at present in the utmost distress; but say they, you ought to free yourselves from this distress, before you enquire into the cause of it. Sir, according to this way of arguing, a minister who has plundered and betrayed his country, and fears being called to an account in Parliament, has nothing to do but to involve his country in a dangerous war, or some other great distress, in order to prevent an enquiry into his conduct; because he may be dead before that war is at an end, or that distress is surmounted. Thus, like the most detestable of all thieves, after plundering the house, he has but to set it on fire, that he may escape in the confusion. It is really astonishing to hear such an argument seriously urged in this House; but, say these gentlemen, if you found yourself upon a precipice, would you stand to enquire how you was led there, before you considered how to get off? No, Sir; but if a guide had led me there, I should very probably be provoked to throw him over, before I thought of any thing else; at least I am sure, I should not trust to the same guide for bringing me off; and this, Sir, is the strongest argument that can be used for an enquiry.

“We have been, for these twenty years, under the guidance, I may truly say, of one man, of one single minister. We now, at last, find ourselves upon a dangerous precipice. Ought we not then immediately to enquire whether we have been led upon this precipice by his ignorance or wickedness; and if by either, to take care not to trust to his guidance for our safety? This is an additional and a stronger argument for this enquiry than ever was urged for any former one, for if we do not enquire, we shall probably remain under his guidance; because, though he be removed from the treasury board, he is not removed from the King's Court, nor will he, probably, unless it be by our advice, or unless we lodge him in a place at the other end of the town, where he cannot so well injure his country. Sir,

our distress *at home* evidently proceeds from want of œconomy, and from our having incurred many unnecessary expenses. Our distress and danger *abroad* are evidently owing to the misconduct of the war with Spain, and to the little confidence which our natural and ancient allies have reposed in our councils. This is so evident, that I should not think it necessary to enter into any particular explanation, if an Honorable Gentleman on the other side had not attempted to justify most of our late measures both abroad and at home. But as he has done so, though not, in my opinion, quite to the purpose of the present debate, I hope I shall be allowed to make some remarks upon what he has said on the subject ; beginning, as he did, with the measures taken for punishing the South Sea Directors, and restoring public credit after the terrible shock it received in the year 1720.

CHAP.
III.
1742.

“ As those measures, Sir, were among the first exploits of our late, (I fear I must call him our present,) prime minister ; and as the committee proposed, if agreed to, will probably consist of one and twenty members, I wish the motion had been for one year further back, that the number of years might have corresponded with the number of enquirers, and that it might have comprehended the first of those measures to which I have before alluded ; as it now stands, it will not comprehend the methods taken for punishing the directors, nor the first regulation made for restoring public credit ; and with regard to both, some practices might be discovered that would deserve a much severer punishment than any of those directors experienced. Considering the many frauds made use of by the directors and their agents, for luring people to their ruin, I am not a little surprised to hear it now said, that their punishment was considered too severe. Justice by the lump was an epithet given to it, not because it was thought too severe, but because it was an artifice to screen the most heinous offenders, who, if they did not deserve death, deserved, at least, to partake of that total ruin which they had brought upon many unthinking men. They very ill deserved, Sir, those allowances which were made them by parliament.

“ Then, Sir, as to public credit, its speedy restoration was

CHAP. founded upon the conduct of the nation, and not upon the wisdom or
 III. justice of the measures adopted. Was it a wise method to remit to
 1742. the South Sea Company the whole seven millions, or thereabouts, which they had solemnly engaged to pay to the public? It might as well be said, that a private man's giving away a great part of his estate to those who no way deserved it, would be a wise method of reviving or establishing his credit. If those seven millions had been distributed among the poor sort of annuitants, it would have been both generous and charitable; but to give it among the proprietors in general, was neither generous nor just, because most of them deserved no favour from the public. As the proceedings of the directors were authorized by general courts, those who were then the proprietors were in some measure accessory to the frauds of the directors, and therefore deserved to be punished, rather than rewarded as they really were, because every one of them who continued to hold stock in that company received nearly 50 per cent, added to his capital, most part of which arose from the high price annuitants were, by act of Parliament, obliged to take stock at, and was therefore a most flagrant piece of injustice done to the annuitants. But we need not be at a loss for the true cause of this act of injustice, when we consider that a certain gentleman had a great many friends among the old stock-holders, and few or none among the annuitants.

“ Another act of injustice, which I believe we may ascribe to the same cause, relates to those who were engaged in heavy contracts for stock or subscription, many of whom groan under the load to this very day, for after we had, by act of Parliament, quite altered the nature, though not the name, of the stock they had bought, and made it much less valuable than it was when they engaged to pay a high price for it, it was an act of public injustice to leave them liable to be prosecuted at law for the whole money which they had engaged to pay. I am sure this was not the method to restore that private credit, upon which our trade and navigation so much depend. Had the same regulation been here adopted which was observed towards those who had borrowed money of the Company, or had a sort of *uti possidetis*

been enacted, by declaring all such contracts void so far as related to any future payments, this would not have been unjust; on the contrary, such a regulation, Sir, was extremely necessary for quieting the minds of the people, for preventing their ruining one another at law, and for restoring credit between man and man. But there is reason to suppose that a certain gentleman had many friends among the *sellers* in those contracts, and very few among the *buyers*, which was the reason that the latter could obtain little or no relief or mercy, by any public law or regulation.

CHAP.
III.
1742.

“Then, Sir, with regard to the extraordinary grants made to the civil list, the very reason given by the Honorable Gentleman for justifying those grants, is a strong reason for an immediate enquiry. If considerable charges have arisen upon that revenue, let us see what they are; let us examine whether they were necessary. We have the more reason to do this, because the revenue settled upon his late Majesty’s civil list, was at least as great as that which was settled upon King William or Queen Anne. Besides there is a general rumour without doors, that the civil list is now greatly in arrear, which, if true, renders an enquiry absolutely necessary; for it is inconsistent with the honor and dignity of the crown of these kingdoms, to be in arrear to its tradesmen and servants; and it is the duty of this House, to take care that the revenue which we have settled for supporting the honor and dignity of the crown, shall not be squandered or misapplied. If former parliaments have failed in this respect, they must be censured though they cannot be punished; but we ought now to atone for their neglect.

“I come now, in course, to the excise scheme, which the Honorable Gentleman says ought to be forgiven, because it was easily given up. Sir, it was not easily given up. The promoter of that scheme did not easily give it up; he gave it up with sorrow, with tears in his eyes, when he saw, and not till he saw, it was impossible to carry it through the House. Did not his majority decrease upon every division? It was almost certain that if he had pushed it further, his majority would have turned against him. His sorrow

CHAP. shewed his disappointment; and his disappointment shewed that his
 III. design was deeper than simply to prevent frauds in the customs. He
 1742. was, at that time, sensible of the influence of the excise laws and excisemen with regard to elections, and of the great occasion he should have for that sort of influence at the approaching general election. His attempt, Sir, was most flagrant against the constitution; and he deserved the treatment he met with from the people. It has been said, that there were none but what gentlemen are pleased to call the *mob* concerned in burning him in effigy; but, as the *mob* consists chiefly of children, journeymen, and servants, who speak the sentiments of their parents and masters, we may thence judge of the sentiments of the higher classes of the people.

“ The Honorable Gentleman has said, these were all the measures of a domestic nature that could be found fault with, because none other were mentioned in this debate. Sir, he has already heard one reason assigned why no other measures were particularly mentioned and condemned in this debate. If it were necessary, many others might be mentioned and condemned. Is not the maintaining so numerous an army, in time of peace, to be condemned? Is not the fitting out so many expensive and useless squadrons, to be condemned? Are not the encroachments made upon the sinking fund; the reviving the salt duty; the rejecting many useful bills and motions in Parliament, and many other domestic measures, to be condemned? The weakness or the wickedness of these measures has often been demonstrated. Their ill consequences were at the respective times foretold, and those consequences are now become visible by our distress.

“ Now, Sir, with regard to the foreign measures which the Honorable Gentleman has attempted to justify. The treaty of Hanover deserves to be first mentioned, because from thence springs the danger to which Europe is now exposed; and it is impossible to assign a reason for our entering into that treaty, without supposing that we then resolved to be revenged on the Emperor for refusing to grant us some favour in Germany. It is in vain now to insist upon the secret

engagements entered into by the courts of Vienna and Madrid, as the cause of that treaty. Time has fully shewn that there never were any such engagements; and his late Majesty's speech from the throne cannot here be admitted as any evidence of the fact. Every one knows, that in parliament, the King's speech is considered as the speech of the minister; and surely a minister is not to be allowed to bring his own speech as an evidence of a fact in his own justification. If it be pretended, that his late Majesty had some sort of information, that such engagements had been entered into, that very pretence furnishes an unanswerable argument for an enquiry; for as the information now appears to have been groundless, we ought to enquire into it, because if it appears to be such information as ought to have been believed, that minister ought to be punished, who advised his late Majesty to give credit to it, and who in consequence has precipitated the nation into the most pernicious measures.

CHAP.
III.
1742.

“ At the time this treaty was entered into we wanted nothing from the Emperor upon our own account. The abolition of the Ostend company was a demand we had no right to make, nor was it essentially our interest to insist upon it, because that company would have been more hostile to the interests both of the French and Dutch East India trades than to our own, and if it had been a point that concerned us much, we might probably have gained it, by acceding to the Vienna treaty between the Emperor and Spain, or by guaranteeing the Pragmatic Sanction, which we afterwards did in the most absolute manner, and without any conditions. We wanted nothing from Spain but a relinquishment of the pretence she had just begun, or, I believe, hardly begun, to set up, in an express manner, with regard to searching and seizing our ships in the American seas; and this we did not obtain, perhaps did not desire to obtain, by the treaty of Seville. By that treaty we obtained nothing; but we advanced another step towards that danger in which Europe is now involved, by uniting the courts of France and Spain, and by laying a foundation for a new breach between the courts of Spain and Vienna.

“ I grant, Sir, that our ministers appear to have been forward

CHAP. and diligent enough in negotiating, and writing letters and memorials
 III. to the court of Spain. But, from all my enquiries, it appears that
 1742. they never rightly understood, (perhaps they would not understand,) the point, respecting which they were negotiating. They suffered themselves to be amused, with fair promises, for ten long years; and our merchants plundered, our trade interrupted, now call aloud for enquiry. If it should appear that ministers allowed themselves to be amused with answers which no man of honor, no man of common sense in such circumstances, would take,—surely, Sir, they must have had some secret motive for being thus grossly imposed on. This secret motive we may perhaps discover by an enquiry; and as it must be a wicked one, if it can be discovered, the parties ought to be severely punished.

“ But, in excuse for their conduct, it is said, that our ministers had a laudable repugnance in involving their country in a war. Sir, this repugnance could not proceed from any regard to their country. It *was* involved in a war; Spain *was* carrying on a war against our trade, and that in the most insulting manner, during the whole time of their negotiations. It was this very repugnance, at least it was the knowledge of it which Spain possessed, that at length made it absolutely necessary for us to commence the war. If ministers had at first insisted properly and peremptorily upon an explicit answer, Spain would have expressly abandoned her new and insolent claims and pretensions. But by the long experience we allowed her, she found the fruits of those pretensions so plentiful and so gratifying, that she thought them worth the hazard of a war. Sir, the damage we had sustained became so considerable, that it really was worth that hazard. Besides, the court of Spain was convinced, whilst we were under such an administration, that either nothing could provoke us to commence the war; or, that if we did, it would be conducted in a weak and miserable manner. Have we not, Sir, since found that their opinion was correct? Nothing, Sir, ever more demanded a parliamentary inquiry than our conduct in the war. The only branch into which we have inquired, we have already censured and con-

demned. Is not this a good reason for inquiring into every other branch? Disappointment and ill success have always, till now, occasioned a parliamentary inquiry. Inactivity, of itself, is a sufficient cause for inquiry. We have now all these reasons combined. Our admirals abroad desire nothing more; because they are conscious that our inactivity and ill success will appear to proceed, not from their own misconduct, but from the misconduct of those by whom they were employed.

CHAP.
III.
1742.

“ I cannot conclude, Sir, without taking notice of the two other foreign measures mentioned by the Honorable Gentleman. Our conduct in the year 1734, with regard to the war between the Emperor and France, may be easily accounted for, though not easily excused. Ever since the last accession of our late minister to power, we seem to have had an enmity to the House of Austria. Our guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction was an effect of that enmity, because we entered into it when, as hath since appeared, we had no intention to perform our engagement; and by that false guarantee we induced the Emperor to admit the introduction of the Spanish troops into Italy, which he would not otherwise have done. The preparations we made in that year, the armies we raised, and the fleet we fitted out, were not to guard against the event of the war abroad, but against the event of the ensuing elections at home. The new commissions, the promotions, and the money laid out in these preparations, were of admirable use at the time of a general election, and in some measure atone for the loss of the excise scheme; but France and her allies were well convinced that we would in no event declare against them, otherwise they would not then have dared to attack the Emperor; for Muscovy, Poland, Germany, and Britain, would have been by much an over-match for them. It was not our preparations that set bounds to the ambition of France, but her getting all she wanted at that time for herself, and all she desired for her allies. Her own prudence suggested that it was not then a proper time to push her views further; because she did not know but that the spirit of this nation might overcome, (as it since has with regard to Spain,) the

CHAP. spirit of our administration; and should this have happened, the
 III.
 1742. House of Austria was then in such a condition, that our assistance,
 even though late, would have been of effectual service.

“ I am surprised, Sir, to hear the Honorable Gentleman now say, that we gave up nothing, or that we acquired any thing, by the infamous convention with Spain. Did we not give up the freedom of our trade and navigation, by submitting it to be regulated by plenipotentiaries? Can freedom be regulated without being confined, and consequently in some part destroyed? Did we not give up Georgia, or some part of it by submitting to have new limits settled by plenipotentiaries? Did we not give up all the reparation of the damage we had suffered, amounting to five or six hundred thousand pounds, for the paltry sum of twenty-seven thousand pounds? This was all that Spain promised to pay, after deducting the sixty-eight thousand pounds which we, by the declaration annexed to that treaty, allowed her to insist on having from our South Sea Company, under the penalty of stripping them of the Assiento contract, and all the privileges to which they were thereby entitled. Even this sum of twenty-seven thousand pounds, or more, they had before acknowledged to be due on account of ships they allowed to have been unjustly taken, and for the restriction of which they had actually sent orders: so that by this infamous treaty we acquired nothing whilst we gave up every thing; therefore in my opinion, the honor of this nation can never be retrieved, unless the advisers and authors of it be censured and punished. This, Sir, cannot regularly be done without a parliamentary enquiry.

“ By these and similar weak, pusillanimous, and wicked measures, we are become the ridicule of every court in Europe, and have lost the confidence of all our ancient allies. By these measures we have encouraged France to extend her ambitious views, and now at last to attempt carrying them into execution. By bad œconomy, by extravagance in our domestic measures, we have involved ourselves in such distress at home that we are almost wholly incapable of entering into a war, whilst by weakness, or wickedness, in our foreign measures, we

have brought the affairs of Europe into such distress, that it is almost impossible for us to avoid it. Sir, we have been brought upon a dangerous precipice. Here we now find ourselves; and shall we trust to be led safely off by the same guide who has led us on? Sir, it is impossible for him to lead us off. Sir, it is impossible for us to get off, without first recovering that confidence with our ancient allies, which formerly we possessed. This we cannot do, so long as they suppose that our councils are influenced by our late minister; and this they will suppose so long as he has access to the King's closet; so long as his conduct remains unenquired into, and uncensured. It is not, therefore, in revenge for our past disasters, but from a desire to prevent them in future, that I am now so zealous for this enquiry. The punishment of the minister, be it ever so severe, will be but a small atonement for the past. But his impunity will be the source of many future miseries to Europe, as well as to his country. Let us be as merciful as we will, as merciful as any man can reasonably desire, when we come to pronounce sentence; but sentence we must pronounce. For this purpose, unless we are resolved to sacrifice our own liberties, and the liberties of Europe, to the preservation of one guilty man, we must make the enquiry."

CHAP.
III.
1742.

An harangue so vehement, thundered in the ears of Parliament, and aided by all the terrors of voice, countenance, and action, must have produced considerable effect. The motion was lost by a majority of only two. The numbers being: For the motion 242, against it 244. It was owing to the absence of Mr. Pulteney, upon the occasion of his daughter's sickness and death, that this question was not carried. At that gentleman's instigation it was again brought forward by Lord Limerick on the 23rd March; the enquiry being limited to the last ten years of Walpole's administration. Mr. Pitt's speech on this occasion was in answer to Mr. George Cook of Harefield, a member who had very recently taken his seat in the House. It was to the following effect:

"As the Honorable Gentleman who spoke last against the motion, has not been long in the house, it is but charitable to believe him sincere in professing that he is ready to agree to a parliamentary

CHAP. enquiry when he thinks the occasion requires it. But if he knew how
 III. often such professions are made by those who, upon all occasions,
 1742. oppose enquiry, he would now avoid them, because they are generally
 believed to be insincere. He may, it is true, have nothing to dread, on his own account, from enquiry, but when a gentleman has contracted, or any of his near relations have contracted, a friendship with one who may be brought into danger, it is very natural to suppose that such a gentleman's opposition to an enquiry does not entirely proceed from public motives; and if that gentleman follows the advice of some of his friends, I very much question whether he will ever think that the occasion requires an enquiry into the conduct of our public affairs.

“ As a parliamentary enquiry must always be founded upon suspicions, as well as upon facts or manifest crimes, reasons may always be found for alleging those suspicions to be without foundation; and, upon the principle that a parliamentary enquiry must necessarily lay open the secrets of government, no time can ever be proper or convenient for such enquiry, because it is impossible to suppose a time when the government has no secrets to disclose.

“ This, Sir, would be a most convenient doctrine for ministers, because it would put an end to all parliamentary enquiries into the conduct of our public affairs; and therefore when I hear it urged, and so much insisted on by a certain set of gentlemen in this house, I must suppose their hopes to be very extensive. I must suppose them to expect that they and their posterity will for ever continue in office. Sir, this doctrine has been so often contradicted by experience, that I am surprised to hear it advanced by gentlemen now. This very session has afforded us a convincing proof that very little foundation exists for asserting that a parliamentary enquiry must necessarily reveal the secrets of the government. Surely in a war with Spain, which must be carried on principally by sea, if the government have secrets, the Lords of the Admiralty must be entrusted with the most important of them. Yet, Sir, in this very session, we have without any secret committees, made enquiry into the conduct of the Lords

Commissioners of the Admiralty. We have not only enquired into their conduct, but we have censured it in such manner as to put an end to the trust which was before reposed in them. Has that enquiry discovered any of the secrets of our government? On the contrary, the committee found that there was no occasion to probe into such secrets. They found cause enough for censure without it, and none of the commissioners pretended to justify their conduct by the assertion that papers contained secrets which ought not to be disclosed.

CHAP.
III.
1742.

“ This, Sir, is so recent, so strong a proof that there is no necessary connection between a parliamentary enquiry and a discovery of secrets which it behoves the nation to conceal, that I trust gentlemen will no longer insist upon this danger as an argument against the enquiry. Sir, the First Commissioner of the Treasury has nothing to do with the application of secret service money. He is only to take care that it be regularly issued from his office, and that no more be issued than the conjuncture of affairs appears to demand. As to the particular application, it properly belongs to the Secretary of State, or to such other persons as his Majesty employs, so that we cannot suppose the proposed enquiry will discover any secrets relative to the application of that money, unless the noble lord has acted as Secretary of State, as well as First Commissioner of the Treasury; or unless a great part of the money drawn out for secret service has been delivered to himself or persons employed by him, and applied towards gaining a corrupt influence in Parliament or at elections. Of both these practices he is most grievously suspected, and both are secrets which it very much behoves him to conceal. But, Sir, it equally behoves the nation to discover them. His country and he are, in this cause, equally, although oppositely, concerned; for the safety or ruin of one or the other depends upon the fate of the question, and the violent opposition, which this question has experienced, adds great strength to the suspicion.

“ I admit, Sir, that the noble Lord, whose conduct is now proposed to be enquired into, was one of his Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council, and consequently that he must have had a share at

CHAP. least in advising all the measures which have been pursued both
 III. abroad and at home. But I cannot from this admit, that an enquiry
 1742. into his conduct must necessarily occasion a discovery of any secrets
 of vital importance to the nation, because we are not to enquire into
 the measures themselves.

“ But, Sir, suspicions have gone abroad relative to his conduct as a Privy Councillor, which, if true, are of the utmost consequence to be enquired into. It has been strongly asserted that he was not only a Privy Councillor, but that he usurped the whole and sole direction of his Majesty's Privy Council. It has been asserted that he gave the Spanish court the first hint of the unjust claim they afterwards advanced against our South Sea Company, which was one chief cause of the war between the two nations. And it has been asserted, that this very minister has advised the French in what manner to proceed in order to bring our court into their measures; particularly that he advised them as to the numerous army they have this last summer sent into Westphalia. What truth there is in these assertions I pretend not to decide. The facts are of such a nature, and they must have been perpetrated with so much caution and secrecy, that it will be difficult to bring them to light even by a parliamentary enquiry; but the very suspicion is ground enough for establishing such enquiry, and for carrying it on with the utmost strictness and vigour.

“ Whatever my opinion of past measures may be, I shall never be so vain, or bigotted to that opinion, as to determine, without any enquiry, against the majority of my countrymen. If I found the public measures generally condemned, let my private opinions of them be ever so favorable, I should be for enquiry in order to convince the people of their error, or at least to furnish myself with the most authentic arguments in favor of the opinion I had embraced. The desire of bringing others into the same sentiments with ourselves is so natural, that I shall always suspect the candour of those, who, in politics or religion, are opposed to free enquiry. Besides, Sir, when the complaints of the people are general against an administration, or against any particular minister, an enquiry is a duty which we owe

both to our Sovereign and the people. We meet here to communi-
 cate to our Sovereign the sentiments of his people. We meet here to
 redress the grievances of the people. By performing our duty in both
 respects, we shall always be enabled to establish the throne of our
 Sovereign in the hearts of his people, and to hinder the people from
 being led into insurrection and rebellion by misrepresentations or false
 surmises. When the people complain, they must either be right or
 in error. If they be right, we are in duty bound to enquire into the
 conduct of the ministers, and to punish those who appear to have
 been most guilty. If they be in error, we ought still to enquire into
 the conduct of our ministers, in order to convince the people that they
 have been misled. We ought not, therefore, in any question relating
 to enquiry, to be governed by our own sentiments. We must be
 governed by the sentiments of our constituents, if we are resolved to
 perform our duty both as true representatives of the people, or as
 faithful subjects of our King.

CHAP.
 III.
 1742.

“ I perfectly agree with the Honorable Gentleman that if we
 are convinced that the public measures are wrong, or that if we
 suspect them to be so, we ought to make enquiry, although there is
 not much complaint among the people ; but I wholly differ from him
 in thinking that notwithstanding the administration and the minister
 are the subjects of complaint among the people, we ought not to
 make enquiry into his conduct unless we are ourselves convinced that
 his measures have been wrong. Sir, we can no more determine this
 question without enquiry, than a judge, without a trial, can declare
 any man innocent of a crime laid to his charge. Common fame is a
 sufficient ground for an inquisition at common law, and for the same
 reason, the general voice of the people of England ought always to
 be regarded as a sufficient ground for a parliamentary enquiry.

“ But, say gentlemen, of what is this minister accused? What
 crime is laid to his charge? For, unless some misfortune is said to
 have happened, or some crime to have been committed, no enquiry
 ought to be set on foot. Sir, the ill posture of our affairs both abroad
 and at home ; the melancholy situation we are in ; the distresses to

CHAP. which we are now reduced, are sufficient causes for an enquiry, even
 III.
 1742. supposing the minister accused of no particular crime or misconduct.

The nation lies bleeding, perhaps expiring. The balance of power has been fatally disturbed. Shall we acknowledge this to be the case, and shall we not enquire whether it has happened by mischance, or by the misconduct, perhaps by the malice prepense, of the minister? Before the treaty of Utrecht, it was the general opinion that in a few years of peace we should be able to pay off most of our debts. We have now been very nearly thirty years in profound peace, at least we have never been engaged in any war but what we unnecessarily brought upon ourselves, and yet our debts are almost as great as they were when that treaty was concluded. Is not this a misfortune, and shall we not make enquiry into its cause?

“ I am surprised to hear it said that no enquiry ought to be set on foot, unless it is known that some public crime has been committed. Sir, the *suspicion*, that a crime has been committed, has always been deemed a sufficient reason for instituting an enquiry. And is there not now a suspicion that the public money has been applied towards gaining a corrupt influence at elections? Is it not become a common expression: ‘ The flood-gates of the Treasury are opened against a general election?’ I desire no more than that every gentleman who is conscious that such practices have been resorted to, either for or against him, should give his vote in favor of the motion. Will any gentleman say that this is no crime, when even private corruption has such high penalties, inflicted by express statute against it? Sir, a minister who commits this crime—who thus abuses the public money, adds breach of trust to the crime of corruption; and as the crime, when committed by him, is of much more dangerous consequence than when committed by a private man, it becomes more properly the object of a parliamentary enquiry, and merits the severest punishment. The Honorable Gentleman may with much more reason tell us that *Porteous* was never murdered by the mob at Edinburgh, because, notwithstanding the high reward as well as pardon proffered, his murderers were never discovered, than tell us that we cannot suppose

our minister, either personally or by others, has ever corrupted an election, because no information has been brought against him. Sir, ^{CHAP. III. 1742.} nothing but a pardon, upon the conviction of the offender, has ever yet been offered in this case; and how could any informer expect a pardon, and much less a reward, when he knew that the very man against whom he was to inform, had not only the distribution of all public rewards, but the packing of a jury or parliament against him? Whilst such a minister preserves the favour of the crown, and thereby the exercise of its power, this information can never be expected.

“ This shews, Sir, the impotence of the act, mentioned by the Honorable Gentleman, respecting that sort of corruption which is called bribery. With regard to the other sort of corruption, which consists in giving or taking away those posts, pensions, or preferments, which depend upon the arbitrary will of the crown, the act is still more inefficient. Although it would be considered most indecent in a minister to tell any man that he gave or withheld a post, pension, or preferment, on account of his voting for or against any ministerial measure in Parliament, or any ministerial candidate at an election; yet, if he makes it his constant rule never to give a post, pension, or preferment, but to those who vote for his measures and his candidates; if he makes a few examples of dismissing those who vote otherwise, it will have the same effect as when he openly declares it. Will any gentleman say that this has not been the practice of the minister? Has he not declared, in the face of this House, that he will continue the practice? And will not this have the same effect as if he went separately to every particular man, and told him in express terms, ‘ Sir, if you vote for such a measure or such a candidate, you shall have the first preferment in the gift of the crown; if you vote otherwise, you must not expect to keep what you have.’ Gentlemen may deny that the sun shines at noon-day; but if they have eyes, and do not wilfully shut them, or turn their backs, no man will believe them to be ingenuous in what they say. I think, therefore, that the Honorable Gentleman was in the right who endeavoured to justify

CHAP. the practice. It was more candid than to deny it—but as his argu-
 III.
 1742. ments have already been fully answered, I shall not farther discuss
 them.

“ Gentlemen exclaim, ‘What ! will you take from the crown the power of preferring or cashiering the officers of the army?’ No, Sir, this is neither the design, nor will it be the effect, of our agreeing to the motion. The King at present possesses the absolute power to prefer or cashier the officers of our army. It is a prerogative which he may employ for the benefit or safety of the public ; but, like other prerogatives, it may be abused, and when it is so abused, the minister is responsible to Parliament. When an officer is preferred or cashiered for voting in favour of, or against any court measure or candidate, it is an abuse of this prerogative, for which the minister is answerable. We may judge from circumstances or outward appearances—from these we may condemn, and I hope we have still a power to punish a minister who dares to advise the King to prefer or cashier from such motives ! Sir, whether this prerogative ought to remain as it is, without any limitation, is a question foreign to this debate ; but I must observe, that the argument employed for it might, with equal justice, be employed for giving our King an absolute power over every man’s property—because a large property will always give the possessor a command over a great body of men, whom he may arm and discipline if he pleases. I know of no law to restrain him—I hope none will ever exist—I wish our gentlemen of estates would make more use of this power than they do, because it would tend to keep our domestic as well as our foreign enemies in awe. For my part, I think that a gentleman who has earned his commission by his services, (in his military capacity I mean,) or bought it with his money, has as much a property in it as any man has in his estate, and ought to have it as well secured by the laws of his country. Whilst it remains at the absolute will of the crown, he must, unless he has some other estate to depend on, be a slave to the minister ; and if the officers of our army long continue in that state of slavery in which they are at present, I am afraid it will make slaves of us all.

“ The only method to prevent this fatal consequence, as the law CHAP. III. 1742. now stands, is to make the best and most constant use of the power we possess as members of this House, to prevent any minister from daring to advise the King to make a bad use of his prerogative : as there is such a strong suspicion that this minister has done so, we ought certainly to enquire into it, not only for the sake of punishing him if guilty, but as a terror to all future ministers.

“ This, Sir, may therefore be justly reckoned among the many other sufficient causes for the enquiry proposed.—The suspicion that the civil list is greatly in debt is another ; for if it is, it must either have been misapplied or profusely thrown away, which abuse it is both our duty to prevent and to punish. It is inconsistent with the honor of this nation that the king should stand indebted to his servants or tradesmen, who may be ruined by delay of payment. The Parliament has provided sufficiently to prevent this dishonor from being brought upon the nation, and, if the provision we have made should be lavished or misapplied, we must supply the deficiency ; we ought to do it, whether the king makes any application for that purpose or not ; and the reason is plain, because we ought first to enquire into the management of that revenue, and punish those who have occasioned the deficiency. They will certainly choose to leave the creditors of the crown and the honor of the nation in a state of suffering, rather than advise the king to make an application which may bring censure upon their conduct, and condign punishment upon themselves. Besides this, Sir, another and a stronger reason exists for promoting an enquiry. There is a strong suspicion that the public money has been applied towards corrupting voters at elections, and members when elected ; and if the civil list be in debt, it affords reason to presume that some part of this revenue has, under the pretence of secret service money, been applied to this infamous purpose.

“ I shall conclude, Sir, by making a few remarks upon the last argument advanced against the proposed enquiry. It has been said that the minister delivered in his accounts annually : that these accounts have been annually past and approved by Parliament ; and

CHAP. that therefore it would be unjust to call him now to a general account,
 III.
 1742. because the vouchers may be lost, or many expensive transactions have escaped his memory. It is true, Sir, estimates and accounts have been annually delivered in. The forms of proceeding made that necessary, but were any of these estimates and accounts properly enquired into? Were not all questions of that description rejected by the minister's friends in Parliament? Has not Parliament always taken them upon trust, and passed them without examination? Can such a superficial passing, to call it no worse, be deemed a reason for not calling him to a new and general account? If the steward to an infant's estate should annually, for twenty years together, deliver in his accounts to the guardians; and the guardians, through negligence, or for a share of the plunder, should annually pass his accounts without examination, or at least without objection; would that be a reason for saying that it would be unjust in the infant, when he came of age, to call his steward to account? Especially if that steward had built and furnished sumptuous palaces, living, during the whole time, at a much greater expence than his visible income warranted, and yet amassing great riches? The public, Sir, is always in a state of infancy; therefore no prescription can be pleaded against it—not even a general release, if there is the least cause for supposing that it was surreptitiously obtained. Public vouchers ought always to remain on record; nor ought any public expence to be incurred without a voucher—therefore the case of the public is still stronger than that of an infant. Thus, Sir, the Honorable gentleman who made use of this objection must see how little it avails in the case before us; and therefore I trust we shall have his concurrence in the question.”

The eminence to which Mr. Pitt had now attained, and the value of his praise is seen from the following little circumstance. The younger Horace Walpole, who defended his father in a speech which himself has preserved, tells us that Mr. Pitt observed in reply, “How very commendable it was in Mr. Walpole thus to defend his father. His speech must have made an impression on the House. But if it was becoming in him to remember that he was the child of the accused, it

behoved also the House to remember that they were the children of their country." "It was a great compliment from him," adds Mr. Walpole, "and very artful too." All writers, indeed, bear testimony to the eloquence of Mr. Pitt on this and the former occasion. Undoubtedly both speeches, imperfectly transmitted to us as they are, discover great strength of argument and language. But we can from these form but a feeble conception of that combination of excellence which commanded the awe and mute attention of his hearers. That eagle eye, that dignified person, that energy of utterance were then all summoned to his aid, in pouring forth the stores of knowledge and eloquence which he had accumulated from his earliest youth. Lord Limerick's motion passed the House by a majority of seven, the numbers being 252 against 245. A committee of secrecy consisting of twenty-one members were appointed by ballot to enquire into the conduct of the late minister, and empowered to examine such persons as they judged likely to furnish information upon the subject. Mr. Pitt was one of this committee. The following were the remaining twenty: Sir John St. Aubin, Samuel Sandys, Sir John Rushout, George Compton, Lord Quarendon, William Noel, Sir John Barnard, Lord Limerick, Lord Cornbury, Nicholas Fazakerly, Henry Furnese, Lord Granard, Cholmondeley Turner, Edmund Waller, Thomas Prowse, William Bowles, Edward Hooper, Sir John Strange, Sir Henry Lydal, John Talbot.

I shall not enter minutely into the proceedings of this committee. The majority were certainly the enemies of Lord Orford, and in their eagerness to criminate him, perhaps they overstepped the bounds of prudence and honor. The bill to indemnify witnesses against him, which they had interest enough to carry through the House of Commons, was as dangerous to the country as it was malignant towards the individual. But this must be said in explanation of the prominent part taken by Mr. Pitt on the occasion, that he, in common with many of the greatest characters of the day, fully believed the truth of the charges alleged against the minister. His own speeches contain most of these charges; and, certainly, if

CHAP. the heaviest of them were not established, and if, subsequently, he
 III.
 1742. himself had the candour to acknowledge it, much remained in the
 system pursued by Walpole to excite suspicion in every honorable
 mind. This minister possessed nearly the uncontrolled disposal of im-
 mense sums of public money in times of profound peace. In what
 manner had they been bestowed? It was his coarse and familiar
 custom to accuse mankind of corruption, and surely it was not sur-
 prising that mankind should retaliate that they should not believe him
 to form an exception to a general rule established by himself. The
 public, indeed, could not decide with justice upon facts which they had
 not witnessed; but it was natural for them to infer, that he who had
 been so openly lavish in his own expenditure, had not been sparing
 where the resources of the people were concerned. The sums ex-
 pended by Sir R. Walpole on his own household establishment, and
 on his buildings were enormous. The number of his own immediate
 relations, whom he had raised to very lucrative appointments in the
 state, was unreasonably great. All these things were so opposite to
 the pure and uncorrupt ideas of Mr. Pitt, that we cannot wonder, if
 seeing these, and believing other points, he called aloud for enquiry.
 The indemnity bill was rejected by the House of Peers, and although
 one more effort was made against Lord Orford in the House of Com-
 mons it produced no effect, and he was not further molested during
 the short remainder of his life. But inactivity was of itself a punish-
 ment. He was now compelled to circumscribe his exertions, and to
 endeavour to find employment in the occupations of private life.
 This was difficult. He neither possessed, nor valued a taste for litera-
 ture. His whole life having been devoted to active business, he was
 a stranger to the calm pleasures of retirement. Notwithstanding,
 therefore, the advance of years and the tortures of a cruel disorder,
 Lord Orford did not relinquish his public employments without a
 pang. Pursued by the unrelenting hatred of the people, he had yet
 the satisfaction of preserving the esteem of his sovereign, and of seeing,
 before he died, the expediency of many of his political measures ac-
 knowledged by the bitterest of his enemies^b.

^b Particularly his endeavours to effect a reconciliation between the Courts of Vienna and Berlin.

Notwithstanding the great clamour which the measures of Sir R. Walpole had excited throughout the nation, the changes in the ministry were, almost entirely, confined to the few following appointments. Lord Carteret accepted Lord Harrington's seals as secretary of state; Mr. Sandys obtained the Chancellorship of the Exchequer; G. Compton, Sir J. Rushout and P. Gibbons formed the new board of Treasury; and Lord Winchelsea was appointed head of the new admiralty board. It is surprising that in this change, partial as it was, neither Mr. Pitt, Mr. Lyttleton, nor any of the Grenvilles were admitted to power. This was probably owing to the coldness which had long subsisted between Lord Carteret and Lord Cobham. The former was the particular friend of Mr. Pulteney. He had been selected as a witness and a party to the private conferences held at Mr. Pulteney's house, and doubtless had influenced the new appointments. Lord Cobham was disgusted with the marked preference shewn to Carteret; and although he was restored to a regiment and appointed a member of the cabinet, he thought himself entitled to higher consideration, and that his friends were unjustly neglected. Disappointed, therefore, in their expectations of the coalition of parties, Lord Cobham and his friends formed a very prominent part of the new opposition to the minister. This opposition, consisting both of Whigs and Tories, soon became considerable. The first accession they acquired was that of the Duke of Argyle. The character of this nobleman has been variously represented. He appears to have been a man of quick parts and lively feelings. His high rank and influence joined to many showy accomplishments, procured him popularity, but his reputation was above his merit, and his acquirements were more brilliant than sound. He was very instrumental in removing Sir R. Walpole from power, and had, at first, accepted of several appointments under the new ministry. He had been made master general of the Ordnance, colonel of his Majesty's royal regiment of horse guards, field-marshal, and commander in chief of all the forces in South Britain: but disgusted with the general arrangements of administration, he relinquished all these appointments within a month

CHAP.
III.
1742.

CHAP. after he had accepted them. The Tories, hurt that they had been
 III.
 1742. almost entirely rejected from office, became as hostile to Carteret as
 they had been to Walpole. The Prince of Wales, between whom and
 his Majesty an outward reconciliation had taken place, and who, at
 first, had acquiesced in the arrangements of Lord Bath*, soon resumed
 his former station and became the head of the opposition.

Although the changes in the administration were, as I have said, few in number, our measures of continental interference were pursued with a very different spirit under the direction of the new secretary of state. Lord Carteret could do nothing with indifference; whether in opposition, or at the helm of government a certain ardour and impetuosity characterized all his proceedings. He knew the martial spirit of George II. and quickly adopted that system of foreign policy, which, whilst it flattered the prejudices of the King, was also well suited to his own disposition. Lord Carteret was certainly one of the most accomplished men in Europe. He was born in 1690. Both at Westminster school and at Oxford he was celebrated for his attainments in classical literature. He afterwards became a proficient in the modern languages of Europe, in philosophy, and in every kind of polite learning. Ardent and aspiring in his disposition, he possessed many powerful requisites to secure success to his ambition. Indefatigable in acquiring knowledge, with a great capacity for business, his eloquence was well adapted to display his acquirements; but from his general qualifications as a statesman some material deductions must be made. Although rapid and copious in his elocution, his vehemence occasionally betrayed him into bombast. The same cause rendered him sometimes rash and precipitate in his projects, negligent of consequences, and extravagant in his views. Although he was handsome and engaging in his person, and by no means deficient in manners or address, he too often refused to employ the common forms of courtesy and conciliation towards his associates in office. He could not but be conscious of the great abilities he possessed, but he presumed too much upon them, and often offended his colleagues by his arrogance and contemptuous behaviour. His

* Mr. Pulteney had been created Earl of Bath.

convivial qualities, also, were unfavorable to his stability as a minister : for they often betrayed him into excess. When warmed with wine, he often forgot moderation in his language and demeanour : assumed an offensive tone of superiority over his companions, and launched forth into the sea of his boundless imagination.

CHAP.
III.
1742.

Few men could be more unlike Lord Carteret, than the Duke of Newcastle, the other secretary of state. The princely fortune of this nobleman, and his zeal for the House of Hanover, brought him early into official employment. Although not deficient in intellect and quickness of apprehension, he was miserably devoid of firmness and decision of character. That state of restlessness and anxiety which is so repugnant to the health and inclinations of most men, was the one in which he seemed most to delight. But however congenial to his own feelings, this must have fevered and perplexed his colleagues ; and it is surprising that a man of so fretful a temper, and, in most respects, so unqualified for business, should so long have been able to retain his employments. The political integrity of the Duke of Newcastle has been highly extolled, but how this can be reconciled to his known and habitual violations of his promises, to the servile adulation which he offered to those in the highest offices, and exacted from those beneath him ; and to his desertion of his fallen friends, I am not able to determine. Horace Walpole tells us that his father said of Newcastle “ his name is treachery ;” and a judicious living historian has remarked that “ weakness of counsels, fluctuation of opinion, and deficiency of spirit marked his administration during an inglorious period of sixteen years ; from which England did not recover, until the mediocrity of his ministerial talents, and the indecision of his character were controled by the ascendancy of Pitt ^d. ”

At this time and for several years afterwards Newcastle professed himself to be averse to our continental connexions, but it will easily be seen that a man of so feeble a character would possess very little weight with the sovereign, when opposed by his own inclinations, and the enthusiastic ardour of Lord Carteret.

^d Coxe's Memoirs of Sir R. Walpole, Vol. i. p. 330.

CHAPTER IV.

1742.

Character of George the Second—A short view of those Kingdoms which were particularly connected with the policy of Great Britain—Prussia—Frederick William—Frederick II.—House of Austria—Rodolph of Hapsburg—The power and authority of the Emperors of Germany considered—Charles VI.—Treaty of Hanover—Pragmatic sanction—Death of Charles VI.—Maria Theresa—Review of the conduct of the Court of England with regard to Prussia and Austria—Forlorn condition of Maria Theresa—Enthusiasm of her subjects in her support—Sir William Yonge's motion respecting a grant for the maintenance of the Hanover troops—Mr. Pitt's speech upon this occasion—Extract from a speech of the elder Horace Walpole—Account of Mr. Pitt's eloquence by Mr. Oswald.

CHAP. IV. 1742. GEORGE II. was born on the 30th October, 1683. With respectable talents, he possessed many qualities useful in the sovereign. But as he was thirty-one years old when his father was called to the British throne, his mind was strongly imbued with German prejudices, and the interests of Hanover were ever nearest his heart. He clung to certain opinions with obstinacy, but had the merit of sacrificing, for a very long period, his own inclinations to what was represented to him as the interest of Great Britain. Such was his conduct during nearly the whole of Sir R. Walpole's administration. His martial spirit, and his high notions of the importance and dignity of Hanover, prompted him to take a prominent part in continental warfare. We find him, notwithstanding, on several occasions, an inactive spectator of the troubles of Germany, and consenting to measures, which by aggrandizing France at the expense of Austria, tended to disturb the balance of power in Europe. This was owing, first, to the high respect he entertained for the judgment of Queen Caroline, who was convinced

of the propriety of Walpole's pacific system; and, secondly, to the influence which that minister obtained over him. The King was himself one of the most methodical persons alive as to the arrangement of his time, and formed his opinions of men, in a great measure, from their habits of business and application. Observing the assiduity of Sir R. Walpole, and the extraordinary readiness with which he dispatched affairs of the greatest difficulty, he conceived the highest opinion of his talents, and generally acquiesced in the measures which he proposed. But after the death of the Queen, the temper and address of Walpole becoming impaired by age and infirmity, he no longer possessed full influence with his master. It was at this time, in the year 1740, when we were at war with Spain, that two events occurred which formed a crisis in the affairs of Europe, and produced events which called for the active interposition of Great Britain. These were, the deaths of Frederick William, King of Prussia, and of Charles VI. Emperor of Germany. That the reader may be enabled to appreciate the depth of Mr. Pitt's political knowledge, and understand the arguments in the succeeding speeches, it is necessary that he possess a clear idea of the state of Europe for many years previous to the battle of Dettingen. I shall therefore present him with a short view of such kingdoms as were principally connected with the politics of Great Britain, commencing with Prussia. I must here offer an observation, which, however trifling, may prevent the general reader from falling into error as to dates and events: It is, that with a stupid and bewildering adherence to a favorite name, the electors and kings of Prussia were nearly all of them styled Frederick and Frederick William. A careful distinction, therefore, must be made between each. But, however confined might be its vocabulary of royal names, Prussia has been sufficiently productive of sovereigns, illustrious for their deeds. When we observe the small space which Prussia, even now, occupies upon the map of Europe, when we consider that a few centuries ago it was inhabited by rude idolaters, we cannot but entertain a high opinion of the genius of those, by whom the country has been raised to such eminence and importance. About

CHAP.
IV.
1742.

CHAP. the middle of the thirteenth century, the Knights of the Teutonic
 IV.
 1742. Order, being driven from those settlements, which, during the crusades they had made in the East, were compelled to return to Germany. The spirits of such men, so long accustomed to the excitement of adventure and war, could not rest contented in a state of inactive repose. They, accordingly, invaded and conquered the idolatrous province of Prussia, and for many years held it as a fief depending on the crown of Poland. In the year 1526, that part of Prussia, which belonged to the Teutonic Order, was erected into a secular and hereditary duchy, and the investiture granted to Albert, a prince of the house of Brandenburg. It continued tributary to Poland during the sixteenth and the greater part of the seventeenth century^a. It was not till the year 1658 that it obtained its liberation. This was effected through the mediation of Austria, by the abilities of the great elector Frederick William. His son Frederick I. assumed the regal title, early in the eighteenth century. Although this assumption added nothing to the power of Prussia, it was calculated, sooner or later, to instil a spirit of ambition into his posterity. This evinced itself in the conduct of his enterprising grandson. Frederick I. died in 1713, and was succeeded by his son Frederick William. Europe misunderstood the character of this prince. Because he was rude and uncivilized in his manners, and violent and arbitrary in his disposition, it has been customary to denounce his views of government as weak and sordid. His son thought otherwise. Harsh and unrelenting as he was to that son, he is described by him as a wise and most prudent sovereign. "The glory to which the late king aspired," says his celebrated successor, "was a truer glory than that of conquerors; it was that of rendering his people prosperous, of disciplining his army, and administering his finances with the sagest order and economy^b."

Whilst his quiet system of government, the supposed sterility of his provinces, and his attachment to the mere apparatus of war, sub-

^a Sleidan, Hist. p. 98. Pfeffel, Abregé de l'Histoire et droit d'Allemagne, p. 605. Robertson's Charles V.

^b Posthumous Works, chap. 2.

jected him to the sneers of surrounding princes^c; he was, in fact, pursuing that line of policy which, subsequently, raised his country so highly in the list of nations. But the taunts to which his abstinence from foreign politics subjected Frederick William sunk deep in the heart of his son. Frederick II. upon his accession to the throne in 1740, determined to avail himself of the first favorable opportunity to employ the fine army which his father had left behind him in asserting the dignity and in enlarging the dominions of Prussia. The lapse of a few months tended exactly to promote his designs. The death of the Emperor Charles VI., the numerous claimants to parts of his hereditary dominions, and the disputed succession of his daughter, were all calculated to favour the projects of this selfish, unprincipled, but enterprising man. He now thought he might enter the lists of opposition, and almost upon even terms, with that family of whom, during a very long term of years, his fathers had been the humble dependants and allies.

CHAP.
IV.
1740.

The house of Austria, from very small beginnings, had, in the thirteenth century, by the extraordinary valour and conduct of Rodolph, Count of Hapsburg, raised itself to the highest eminence among the sovereigns of Europe. For many generations the successors of Rodolph were first amongst the German princes; and in the early part of the sixteenth century the Emperor, Charles V., became lord of greater territories than any sovereign had possessed since the days of Charlemagne. The imperial dignity had at all times been one of the chief objects of ambition with the descendants of Rodolph, and generally had been obtained by them. But we should be under a gross error if we supposed that latterly that dignity was of itself the great source of their power. In the eleventh century the emperors of Germany possessed the amplest revenues and the most extensive jurisdiction: their power was not nominal, but really extended over the whole of Germany. It is singular, that at the period when most

^c The Emperor, Charles the 6th, slighted him on several occasions. George the 2nd called him his brother, the corporal, and sand bearer to the Roman Empire. Even the Bishop of Leige ventured to insult him.—*Œuvres Posthumes*, c. 2.

CHAP. of the sovereigns of Europe were beginning to increase their revenues,
 IV. and strengthen their governments, the power and resources of the em-
 1742. perors were gradually decaying. This resulted from the efforts which
 1500 the several princes of Germany were enabled to make to secure their
 to independence. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the German
 1700. empire presented a form of government which has no exact counter-
 part in the history of the world. The Emperor, nominally invested
 with the loftiest titles, was, in fact, no more than the head of a con-
 federacy of secular and ecclesiastical princes; the head of a body
 whose members were seldom in harmony. To render the exertions of
 this body effective, the greatest abilities were required in the emperor.
 These abilities Charles V. possessed, and was thus enabled to render
 the imperial dignity a formidable engine in the furtherance of his
 gigantic schemes. But even Charles, with his immense possessions,
 and his conciliating manners, was frequently thwarted by the princes
 of Germany. Succeeding Emperors saw their privileges still further
 reduced; till, by dismemberment of territory, and infringement of
 authority at the peace of Westphalia, the imperial head of the House
 of Austria lost that preponderance over France which his family had
 hitherto maintained in the scale of Europe. Charles VI., the father
 of Maria Theresa, underwent many vicissitudes of fortune. He was
 the son of the Emperor Leopold, and was born in 1685. In 1703 he
 was proclaimed King of Spain, and was assisted by England in retain-
 ing that title against his rival Philip V. The various successes and
 losses of Charles, and the exploits of our countrymen under the Earl
 of Peterborough, are well known. On his brother Joseph's death, in
 1710, the whole inheritance of the House of Austria devolved upon
 Charles. He was soon afterwards elected Emperor, by the title of
 Charles VI. The early years of his reign were distinguished by the
 brilliant successes which Prince Eugene obtained over the Turks.
 The treatment he experienced from Great Britain was various, but
 upon the whole, hostile to his interests. Queen Anne was not partial
 to Austria. She first weakened the friendship existing between the
 two countries by abandoning the Grand Alliance, and forming a sepa-

rate peace with France. The conduct of George I. was not calculated to repair the breach. The English cabinet seems to have visited Austria with that resentment, which was called for by the Emperor's infirmity of temper alone. The celebrated treaty of Hanover, concluded in 1725, was certainly contrary to the usual policy observed by this country towards the House of Austria. Although the charge, so often repeated, that the interests of Hanover were the chief motives with the English ministers in concluding that treaty, appears to be without foundation, it is certain, that in siding with France against our natural ally, the House of Austria, we fatally disturbed the balance of power, and entailed very heavy expenses and troubles upon ourselves, in our subsequent attempts to secure its adjustment. The same leaning towards the preponderance of France was, as I have observed, evinced by the ministry during the first years of George II. The Pragmatic Sanction, which is so often referred to in the course of this history, was first promulgated by Charles in 1720. The object of this was the concurrence of the European powers in the entail of the Austrian dominions upon Charles's eldest daughter in default of his male issue. Many contradictions resulted from this new law of succession. In accordance with the will of his brother Joseph, and, indeed, with the principles of justice, the Austrian succession reverted, in default of his own male issue, to his nieces, the daughters of his predecessor. But the partiality of a father overcame all scruples and all opposition. He obliged his nieces publicly to renounce their claim to the succession, and to acknowledge the right of his eldest daughter. This great object of his life became stronger as years advanced, and in 1732 he was enabled to procure its adoption by the suffrages of the whole Germanic body, with the exception of those of Bavaria, Palatine, and Saxony. The latter years of Charles were most unfortunate. His spirits were weighed down with the view of past calamities, and with the apprehension of those which threatened his family and his country. Defeated by the Turks, circumvented and curbed by France, surrounded by rival claimants of his dignities and possessions, there was little in the prospect to cheer or console him. His

CHAP.
IV.
1742.

1720
to
1730.

CHAP. bodily constitution was undermined, and an attack of indigestion
IV. proved fatal to his life in October 1740. To what a tremendous
1741. station was Maria Theresa now called ! very young, and ignorant of government, there seemed to be but one inheritance which descended to her unquestioned—the pride of her family. But she possessed qualities of her own which well fitted her for empire, and to assert every one of her claims in that perilous crisis. The subtle and enterprising Prussian, the aspiring Bavarian, the intriguing Frenchman, ever watchful to increase his vast power and possessions, were all intent upon Austria with a vulture's eye. The intentions of the Prussian were soon developed by his actions. With astonishing secrecy and address, he despatched an army into Silesia ; revived some antiquated claims of his family to parts of that duchy, and waited the return of his envoy from Vienna, in the attitude of one determined to take no denial to his proposals. But he had to deal with a sovereign who, although a woman, young, lovely, and inexperienced, possessed a most heroic and undaunted soul. The demands of the King of Prussia were indignantly rejected by Maria Theresa, and an Austrian army collected to resist and expel him from Silesia. Her success, however, was not proportionate to her spirit. Victory declared for the King of Prussia at the battle of Molwitz, in April 1741. To the credit of the victor, it must be allowed, that he did not become presumptuous by success. He still proffered the same terms of reconciliation. The interests of her subjects, and the posture of Europe, imperatively called upon Maria Theresa to accept those terms. It is, doubtless, a duty which every sovereign owes to his people, his forefathers, and his posterity, to preserve his empire, as extensively as possible, from the invader's encroachment. But there are emergencies when a sacrifice of territory is unavoidable. The good and wise sovereign will ever consider the general welfare and happiness of his subjects : he will not obstinately shut his eyes to his real situation : he will not mistake the feelings of his own offended pride for those of the country at large, but, for the security of the whole, will sometimes consent to sacrifice a small part of his possessions. What was it then

which prevented the Queen of Hungary from gaining an ally so powerful and so necessary as Prussia, by the cession of a few towns in Silesia? It proceeded from three causes, the first and greatest of which was the pride of Maria Theresa, which revolted at the idea of being dictated to by one whom she considered as the vassal of her father; the second was the expectation she cherished of being supported by England in this haughty resolution; and the third was her infatuation in not perceiving the deceitful language and hostile intentions of France.

CHAP.
IV.
1741.

I have already observed that at the time of the Emperor Charles the VIth's death, Sir R. Walpole's influence with George II. was somewhat declining. It was the wish and constant endeavour of that minister and of his brother Horace Walpole, to effect a reconciliation between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia. But the enthusiastic spirit which prevailed throughout England in favor of the former Sovereign, and George the IInd's antipathy to Frederick were well known to the court of Vienna. They knew that under such circumstances they were sure of obtaining supplies from Great Britain. This rendered them cold and insincere in their negotiations with Prussia. On the very eve of the battle of Molwitz the King of England addressed the following speech to his Parliament from the throne: "At the opening of this session I took notice to you of the death of the late Emperor, and of my resolution to adhere to the engagements I am under, in order to the maintaining of the balance of power and the liberties of Europe on that important occasion. The assurances I received from you in return to this communication, were perfectly agreeable to that zeal and vigour which this parliament has always exerted in the support of the honor and interest of my crown and kingdoms, and of the common cause.

"The war which has since broken out, and been carried on in part of the Austrian dominions and the various and extensive claims which are publicly made on the late Emperor's succession are new events, that require the utmost care and attention, as they may involve all Europe in a bloody war, and in consequence expose the dominions

CHAP. of such princes as shall take part in support of the Pragmatic Sanction
 IV.
 1741. to imminent and immediate danger. The Queen of Hungary has
 already made a requisition of the 12,000 men expressly stipulated by
 treaty; and thereupon I have demanded of the King of Denmark and
 of the King of Sweden, as Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, their respective
 bodies of troops, consisting of 6,000 men each to be in readiness to
 march forthwith to the assistance of her Hungarian Majesty. I am
 also concerting such further measures as may obviate and disappoint
 the dangerous designs and attempts that may be forming, or carried
 on in favour of any unjust pretensions, to the prejudice of the House
 of Austria. In this complicated, and uncertain state of things, many
 incidents may arise, during the time when, by reason of the approach-
 ing conclusion of this parliament, it may be impossible for me to have
 your advice and assistance, which may make it necessary for me to
 enter into still larger expenses for maintaining the Pragmatic Sanc-
 tion. In a conjuncture so critical, I have thought it proper to lay
 these important considerations before you, and to desire the concur-
 rence of my parliament in enabling me to contribute, in the most
 effectual manner, to the support of the Queen of Hungary, the
 preventing, by all reasonable means, the subversion of the House of
 Austria, and to the maintaining the liberties and balance of power in
 Europe^d."

Mr. Clutterbuck, one of the Lords of the Treasury, opened the
 debate in the House of Commons, and, in the course of his speech,
 made some severe reflections upon the conduct of the King of Prussia.
 Mr. Henry Fox observed, "that if we suffer the House of Austria to
 be overborne, our posterity through every generation may have reason
 to curse our injudicious parsimony, our fatal inactivity, and our
 perfidious cowardice. With what views the King of Prussia concurs
 in the measures of France, or upon what principles of policy he
 promises to himself any security in the enjoyment of his new domi-
 nions, it is not easy to conjecture; but as it is easy to discover that

^d Journals—Chandler.

whatever he may propose to himself, his conduct evidently tends to the ruin of Austria, so he may, in my opinion, justly be opposed, if he cannot be diverted or made easy^f.”

CHAP.
IV.
1741.

In the short speech attributed to Mr. Viner, on this occasion, the following sensible remarks are worthy of attention: “If I mistake not the true intention of the address proposed, we are invited to declare that we will oppose the King of Prussia in his attempts upon Silesia, a declaration in which I knew not how any man can concur who knows not the nature of his claim, and the laws of the empire. It ought therefore, Sir, to have been the first endeavour of those by whom this address has been so zealously supported, to shew that his claim, so publicly explained, so firmly urged, and so strongly supported, is without foundation and reason, and is only one of those imaginary titles, which ambition may always find, to the dominions of another^f.”

On the 13th of April a grant of 300,000*l.* was voted to the Queen of Hungary. But notwithstanding this pecuniary aid, which prevented an accommodation with Prussia, the situation of that princess soon became most deplorable and forlorn. Almost all the states of Germany were leagued against her. The Elector of Bavaria was her enemy, the open claimant of most of her dominions. The Electors of Cologne, Saxony and the Palatine espoused his quarrel. But the most powerful and the most dangerous of her adversaries was France. Whilst secretly encouraging and assisting the Elector of Bavaria, France had long deluded Maria Theresa with vague assurances of friendship. But this mask was now removed. The Elector of Bavaria, assisted by one large French army took possession of Lintz, and was inaugurated Duke of Austria. The consternation, excited by his successes in Vienna, was extreme, and that city was in dread of an instant siege and reduction. Bohemia became subject to the Bavarian: he was crowned King at Prague, and hourly expected the imperial diadem. Another French army, under Maillebois, spread terror

^e Gentleman's Magazine, 1742.

^f I have been more full in giving extracts from this debate, as no historian, excepting Coxe, has mentioned it, and Chandler has omitted it in his collection.

CHAP through Westphalia; menacing Hanover, it deterred George II. from
 IV. his intended active interposition in favor of Maria Theresa, and
 1742. induced him to promise not to oppose the elevation of the Elector of Bavaria⁸. Whilst so many neighbouring kingdoms were intent on the destruction of Austria, and eagerly anticipating the spoil, Spain wished not to remain inactive. The restless Queen, Elizabeth Farnese, who, exclusively, directed the affairs of that kingdom, despatched 20,000 Spaniards under Montemar, into Naples, and another army soon after, under her second son Don Philip, through Dauphine and Savoy into Austrian Lombardy. Such was the mournful situation of Maria Theresa. But if dejected by her situation, she was not of a disposition to give way to despair. She knew, better than her ministers, the dispositions of her Hungarian subjects. To their generosity she determined to appeal. The heroism of her character, the beauty of her person, and the singular difficulty of her situation, were calculated to warm every heart in her cause, and nerve every arm in her defence. Perhaps the effect produced at this time by her appearance in the midst of her subjects at Presburg was never exceeded. What an appeal to chivalry was there! A woman—young—lovely—in tears—their sovereign. How many strings of every heart must then have vibrated! The appeal was irresistible.

“The Queen, the beauty, sets the world in arms.”

At length convinced of the necessity of detaching Prussia from the general confederacy against her, Maria Theresa concluded an

⁸ The designs of France in aiding the Elector of Bavaria are thus described by the penetrating and selfish King of Prussia. “Le ministère de Versailles étoit dans la persuasion que c’en étoit fait de la Puissance Autrichienne, et qu’on alloit la détruire pour jamais. Il vouloit élever, sur les ruines de cet Empire, quatre souverains dont les forces pourroient se balancer réciproquement; savoir, la reine de Hongrie, qui guarderoit ce royaume, l’Autriche, la Styrie, la Carinthie et la Carniole; l’électeur de Bavière, maître de la Bohême, du Tyrol et du Brisgau; la Prusse avec la basse Silésie; enfin, la Saxe joignant la haute Silésie et la Moravie à ses autres possessions. Ces quatre voisins n’auroient jamais pu se comporter à la longue, et la France se préparoit à jouer le rôle d’arbitre et à dominer sur des despotes qu’elle auroit établis elle-même.” —*Histoire de mon temps. Chap. iv.*

armistice with that Sovereign. Although this was of short duration, it enabled her to employ the undivided energies of her subjects against the French and Bavarians. By the influence and intrigues of France the Elector of Bavaria was elected Emperor in February 1742. But, however elated he might be for the moment, in thus wresting the imperial diadem from the House of Austria, he had little cause to triumph. The very day which gave him this poor nominal ascendancy over his rival, beheld the armies of that rival in possession of his own capital. Meantime the King of Prussia renewed hostilities against Austria, and soon afterwards defeated Prince Charles of Lorraine in the battle of Czaslau. But, although victorious, Frederick was convinced of the sinister designs of France in thus opposing one German state against another, and was therefore desirous to terminate the war. He made overtures of accommodation to the Queen of Hungary, and peace was concluded between these two powers, although at a much greater sacrifice of territory on the part of Austria, than was originally demanded by Prussia. For a considerable time after this, success attended the arms of Austria, and so elated the Queen of Hungary, that she not only entertained hopes of recovering the possessions she had lost, but indulged in the most visionary anticipations of adding largely to her grandeur and dominion at the expence of Bavaria and France.

On the 10th of December, 1742, a motion being made in the House of Commons by Sir William Yonge that 265,191*l.* 6*s.* 5½*d.* be granted for defraying the charge of 5513 horse and 10,755 foot of the troops of Hanover together with the general officers and the train of artillery in the pay of Great Britain from August 31st to 25th December, 1742 inclusive, a long debate ensued in which many able speakers took part. Sir J. S. Aubin and Lord Quarendon opposed the motion, Mr. Bladen and Mr. Fox supported it. The latter gentleman having at the conclusion of his speech observed that, "he should vote for the continuance of these measures, till better should be proposed, and should think that those troops ought to be retained, unless it could be shewn that others might be had who

CHAP. might be less dangerous or of greater use," Mr. Pitt answered him
 IV. thus^b :
 1742.

" If the Honorable Gentleman determines to abandon his present sentiments as soon as any better measures are proposed, the ministry will quickly be deprived of one of their ablest defenders : for I consider the measures hitherto pursued, so weak and so pernicious, that scarcely any alteration can be proposed that will not be for the advantage of the nation.

" The Honorable Gentleman has already been informed, that no necessity existed for hiring auxiliary troops. It does not appear that either justice or policy required us to engage in the quarrels of the continent : that there was any need of forming an army in the Low countries ; or, that in order to form an army, auxiliaries were necessary.

" But, not to dwell upon disputable points, I think it may justly be concluded that the measures of our ministry have been ill concerted, because it is undoubtedly wrong to squander the public money without effect : to pay armies, only to be a shew to our friends, and a scorn to our enemies.

" The troops of Hanover, whom we are now expected to pay, marched into the Low countries, Sir, where they still remain. They marched to the place most distant from the enemy, least in danger of an attack, and most strongly fortified, had an attack been designed. They have, therefore, no other claim to be paid, than that they left their own country for a place of greater security. It is always reasonable to judge of the future by the past, and therefore it is probable that next year the services of these troops will not be of equal importance with those for which they are now to be paid. I shall not, therefore, be surprised, if, after such another glorious campaign, the opponents of the ministry be challenged to propose better men, and be told that the money of this nation cannot be more properly employed than in hiring Hanoverians to eat and sleep.

^b This Speech, with a few variations, is taken from Chandler's Collection of Debates.

“ But to prove, yet more particularly, that better measures may be taken ; that more useful troops may be retained ; and that, therefore, the Honorable Gentleman may be expected to quit those to whom he now adheres ; I shall shew that, in hiring the forces of Hanover, we have obstructed our own designs ; that, instead of assisting the Queen of Hungary, we have withdrawn from her a part of the allies, and have burthened the nation with troops from which no service can reasonably be expected. CHAP.
IV.
1742.

“ The advocates of the ministry have, on this occasion, affected to speak of the balance of power, the Pragmatic Sanction, and the preservation of the Queen of Hungary, not only as if they were to be the chief care of Great Britain, which, (although easily controvertible,) might, in compliance with long prejudices, be possibly admitted ; but as if they were to be the care of Great Britain alone. These advocates, Sir, have spoken as if the power of France were formidable to no other people than ourselves ; as if no other part of the world would be injured by becoming a prey to an universal monarchy, and subject to the arbitrary government of a French deputy ; by being drained of its inhabitants only to extend the conquests of its masters, and to make other nations equally wretched ; and by being oppressed with exorbitant taxes, levied by military executions, and employed only in supporting the state of its oppressors. They dwell upon the importance of public faith, and the necessity of an exact observation of treaties, as if the Pragmatic Sanction had been signed by no other potentate than the King of Great Britain ; as if the public faith were to be obligatory upon ourselves alone.

“ That we should inviolably observe our treaties—observe them although every other nation should disregard them ; that we should shew an example of fidelity to mankind, and stand firm in the practice of virtue, though we should stand alone, I readily allow. I am, therefore, far from advising that we should recede from our stipulations whatever we may suffer in their fulfilment ; or that we should neglect the support of the Pragmatic Sanction, however we may be at present embarrassed, or however disadvantageous may be its assertion.

CHAP.
IV.
1742.

“ But surely, Sir, for the same reason that we observe our stipulations, we ought to excite other powers also to observe their own: at the least, Sir, we ought not to assist in preventing them from doing so. But how is our present conduct agreeable to these principles? The Pragmatic Sanction was guaranteed, not only by the King of Great Britain, but by the Elector of Hanover also, who, (if treaties constitute obligation,) is thereby equally obliged to defend the House of Austria against the attacks of any foreign power, and to send his proportion of troops for the Queen of Hungary's support.

“ Whether these troops have been sent, those whose province obliges them to possess some knowledge of foreign affairs, are better able to inform the House than myself: but, since we have not heard them mentioned in this debate, and since we know by experience that none of the merits of that Electorate are passed over in silence, it may, I think, be concluded, that the distresses of the Queen of Hungary have yet received no alleviation from her alliance with Hanover; that her complaints have excited no compassion at that court, and that the justice of her cause has obtained no attention.

“ To what can be attributed this negligence of treaties, this disregard of justice, this defect of compassion, but to the pernicious counsels of those who have advised his Majesty to hire and to send elsewhere those troops which should have been employed for the Queen of Hungary's assistance. It is not to be imagined, Sir, that his Majesty has more or less regard to justice as King of Great Britain, than as Elector of Hanover; or that he would not have sent his proportion of troops to the Austrian army, had not the temptation of greater profit been laid industriously before him. But this is not all that may be urged against such conduct. For, can we imagine that the power, that the designs of France, are less formidable to Hanover than Great Britain? Is it less necessary for the security of Hanover than of ourselves, that the House of Austria should be re-established in its former splendor and influence, and enabled to support the liberties of Europe against the enormous attempts at universal monarchy by France.

“ If, therefore, our assistance be an act of honesty, and granted in consequence of treaties, why may it not be equally required of Hanover ? If it be an act of generosity, why should this nation alone be obliged to sacrifice her own interests for those of others ? or why should the Elector of Hanover exert his liberality at the expence of Great Britain alone ?

CHAP.
IV.
1742.

“ It is now too apparent, Sir, that this powerful, this great, this mighty nation, is considered only as a province to a despicable Electorate ; and that in consequence of a plan formed long ago, and invariably pursued, these troops are hired only to drain us of our money. That they have hitherto been of no use to Great Britain or to Austria, is evident beyond a doubt ; and therefore it is plain that they are retained only for the purposes of Hanover.

“ How much reason the transactions of almost every year have given for suspecting this absurd, ungrateful, and perfidious partiality, it is not necessary to declare. I doubt not that most of those who sit in this House can recollect a great number of instances in point, from the purchase of part of the Swedish dominions, to the contract which we are now called upon to ratify. Few, I think, can have forgotten the memorable stipulation for the Hessian troops : for the forces of the Duke of Wolfenbuttle, which we were scarcely to march beyond the verge of their own country : or the ever memorable treaty, the tendency of which is discovered in the name. A treaty by which we disunited ourselves from Austria, destroyed that building, which we now endeavour, perhaps in vain, to raise again ; and weakened the only power to which it was our interest to give strength.

“ To dwell upon all the instances of partiality which have been shewn, and the yearly visits which have been paid to that *delightful* country : to reckon up all the sums that have been spent to aggrandize and enrich it, would be an irksome and invidious task—invidious to those who are afraid to be told the truth, and irksome to those who are unwilling to hear of the dishonour and injuries of their country. I shall dwell no longer upon this unpleasing subject than to express my hope that we shall no longer suffer ourselves to be deceived and

CHAP. oppressed : that we shall at length perform our duty as representatives
 IV. of the people : and, by refusing to ratify this contract, shew, that
 1742. however the interests of Hanover have been preferred by the ministers, the Parliament pays no regard but to the interests of Great Britain."

Few questions have ever agitated the country more than that respecting the employment of the Hanover troops. It was the general theme of discussion both in the writings and conversation of the day. That formidable pamphlet, "The case of the Hanover troops in the pay of Great Britain," had then just made its appearance. This is said by Horace, Lord Orford, to have been written by, or under the direction of, Pitt, Lyttleton, and Doddington. Archdeacon Coxe attributes it to Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Waller. The senior Horace Walpole, although he professes himself ignorant of the author, appears to have considered Mr. Pitt as concerned in it, at least he charges him with taking his opinions from the pamphlet, and in answer to the speech which I have given above, made the following violent remarks.

"I have hitherto imagined that the weekly journalists, and the occasional pamphleteers, were the oracles only of the lowest of the people, and that all those, whom their birth or fortune has exalted above the crowd, and introduced to a more extensive conversation, had considered them as wretches, compelled to write by want, and obliged, therefore, to write what will most engage attention, by flattering the envy or malignity of mankind, and who, therefore, propagate falsehoods, not because they themselves believe them, and disseminate faction, not because they themselves are of any party, but because they are obliged to gratify their employers, either to amuse the public with novelties, or disturb it with alarms, in order that their works may not pass unregarded, and their labour be spent in vain. This is my opinion of the party writers, and this I imagined the opinion

¹ Horace, Lord Orford, inaccurately says, that this pamphlet appeared in 1744. Vide *Memoires*.

of the rest of mankind, who had the same opportunities of information with myself; nor should I readily have believed, that any of their performances could have produced greater effects than those of inflaming the lowest of the people, and inciting the dregs of society to insult their superiors, had I not perceived that the Honorable Gentleman, who spoke last, owed his opinions of the partiality shewn to the dominions of Hanover, to a late treatise which has, on occasion of this contract, been very industriously dispersed among the people.

“Of this detestable pamphlet I know not the author, nor do I think that he deserves that any enquiry should be made after him, excepting by a proclamation, that may set a price upon his head, and offer the same reward for discovering him as is given for the conviction of wretches less criminal. Indeed I cannot think the lenity of the government can easily be distinguished from negligence and supineness, whilst libels like this are dispersed openly in the streets, and sold in shops, without fear, and without danger. Sedition is thus openly promoted, and treason, or sentiments very nearly bordering on treason, are thus propagated without disguise^k.”

Whatever may be our opinions of the treatise in question, it is certain that Horace Walpole deserved more praise for answering it by fair argument in his pamphlet entitled, “The interest of Great Britain steadily pursued,” than he did by thus loading it in his speech with unmeaning invective. Sir William Yonge’s motion was carried by a majority of 260 against 193.

The following most interesting comparison between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Murray^l in the debates which arose upon the question respecting the Hanover troops, is thus given by Mr. Oswald in a letter to Mr. Home^m. “On the first day Murray was introduced to support the court, which he did in a set speech extremely methodical, with great perspicuity, and very fine colouring. He was replied to by Pitt, who, in the most masterly manner, laying hold of the weakest parts of his

^k Gent. Mag. vol. xiv. p. 124.

^l Afterwards Earl of Mansfield.

^m See Memorials of the Right Honorable James Oswald, published in 1825.

CHAP. speech, with the greatest strength of expression, and in the most
 IV.
 1742. manly style I ever witnessed, turned almost all his colours against
 him. Murray had laid a good deal of stress on exposing the inconsistency of advising one thing the one year, and the next abusing it, merely through a spirit of opposition. Pitt shewed how the object was varied, but varied by the ministers; and then turned every argument Murray had employed against himself. The one spoke like a pleader, and could not divest himself of a certain appearance of having been employed by others. The other spoke like a gentleman, like a statesman, who felt what he said, and possessed the strongest desire of conveying that feeling to others, for their own interest, and that of their country. Murray *gains* your attention by the perspicuity of his arguments, and the elegance of his diction. Pitt *commands* your attention and respect, by the nobleness, the greatness of his sentiments, the strength and energy of his expressions, and the certainty you are in of his always rising to a greater elevation both of thought and style. For this talent he possesses beyond any speaker I ever heard, of never falling from the beginning to the end of his speech, either in thought or in expression. And, as in this session he has begun to speak like a man of business, as well as an orator, he will in all probability be, or rather at present is, allowed to make as great an appearance as ever man did in that House. Murray has not spoken since, on the other two debates, where his rival carried all before him, being very unequally matched with Pelham, Young and Winnington. I dare say you will scarce be able to read this scrawl, which I have drawn to an immeasurable length, from the difficulty I find in having done when Pitt is the subject; for I think him sincerely the most finished character I ever knew."

CHAPTER V.

1743.

Death of Cardinal Fleury—Its ill consequences to France—Battle of Dettingen—Death of Lord Wilmington, who is succeeded at the Treasury by Mr. Pelham—Lord Carteret's want of popularity—Meeting of Parliament—King's speech—Address of the Commons—Mr. Pitt's speech upon the address—Remarks upon that speech—Speeches of Mr. Pitt on the 6th and on the 15th of December.

ON the 30th January, 1743, France sustained a heavy loss by the death of the celebrated Cardinal Fleury, who had been seventeen years at the head of the government. He died in the ninety-first year of his age, and has appropriately been styled by Voltaire the Nestor of France. If the similarity between this minister and Sir R. Walpole, as to political sentiment, was striking, it was no less so between his successor and Lord Carteret. Cardinal Tencin, the new minister of state, was as bold and impetuous as Fleury had been cautious and unenterprising. The death of Cardinal Fleury operated most unfavourably upon the councils of France. The ministry were men of opposite views and characters, and scarcely one of them was adapted for his own department. The same disagreement prevailed in their armies, and their campaigns were disastrous. George II. having entered with great zeal into the Queen of Hungary's cause, arrived in the camp of the allies on the 9th June, 1743. Soon after this, the English troops had an opportunity of exerting those efforts, which, at the present day, have become as proverbial for their success, as they always have been for their valour. I shall be forgiven, if in speaking of the victory gained on the 19th June, 1743, I revert to the hero of that most illustrious one, which now for ever marks the

CHAP.
1743.

CHAP. preceding day on our calendar. The victory of Dettingen was signal,
 V. but it was followed by no advantages to the victors. How different
 1743. would have been the results had a Wellington commanded! The battles of Wellington have not been merely marked by the long details of enemies killed, wounded, or made prisoners; by the flags and cannon captured; they have been most conspicuous by their results. The allies were chiefly indebted for the victory of Dettingen to the rashness of two of the enemy's generals, M. de Harcourt and M. de Grammont. In their eagerness to signalise their valor, they overlooked the superior position which the French army enjoyed, and gave battle to disadvantage^a. In addition to this, it must be observed, that many of their troops behaved most disgracefully, and fled very early in the engagement^b. But if the French Marshal, de Noailles, was unsuccessful at Dettingen, he merely experienced a reverse, to which the greatest generals are exposed. His conduct after that battle is deserving of much higher praise than that which any victory can bestow. Be it recorded, to his eternal honor, that he cherished the sick and wounded, which his enemy left on the field of Dettingen, with the greatest tenderness and care.

In the September following the treaty of Worms was concluded, between the King of Great Britain, the King of Sardinia, and the Queen of Hungary. The terms of this treaty were dictated, neither by justice nor expediency. Whilst it imposed a heavy burthen upon England, it sanctioned also a gross violation of the rights of Genoa.

In July, 1743, the Earl of Wilmington, who had long been in an infirm state of health, and little more than a cypher in the cabinet, died, and was succeeded at the Treasury by Mr. Pelham. This appointment was owing to the secret influence of Lord Orford, and was directly opposite to the wishes of Lord Carteret, who had earnestly

^a On appella cette action la journée des bâtons rompus, parceque M. de Harcourt and M. de Grammont n'avoient attaqué que dans l'esperance d'obtenir le bâton de Maréchal, comme une recompense due à leur valeur.—*Histoire de mon temps.*

^b Les gardes Francoises ne soutinrent pas la première décharge des Autrichiens; elles prirent la fuite d'une manière honteuse, et se précipitèrent dans le Mein, où elles se noyèrent. On donna aux Gardes François le sobriquet de Canards de Mein.—*Histoire de mon temps.*

requested the King to confer it on the Earl of Bath. All those who had acted under Sir R. Walpole saw Mr. Pelham's rise with the highest satisfaction. He had for some years been considered as a useful and elegant speaker, a sound practical man of business, deficient, indeed, in genius and energy of character, but possessing a clear judgment, amiable manners, and an unblemished reputation. A misunderstanding between Lord Carteret, and the Pelhams had long existed, and the situation of the former now became very critical and embarrassing. He stood nearly alone, against the united efforts of the old Walpole party, many of the cabinet ministers, and the whole force of opposition. He possessed, indeed, the favor and confidence of the King, but was, on this account, the more unpopular. The grossest exaggerations, relative to his conduct, prevailed among the people, nor was the character of the sovereign spared. It was said that the inactivity of the allies, subsequent to the battle of Dettingen, was owing to the councils of Lord Carteret, that the partiality of the King to his electoral subjects was so evident that he had worn the Hanoverian scarf during the battle: that the advice of the English general had been despised: and that the cowardice of the Hanoverian troops had nearly occasioned a defeat to the allies. Although the greater part of these assertions were unfounded, they served the purposes of those who uttered them, and inflamed the minds of the people to the highest pitch of indignation. Parliament met on Thursday the 1st December, 1743. The King's speech related, principally, to the past events upon the continent, and to the general plan to be pursued in behalf of the Queen of Hungary. The following is an extract from the address of the House of Commons to his Majesty. "We beg leave to congratulate your Majesty on your safe and happy return into this kingdom; and with hearts full of gratitude, we acknowledge the goodness of Divine Providence to this nation, in protecting your Majesty's sacred person amidst the imminent dangers to which your invaluable life has been exposed, in defence of the common cause, and of the liberties of Europe. Your Majesty's regard and attention to the advice of your Parliament in exerting your en-

CHAP.
V.
1743.

CHAP. V.
1743. deavours for the preservation of the House of Austria, require our warmest acknowledgements; and it is with the highest satisfaction we reflect on the success of your Majesty's arms in the prosecution of this great and necessary work, with so much glory to yourself, and honor to the nation."

The usual address to the speech from the throne being moved, Mr. Pitt expressed his opinion against the motion in words to the following effect^c:

" From the proposition before the House, Sir, we may perceive, that, whatever alteration has been, or may be, produced by the late change in administration with respect to foreign measures, we can expect none with regard to our domestic affairs. In foreign measures, indeed, a most extraordinary change has taken place. From one extreme our administration have run to the very verge of another. Our former minister betrayed the interests of his country by his cowardice; our present minister would sacrifice them to his quixotism. Our former minister was for negotiating with all the world; our present minister is for fighting against all the world. Our former minister was for agreeing to every treaty, however dishonorable; our present minister will give ear to none, although the most reasonable that can be desired. Thus, whilst both appear to be extravagant, this difference results from their opposite conduct; that the wild system of the one must subject the nation to a much heavier expenditure than was ever incurred by the pusillanimity of the other. The Honorable Gentleman who spoke last was correct in saying, that in the beginning of the session we could know nothing, in a parliamentary way, of the measures that had been pursued. I believe, Sir, we shall know as little, in that way, at the end of the session; for our new minister, in this, as in every other step of his domestic conduct, will follow the example of his predecessor, and put a negative upon every motion which may tend towards our acquiring any Parliamentary knowledge

^c The following speech is taken, with a few slight variations, from the *London Magazine* for the year 1744. Mr. Pitt spoke in answer to the Honorable Edward Coke who moved, and to the Honorable Philip Yorke, who seconded the Address.

of our late proceedings. But if we possess no knowledge of these proceedings, it is, surely, as strong an argument for our not approving, as it can be for our not condemning them. Sir, were nothing relating to our late measures proposed to be inserted in our address upon this occasion, those measures would not have been noticed by me; but when an approbation is proposed, I am compelled to employ the knowledge I possess, whether Parliamentary or otherwise, in order that I may join or not in the vote of approbation. What though my knowledge of our late measures were derived from foreign and domestic newspapers alone, even of that knowledge I must avail myself, when obliged to express my opinion; and when from that knowledge I apprehend them to be wrong, it is my duty, surely, to withhold my approbation. I am bound to persist in thus withholding it till the minister be pleased to furnish me with such Parliamentary knowledge as may convince me that I have been misinformed. This would be my proper line of conduct when, from the knowledge I possess, instead of approving any late measures, I think it more reasonable to condemn them. But supposing, Sir, from the knowledge within my reach, that I consider those measures to be sound, even then I ought not to approve unless such knowledge can warrant approval. Now, as no sort of knowledge but a Parliamentary knowledge can authorize a Parliamentary approbation, for this reason alone I ought to refuse it. If, therefore, that which is now proposed contain any sort of approbation, my refusing to agree to it conveys no censure, but is a simple declaration that we possess not such knowledge of past measures as affords sufficient grounds for a Parliamentary approbation. A Parliamentary approbation, Sir, extends not only to all that our ministers have advised, but to the acknowledgment of the truth of several facts which enquiry may shew to be false, of facts which, at least, have been asserted without authority and proof. Suppose, Sir, it should appear that his Majesty was exposed to few or no dangers abroad, but those to which he is daily liable at home, such as the overturning of his coach, or the stumbling of his horse, would not the address proposed, instead of

CHAP. being a compliment, be an affront and an insult to the sovereign?
 V.
 1743. Suppose it should appear that our ministers have shewn no regard to the advice of Parliament; that they have exerted their endeavours, not for the preservation of the House of Austria, but to involve that House in dangers which otherwise it might have avoided, and which it is scarcely possible for us now to avert; suppose it should appear, that a body of Dutch troops, although they marched to the Rhine, have never joined our army; suppose it should appear, that the treaty with Sardinia is not yet ratified by all the parties concerned, or that it is one with whose terms it is impossible they should comply: if these things should appear on enquiry, would not the address proposed be most ridiculously absurd? Now, what assurance have we that all these facts will not turn out as I have imagined?

“ Upon the death of the late Emperor of Germany, it was the interest of this nation, I grant, that the Queen of Hungary should be established in her father's dominions, and that her husband, the Duke of Lorraine, should be chosen emperor. This was our interest, because it would have been the best security for the preservation of the balance of power; but we had no other interest, and it was one which we had in common with all the powers of Europe excepting France. We were not, therefore, to take upon us the sole support of this interest; and, therefore, when the King of Prussia attacked Silesia, when the King of Spain, the King of Poland, and the Duke of Bavaria laid claim to the late Emperor's succession, we might have seen that the establishment of the Queen of Hungary in all her father's dominions was impracticable, especially as the Dutch refused to interfere, excepting by good offices. What then ought we to have done? Since we could not preserve the whole, is it not evident that, in order to bring over some of the claimants to our side, we ought to have advised her to yield up part? Upon this we ought to have insisted, and the claimant whom first we should have considered was the King of Prussia, both because he was one of the most neutral, and one of the most powerful allies with whom we could treat. For this reason it was certainly incumbent upon us to advise the Queen of Hungary to

accept the terms offered by the King of Prussia when he first invaded Silesia. Nay, not only should we have advised, we should have insisted upon this as the condition upon which we would assist her against the claims of others. To this the Court of Vienna must have assented ; and, in this case, whatever protestations the other claimants might have made, I am persuaded that the Queen of Hungary would to this day have remained the undisturbed possessor of the rest of her father's dominions, and that her husband, the Duke of Lorraine, would have been now seated on the imperial throne.

“ This salutary measure was not pursued. This appears, Sir, not only from the Gazettes, but from our Parliamentary knowledge : for from the papers which have been either accidentally or necessarily laid before Parliament, it appears, that instead of insisting that the Court of Vienna should agree to the terms offered by Prussia, we rather encouraged the obstinacy of that court in rejecting them. We did this, Sir, not by our memorials alone, but by his Majesty's speech to his Parliament, by the consequent addresses of both Houses, and by speeches directed by our courtiers against the King of Prussia^d. I allude, Sir, to his Majesty's speech on the 8th April, 1741, to the celebrated addresses on that occasion for guaranteeing the dominions of Hanover, and for granting £300,000 to enable his Majesty to support the Queen of Hungary. The speeches made on that occasion by several of our favourites at Court, and their reflections on the King of Prussia, must be fresh in the memory of all. All must remember, too, that the Queen of Hungary was not then, nor for some months after, attacked by any one prince in Europe excepting the King of Prussia : she must therefore have supposed that both the court and nation of Great Britain were resolved to support her, not only against the King of Prussia, but against all the world. We cannot, therefore, be surprised that the Court of Vienna evinced an unwillingness to part with so plenteous a country as that claimed by the King of Prussia—the Lordship of Silesia.

^d See previous Chapter.

CHAP.
V.
1743.

“ But, Sir, this was not all. Not only had we promised our assistance to the Queen of Hungary, but we had actually commenced a negociation for a powerful alliance against the King of Prussia, and for dividing his dominions amongst the allies. We had solicited, not only the Queen of Hungary, but also the Muscovites and the Dutch, to form parts of this alliance. We had taken both Danes and Hessians into our pay, in support of this alliance. Nay, even Hanover had subjected herself to heavy expenses on the occasion, by adding a force of nearly one third to the army she had already on foot. This, Sir, was, I believe, the first extraordinary expense which Hanover had incurred since her fortunate conjunction with England; the first, I say, notwithstanding the great acquisitions she has made, and the many heavy expenses in which England has been involved upon her sole account.

“ If, therefore, the Queen of Hungary was obstinate in regard to the claims of Prussia, her obstinacy must be ascribed to ourselves. To us must be imputed those misfortunes which she subsequently experienced. It was easy to promise her our assistance whilst the French seemed determined not to interfere with Germany. It was safe to engage in schemes for her support and for the enlargement of the Hanoverian dominions, because Prussia could certainly not oppose an equal resistance to the Queen of Hungary alone, much less so to that Queen when supported by Hanover and the whole power of Great Britain. During this posture of affairs, it was safe for us, I say, it was safe for Hanover, to promise assistance, and to concert schemes in support of the Queen of Hungary. But no sooner did France come forward, than our schemes were at an end, our promises forgotten. The safety of Hanover was then involved, and England it seems, is not to be bound by promises, nor engaged in schemes, which, by possibility, may endanger or distress the electorate. From this time, Sir, we thought no more of assisting the Queen of Hungary, excepting by grants which were made by Parliament. These, indeed, our ministers did not oppose, because they contrive to make a job of every Parliamentary grant. But from the miserable inactivity in

which we allowed the Danish and Hessian troops to remain, notwithstanding that they received our pay ; and from the insult tamely submitted to by our Squadron in the Mediterranean, we must conclude that our ministers, from the time the French interfered, resolved not to assist the Queen of Hungary by land or sea. Thus, having drawn that Princess forward on the ice by our promises, we left her to retreat as she could. Thus it was, Sir, that the Duke of Bavaria became Emperor ; thus it was that the House of Austria was stripped of great part of its dominions, and was in the utmost danger of being stript of all, had France been bent on its destruction. Sir, the House of Austria was saved by the policy of France, who wished to reduce but not absolutely to destroy it. Had Austria been ruined, the power of the Duke of Bavaria, who had been elected Emperor, would have risen higher than was consistent with the interests of France. It was the object of France to foment divisions amongst the Princes of Germany, to reduce them by mutual strife, and then to render the Houses of Bavaria, Austria, and Saxony nearly equal by partitions.

“ It was this policy which restrained the French from sending so powerful an army into Germany, as they might otherwise have sent. And then, through the bad conduct of their generals, and through the skill and bravery of the officers and troops of the Queen of Hungary, a great improvement in her affairs was effected. This occurred about the time of the late changes in our administration ; and this leads me to consider the origin of these measures which are now proceeding, and to the situation of Europe at that particular time—February, 1742. But, before I enter upon that consideration, I must lay this down as a maxim to be ever observed by this nation, that, although it be our own interest to preserve a balance of power in Europe, yet, as we are the most remote from danger, we have the least reason to be jealous as to the adjustment of that balance ; and should be the last to take alarm on its account. Now the balance of power may be supported, either by the existence of one single potentate capable of opposing and defeating the ambitious designs of France, or by a well-connected confederacy adequate to the same intent. Of these two

CHAP.
V.
1743.

CHAP. methods, the first, when practicable, is the most eligible, because on that
 V. method we may most safely rely ; but when it cannot be resorted to,
 1743. the whole address of our ministers and plenipotentiaries should tend to establish the second.

“ The wisdom of the maxim, Sir, to which I have adverted, must be acknowledged by all who consider, that when the powers upon the continent apply to us to join them in a war against France, we may take what share in the war we think fit. When we, on the contrary, apply to them, they will prescribe to us. However, some gentlemen may affect to alarm themselves or others by alleging the dependency of all the European powers upon France, of this we may rest assured, that when those powers are really threatened with such dependency they will unite among themselves, and call upon us also, to prevent it. Nay, Sir, should even that dependence imperceptibly ensue ; so soon as they perceived it, they would unite amongst themselves, and call us to join the confederacy by which it might be shaken off. Thus we can never be reduced to stand single in support of the balance of power, nor can we be compelled to call upon our continental neighbours for such purpose, unless when our ministers have an interest in pretending and asserting imaginary dangers.

“ The posture of Europe, since the time of the Romans, is wonderfully changed. In those times each country was divided into many sovereignties. It was then impossible for the people of any one country to unite amongst themselves, and much more impossible for two or three large countries to combine in a general confederacy against the enormous power of Rome. But such confederacy is very practicable now, and may always be effected whenever France, or any one of the powers of Europe, shall endeavour to enslave the rest. I have said, Sir, that the balance of power in Europe may be maintained as securely by a confederacy, as it can be by opposing any one rival power to the power of France. Now let us examine to which of these two methods we ought to have resorted in February, 1742. The imperial diadem was then fallen from the House of Austria ; and although the troops of the Queen of Hungary had met with some

success during the winter, that sovereign was still stript of great part of the Austrian dominions. The power of that House was therefore greatly inferior to what it was at the time of the late Emperor's death, and still more inferior to what it had been in 1716, when we considered it necessary to add Naples and Sardinia to its former acquisitions in order to render it a match for France. Besides this, there existed in 1742 a very powerful confederacy against the House of Austria, whilst no jealousy was harboured by the powers of Europe against the ambition of France. For France, although she had assisted in depressing the House of Austria, had shewn no design of increasing her own dominions. On the other hand, the haughty demeanor of the court of Vienna, and the height to which that House had been raised, excited a spirit of disgust and jealousy in the princes of Germany. That spirit first manifested itself in the House of Hanover, and, at this very time prevailed not only there, but in most of the German sovereignties. Under such circumstances, however weak and erroneous our ministers might be, they could not possibly think of restoring the House of Austria to its former splendor and power, they could not possibly oppose that single house as a rival to France. No power in Europe would have cordially assisted them in that scheme: they would have had to cope, not only with France and Spain, but with all the princes of Germany and Italy, to whom Austria had become obnoxious.

“ In these circumstances, what was this nation to do? What ought our ministers to have done? Since it was impossible to establish the balance of power in Europe upon the single power of the House of Austria; surely, Sir, it was our business to think of restoring the peace of Germany as soon as possible by our good offices, in order to establish a confederacy sufficient to oppose France, should she afterwards discover any ambitious intentions. It was now not so much our business to prevent the lessening the power of the House of Austria, as it was to bring about a speedy reconciliation between the Princes of Germany; to take care that France should get as little by the treaty of peace as she said she expected by the war. This, I say,

CHAP. should have been our chief concern, because the preservation of the
V.
1743. balance of power was now no longer to depend upon the House of
Austria, but upon the joint power of a confederacy then to be formed ;
and till the Princes of Germany were reconciled among themselves,
there was scarcely a possibility of forming such a confederacy. If
we had made this our scheme, the Dutch would have joined heartily
in it. The Germanic body would have joined in it ; and the peace of
Germany might have been restored without putting this nation to any
expense, or diverting us from the prosecution of our just and necessary
war against Spain, in case our differences with that nation could not
have been adjusted by the treaty for restoring the peace of Germany.

“ But our new minister, as I have said, ran into an extreme
quite opposite to that of the old. Our former minister thought of
nothing but negotiating, when he ought to have thought of nothing
but war ; the present minister has thought of nothing but war, or at
least its resemblance, when he ought to have thought of nothing but
negociation.

“ A resolution was taken, and preparations were made, for sending
a body of troops to Flanders, even before we had any hopes of the
King of Prussia's deserting his alliance with France, and without our
being called on to do so by any one power in Europe. I say, Sir,
by any one power in Europe ; for I defy our ministers to shew that
even the Queen of Hungary desired any such thing before it was
resolved on. I believe some of her ministers were free enough to
declare, that the money those troops cost would have done her much
more service ; and I am sure we were so far from being called on by
the Dutch to do so, that it was resolved on without their participation,
and the measures carried into execution, I believe, expressly contrary
to their advice.

“ This resolution, Sir, was so far from having any influence on the
King of Prussia, that he continued firm to his alliance with France,
and fought the battle of Czaslau after he knew it was taken ; and if
he had continued firm in the same sentiments, I am very sure our
troops neither would, nor could have been of the least service to the

Queen of Hungary ; but the battle of Czaslau fully convinced him that the French designed chiefly to play one German prince against another, in order to weaken both ; and perhaps he had before this discovered, that, according to the French scheme, his share of Silesia was not to be so considerable as he expected. These considerations, and not the eloquence or address of any of our ministers, inclined him to come to an agreement with the Queen of Hungary ; and as she was now convinced that she could not depend upon our promises, she readily agreed to his terms, though his demands were now much more extravagant than they were at first ; and what is worse, they were now unaccompanied with any one promise or consideration, except that of a neutrality ; whereas his first demands were made palatable by the tender of a large sum of money, and by the promise of his utmost assistance, not only in supporting the Pragmatic Sanction, but in raising her husband, the Duke of Lorraine, to the imperial throne. Nay, originally, he even insinuated that he would embrace the first opportunity to assist in procuring her House an equivalent for whatever part of Silesia she should resign to him.

CHAP.
V.
1743.

“ This accommodation between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia, and that which soon after followed between her and the Duke of Saxony, produced a very great alteration in the affairs of Europe ; but, as these last powers promised nothing but a neutrality, and as the Dutch absolutely refused to join, either with the Queen of Hungary or ourselves, in any offensive measures against France, it was still impossible for us to think of restoring the House of Austria to such power, as to render it a match for the power of France ; we ought therefore, still to have thought only of negociation, in order to restore the peace of Germany, by an accommodation between her and the Emperor. The distresses to which the Bavarian and French armies in Germany were driven, furnished us with such an opportunity : this we ought by all means to have embraced, and to have insisted on the Queen of Hungary’s doing the same, under the pain of being entirely deserted by us. A peace was offered both by the Emperor and the French, upon the moderate terms of *Uti possidetis*,

CHAP. with respect to Germany; but, for what reason I cannot comprehend,
V.
1743. we were so far from advising the Queen of Hungary to accept, that I
===== believe we advised her to reject, it.

“ This, Sir, was a conduct in our ministers so very extraordinary, so directly opposite to the interest of this nation, and the security of the balance of power, that I can suggest to myself no one reason for it, but that they were resolved to put this nation to the expense of maintaining 16,000 Hanoverians; and this I am afraid was the true motive with our new ministers for all the warlike measures they resolved on. Nothing would now satisfy us but a conquest of Alsace and Lorraine in order to give them to the Queen of Hungary, as an equivalent for what she had lost; and this we resolved on or at least pretended to resolve on, at a time when France and Prussia were in close conjunction; at a time when no one of the powers of Europe could assist us; at a time when none of them entertained a jealousy of the ambitious designs of France; and at a time when most of the Princes of Germany were so zealous of the power of the House of Austria, that we had great reason to apprehend that the most considerable of these would join against us, in case we should meet with any success.

“ Sir, if our ministers were really serious in this scheme, it was one of the most romantic that ever entered the head of an English Quixote; but if they made it only a pretext for putting this nation to the expense of maintaining 16,000 Hanoverians, or of acquiring some new territory for the Electorate of Hanover, I am sure no British House of Commons can approve their conduct. It is absurd, Sir, to say that we could not advise the Queen of Hungary to accept of the terms offered by the Emperor and France, at a time when their troops were cooped up in the city of Prague, and when the terms were offered with a view only to get their troops at liberty and to take the first opportunity to attack her with more vigour. This, I say, is absurd, because had she accepted the terms proposed she might have had them guaranteed by the Dutch, by the German body, and by all the powerful Princes of Germany, which would have brought all these

powers into a confederacy with us against the Emperor and France, if they had afterwards attacked her in Germany; and all of them, but especially the Dutch, and the King of Prussia, would have been ready to join us, had the French attacked her in Flanders. It is equally absurd to say that she could not accept of these terms, because they contained nothing for the security of her dominion in Italy; for suppose the war had continued in Italy, if the Queen of Hungary had been safe upon the side of Germany, she could have poured such a number of troops into Italy, as would have been sufficient to oppose and defeat all the armies that both the French and Spaniards could send to, and maintain in that country; since we could, by our superior fleets, have made it impossible for the French and Spaniards to maintain great armies in that country.

“ No other reason can therefore be assigned for the Queen of Hungary’s refusal of the terms proposed to her for restoring the tranquillity of Germany than this alone, that we had promised to assist her so effectually as to enable her to conquer a part of France, by way of equivalent for what she had lost in Germany and Italy; such assistance it was neither our interest nor in our power to give, considering the circumstances of Europe. I am really surprised that the Queen of Hungary came to trust a second time to our promises; for I may venture to prophesy that she will find herself again deceived. We shall put ourselves to a vast unnecessary expense, as we did when she was first attacked by Prussia; and without being able to raise a jealousy in the other powers of Europe, we shall give France a pretence for conquering Flanders, which, otherwise, she would not have done. We may bring the Queen of Hungary a second time to the verge of destruction, and leave her there; for that we certainly shall do, as soon as Hanover comes to be a second time in danger. From all which I must conclude, that our present scheme of politics is fundamentally wrong, and that the longer we continue to build upon such a foundation, the more dangerous it will be for us. The whole fabric will involve this unfortunate nation in its ruins.

“ But now, Sir, let us see how we have prosecuted this scheme,

CHAP.
V.
1743.

CHAP. bad as it is, during the last campaign. As this nation must bear the
 V. chief part of the expense, it was certainly our business to prosecute
 1743. the war with all possible vigour; to come to action as soon as possible, and to push every advantage to the utmost. Since we soon found that we could not attack the French upon the side of Flanders, why were our troops so long marching into Germany? Or, indeed, I should ask, why our armies were not first assembled in that country? Why did they continue so long inactive upon the Maine? If our army was not numerous enough to attack the French, why were the Hessians left behind for some time in Flanders? Why did we not send over 20,000 of those regular troops that were lying idle here at home? How to answer all those questions I cannot tell; but it is certain we never thought of attacking the French army in our neighbourhood, and, I believe, expected very little to be attacked ourselves. Nay, I doubt much if any action would have happened during the whole campaign, if the French had not, by the misconduct of some one or other of our generals, caught our army in a hose-net, from which it could not have escaped, had all the French generals observed the direction of their commander-in-chief; had they thought only of guarding and fortifying themselves in the defile, and not of marching up to attack our troops. Thank God, Sir, the courage of some of the French generals got the better of their discretion, as well as of their military discipline. This made them attack instead of waiting to be attacked, and then, by the bravery of the English foot, and the cowardice of their own, they met with a severe repulse, which put their whole army into confusion, and obliged them to retire with precipitation across the Maine. Our army thus escaped the snare into which they had been led, and was enabled to pursue its retreat to Hanau.

“ This, Sir, was a signal advantage; but was it followed up? Did we press upon the enemy in their precipitate retreat across a great river, where many of them must have been lost had they been closely pursued? Did we endeavour to take the least advantage of the confusion into which their unexpected repulse had thrown them? No,

Sir, the ardour of our British troops was restrained by the cowardice of the Hanoverians; and, instead of pursuing the enemy, we ourselves ran away in the night in such haste, that we left all our wounded to the mercy and care of the enemy, who had likewise the honor of burying our dead as well as their own. This action may, therefore, on our side, be called a fortunate escape, I shall never give my consent to honor it with the name of victory.

CHAP.
V.
1743.

“ After this escape, Sir, our army was joined by a very large reinforcement. Did this revive our courage, or urge us on to give battle? Not in the least, Sir; though the French continued for some time upon the German side of the Rhine, we never offered to attack them, or to give them the least disturbance. At last, upon Prince Charles’s approach with the Austrian army, the French not only repassed the Rhine, but retired quite out of Germany; and as the Austrian army and the allied army might then have joined, and might both have passed the Rhine without opposition at Mentz, or almost any where in the Palatinate, it was expected that both armies would have marched together into Lorraine, or in search of the French army, in order to force them to a battle. Instead of this, Sir, Prince Charles marched up the German side of the Rhine—to do what? To pass that great river, in the sight of a French army equal in number to his own, which, without some extraordinary neglect in the French, was impracticable; and so it was found by experience. Thus the whole campaign upon that side was consumed in often attempting what so often appeared to be impracticable.

“ On the other side, I mean that of the allied army, was there any thing of consequence performed? I know of nothing, Sir, but that of sending a party of hussars into Lorraine with a manifesto. The army, indeed, passed the Rhine at Mentz, and marched up to the French lines upon the frontier of Alsace, but never offered to pass those lines until the French had abandoned them, I believe with a design to draw our army into some snare; for upon the return of the French towards those lines, we retired with much greater haste than we had advanced, though the Dutch auxiliaries were then come up,

CHAP. and pretended, at least, to be ready to join our army. I have heard,
 V.
 1743. however, that they found a pretext for never coming into the line :
 ——— and I doubt much if they would have marched with us to attack the
 French army in their own territories, or to invest any of their fortified
 places ; for I must observe, that the French lines upon the Queick
 were not, all of them, within the territories of France. But suppose
 this Dutch detachment had been ready to march with us to attack
 the French in their own territories, or to invest some of their fortified
 places, I cannot join in any congratulation upon that event ; for a
 small detachment of Dutch troops can never enable us to execute the
 vast scheme we have undertaken. The whole force of that republic
 would not be sufficient for the purpose ; because we should have the
 majority of the empire against us ; and, therefore, if the Dutch had
 joined *totis viribus* in our scheme, instead of congratulating, I should
 have bemoaned their running mad by our example, and at our insti-
 gation.

“ Having now briefly examined our past conduct ; from the few
 remarks I have made, I believe, Sir, it will appear that, supposing our
 scheme to be in itself possible and practicable, we have no reason to
 hope for success, if it be not prosecuted with more vigour and with
 better conduct, than it was during the last campaign. While we con-
 tinue in the prosecution of this scheme, whoever may lose, the Hano-
 verians will be considerable gainers, because they will draw 400,000*l.*
 or 500,000*l.* yearly from this nation over and above what they have an-
 nually drawn ever since they had the good fortune to be united under
 the same sovereign with ourselves. But we ought to consider, even
 the Hanoverians ought to consider, that this nation is not now in a
 condition to carry on an expensive war, for ten or twelve years, as it
 did in the reign of Queen Anne. We may fund it out for one, two,
 or three years, but the public debt is now so large, that, if we go on
 adding millions to it every year, our credit will at last, (sooner, I fear,
 than some amongst us may imagine,) certainly be undone ; and if
 this misfortune should occur, neither Hanover nor any other foreign
 state would be able to draw another shilling from the country. A

stop to our public credit would put an end to our paper currency. An universal bankruptcy would ensue, and all the little ready money left amongst us would be locked up in iron chests, or hid in bye-corners by the happy possessors. It would then be impossible to raise our taxes, and consequently impossible to maintain either fleets or armies. Our troops abroad would be obliged to enter into the service of any prince that could maintain them, and our troops at home would be obliged to live upon free quarter. But this they could not do long; for the farmer would neither sow nor reap if he found his produce taken from him by the starving soldier. In these circumstances, I must desire the real friends of our present happy establishment to consider what might be the consequence of the Pretender's landing among us at the head of a French army. Would he not be looked upon by most men as a saviour? Would not the majority of the people join with him, in order to rescue the nation from those that had brought it into such confusion? This danger, Sir, is, I hope, imaginary, but I am sure it is far from being so imaginary as that which has been held out in this debate, the danger of all the powers of the continent of Europe being brought under such a slavish dependence upon France, as to join with her in conquering this island, or in bringing it under the same slavish dependence with themselves.

“ I had almost forgotten, Sir, I wish future nations may forget, to mention the Treaty of Worms. I wish that treaty could be erased from our annals and our records, so as never to be mentioned hereafter; for that treaty, with its appendix, the convention that followed, is one of the most destructive, unjust, and absurd that was ever concluded. By that treaty we have taken upon ourselves a burthen which I think it impossible for us to support; we have engaged in such an act of injustice towards Genoa as must alarm all Europe, and give to the French a most signal advantage. From this, Sir, all the Princes of Europe will see what regard we have to justice when we think that the power is on our side; most of them, therefore, will probably join with France in curtailing our power, or, at least, in preventing its increase.

CHAP.
V.
1743.

CHAP.
V.
1743.

“ The alliance of Sardinia and its assistance may, I admit, be of great use to us in defeating the designs of the Spaniards in Italy ; but gold itself may be bought too dear ; and I fear we shall find the purchase we have made to be but precarious, especially if Sardinia should be attacked by France as well as by Spain, the almost certain consequence of our present scheme of politics. For these reasons, Sir, I hope there is not any gentleman, nor even any minister, who expects that I should declare my satisfaction that this treaty has been concluded.

“ It is very surprising, Sir, to hear gentlemen talk of the great advantages of unanimity in our proceedings, when, at the time, they are doing all they can to prevent unanimity. If the Honorable Gentleman had intended that what he proposed should be unanimously agreed to, he would have returned to the ancient custom of Parliament which some of his new friends have, on former occasions, so often recommended. It is a new doctrine to pretend that we ought in our address to return some sort of answer to every thing mentioned in his Majesty’s speech. It is a doctrine that has prevailed only since our Parliaments began to look more like French than English Parliaments ; and now we pretend to be such enemies of France, I supposed we should have laid aside a doctrine which the very method of proceeding in Parliament must shew to be false. His Majesty’s speech is not now so much as under our consideration, but upon a previous order for that purpose ; therefore we cannot now properly take notice of its contents, any further than to determine whether we ought to return thanks for it or not ; even this we may refuse, without being guilty of any breach of duty to our Sovereign ; but of this, I believe, no gentleman would have thought, had the Honorable Gentleman who made this motion not attached to it a long and fulsome panegyric upon the conduct of our ministers. I am convinced no gentleman would have objected to our expressing our duty to our Sovereign, and our zeal for his service, in the strongest and most affectionate terms ; nor would any gentleman have refused to congratulate his Majesty upon any fortunate event happening to the royal family. The

Honorable Gentleman would have desired no more than this, had he intended that his motion should be unanimously agreed to; but ministers are generally the authors and drawers up of the motion, and they always have a greater regard for themselves than for the service of their Sovereign; that is the true reason why such motions seldom meet with unanimous approbation.

CHAP.
V.
1743.

“As to the danger, Sir, of our returning or not returning, to our national custom upon this occasion, I think it lies wholly upon the side of our not returning. I have shewn that the measures we are now pursuing are fundamentally wrong, and that the longer we pursue them, the heavier our misfortunes will prove. Unless some signal providence interpose, experience, I am convinced, will confirm what I say. By the immediate intervention of Providence, we may, it is true, succeed in the most improbable schemes; but Providence seems to be against us. The sooner, therefore, we repent and amend, the better it will be for us; and unless repentance begins in this house, I shall no where expect it until dire experience has convinced us of our errors.

“For these reasons, Sir, I wish, I hope, that we may now begin to put a stop to the farther prosecution of these disastrous measures, by refusing them our approbation. If we put a negative upon this question, it may awaken our ministers from their deceitful dreams. If we agree to it, they will dream on till they have dreamed Europe, their country, and themselves into utter perdition. If they stop now, the nation may recover; but if by such a flattering address we encourage them to go on, it may soon become impossible for them to retreat. For the sake of Europe, therefore, for the sake of my country, I most heartily join in putting a negative upon the question^d.”

It has been often alleged that Mr. Pitt's character, as an orator,

^d It was in the course of this debate that Mr. Pitt, hurried on by his impetuosity, is represented to have styled Lord Carteret, “an execrable, a sole minister, who had renounced the British nation, and seemed to have drank of the potion described in poetic fictions which made men forget their country.”—See *Parliamentary Journal of the Honorable Philip Yorke*.

CHAP. rested chiefly upon the energy of his language and the warmth of his
 V.
 1743. appeal to the passions. His eloquence has been represented as deficient
 in close reasoning and perspicuity of argument, and as more brilliant
 than sound. The foregoing speech, inadequately reported as it is, I
 consider an ample refutation of those charges. Whoever will carefully
 consult the best historical works, relative to the transactions to which
 Mr. Pitt refers, must be struck with the profound reflections, the sound
 reasoning, and the deep penetration into motives and characters
 which that speech exhibits. It must, however, be admitted, that he
 expresses himself with too much acrimony against Lord Carteret;
 and that one insinuation, respecting the inexpediency of addressing
 the King on escaping the dangers of Dettingen, is founded in error.
 There is not the least doubt that George II. exposed his person in the
 battle with the most intrepid valor*. After a long debate, the
 address was carried in the House of Commons by a majority of 278
 against 149.

On Tuesday, the 6th December, a very long debate^f arose upon
 the following question:—"That an humble Address be presented,
 most humbly to advise and beseech his Majesty forthwith to give
 orders, that the Hanoverian troops shall not be continued in the
 service of Great Britain after the 25th of this instant, December."

After several members had spoken, Mr. Pitt said: "The present
 is a question of advice upon a most important subject, and at a most
 critical time. I appeal to the private consciences of gentlemen,
 whether they do not wish the Hanoverians out of our pay. His
 Majesty, although he is on the very brink of a precipice, at present
 stands on the firm ground of his people's affections. It is the duty
 of Parliament to snatch him from that gulph where an infamous
 minister has placed him, and not to throw paltry flowers upon its
 edge to conceal his danger. It may be a rough, but it is a friendly

* Œuvres Posthumes.

^f The brief account here inserted of this debate is taken from the manuscript *parliamentary journal of the Hon. Philip Yorke*, eldest son of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, which journal is published in the thirteenth vol. of *The Parliamentary History of England*.

hand which is stretched out to remove him." Mr. Pitt was proceeding in his speech, but, having made some remarks upon the military ministers of his Majesty, he was called to order by Sir William Yonge, who desired him to speak to the question, and not attack persons.

CHAP.
V.
1743.

Mr. Pitt said, "That what he before had asserted was parliamentary. He applied the expression of 'the hand of power' to ministers." The Speaker here said, "that interruption was part of his own province. To suppose any persons in that house to be influenced by the greatest person in the kingdom was unparliamentary. To suppose them influenced by ministers, was imputing to them conduct peculiarly mean and scandalous, and therefore was not to be insinuated."

Mr. Pitt said, "He flattered himself that if the Speaker had heard him out, when he was endeavouring to explain himself, he (the Speaker) would not have interrupted him. But, notwithstanding any interruptions which might disorder his train of thought, he was determined to utter what lay at his heart. He could prove that the invariable rules of service had been neglected with regard to the English officers. The general of the English army had not been consulted. The great person^s himself had been hemmed in by German officers, and one English minister. How, then, could that great person be informed of the sense of the army, or that of his people, almost exasperated to despair. Every symptom of some dreadful calamity attends the nation. The Address," said Mr. Pitt, "is full of parliamentary respect. How much better would it be for us to suggest our thoughts on this matter, previous to any proposition from the crown, upon which we may put an unwelcome negative! Other troops may be had for our money, those of Saxony or Cologne." Mr. Pitt then asserted, "that British guards had been put under the command of an Hanoverian lieutenant-general, promoted, out of his turn, against the rules of the service: and that the Earl of Stair's orders had not been obeyed. These discontents," he said, "took their rise on the other side the water. He again repented that the great

^s The King.

CHAP. person, before mentioned, was hemmed in by German officers and
 V.
 1743. one English minister without an English heart."

Several other members delivered their opinions upon each side of the question, which was lost by a considerable majority against it^b.

On the 15th December, Mr. G. Grenville moved, "That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, most humbly to beseech his Majesty, that, in consideration of the exhausted and impoverished state of this kingdom, by the great and unequal expense it has hitherto been burthened with, he will not engage this nation any farther, by acting as we have hitherto done, or by entering into farther engagements with other powers, without first entering into an alliance with the States General, for supporting and carrying on thereof, upon stipulated proportions of strength and expense, as was done in the late war^c."

The solicitor-general^k asked; "If the preamble were undoubtedly true, (which he could by no means admit,) where was the wisdom of declaring our inabilities to the whole world? Was that the method of inspiring our enemies with moderation, or of obtaining even a tolerable peace? He took it for granted that no gentleman proposed an address which he did not think ought to pass, but if this met with the approbation of the House, he did not see how it was possible for the ministers to regulate their conduct by it, so indefinite and general were its terms. Did they mean by advising the King 'not to act as

^b Mr. Philip Yorke adds in a note: "From the event of this question, the court reckoned themselves sure of a considerable majority upon that, which was esteemed the most critical and delicate point of the session. But it happened in this affair, as it does in most others which have raised great discontent and clamour without doors, that several gentlemen who usually concurred with the administration, either out of an affectation of popularity, or a real apprehension that very bad consequences would attend the taking the Hanoverian troops again into pay, fell off from their friends and voted with the minority. It is said, that the opposition have entrusted the direction of their conduct in parliament, this session, to a committee of six for the sake of secrecy. This anti-ministerial cabinet consists of Doddington, Pitt, Sir J. Cotton, Sir Watkin W. Wynn, Waller and Lyttleton."—See *Parliamentary History of England*, vol. xiii. page 146.

^c From the parliamentary journal of Mr. P. Yorke.

^k Honorable William Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield.

he had hitherto done,' that he should not drive the French out of Germany, or give them another defeat if an opportunity presented itself? Was he not to detach such a power as Prussia from the French interest, if, unhappily for the common cause, it should again become necessary? Was he not to keep the combined fleets of France blocked up in Toulon, by continuing his fleets in the Mediterranean? Yet, he said, those expressions implied a censure upon every measure which had been pursued, whether good or bad, unfortunate or successful. He farther urged, that as the motion was worded, the King was tied up from entering into engagements of any kind whatever, wherein the Dutch did not concur. How dishonorable was that to his Majesty and the nation, whose councils would be made dependent upon the negative of the pensionary of Dort! How detrimental might it be to the interests of both, since though Holland and England had one great object in pursuit, in which they were united, they had others in which they differed, as in matters of trade, &c. But supposing the intent of the motion was only to restrain the King from taking any farther measures in support of the Queen of Hungary, unless the States General would bear a part in the expense and the danger, he thought it could not be defended even upon that limited footing. Both the Dutch and ourselves had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction by the treaty of Vienna, and the non-performance of one of the contracting parties did not excuse the other from making good their engagements. That treaty settled likewise the degree of strength which was to be employed—at first a small proportion, but if that did not prove sufficient, we were bound to assist the House of Austria *totis viribus*. The Dutch, whose motions, from the form of their government, are slow and embarrassed, had already marched a considerable body of their troops, as auxiliaries to the Queen of Hungary, last campaign, and, if we did not relax our vigour, would, in all probability, take a stronger part the next. But yet he thought it by no means advisable to connect ourselves so closely with them, as to lay it down as an invariable maxim, that we were not to stir a step in support of our allies abroad, unless we could procure at the same

CHAP.
V.
1743.

CHAP. time the unanimous suffrages of the provinces which composed the
 V. Republic of Holland."
 1743.

Mr. Pitt "seemed to admit that the preamble was improper and might be left out, without prejudice to the drift and meaning of the motion. For instance, said he, any gentleman might willingly give up the preamble to his patent of peerage, provided what was essential in it, the peerage itself, was preserved to him. But, he contended, that the most intimate connection with the Dutch should be considered as the basis of our foreign politics, and, more particularly, in the present juncture. It would be happy for this country if the sober maxims and well-weighed councils of their government had an influence upon ours, which, he insinuated, were under the direction of a desperate and rodomontading minister. He argued, that all defensive views were answered by the expulsion of the French from the empire, and it would be ten times more difficult for us to make an impression upon their frontier, than it was for them to penetrate into the heart of the Queen of Hungary's dominions, out of which they had been obliged to retreat with so much disgrace. He said, that if this address passed, it would reduce us to a specific object, and confine the headlong spirit which possessed some of the ministers to more moderate views. He wished, therefore, for the sake of the rest, that it might go in the affirmative. He concluded by asserting that the little finger of one man, for the last six months, had lain heavier upon the nation than the loins of an administration which had continued twenty years¹."

The address was rejected by a considerable majority^m.

¹ The following is a note by Mr. Yorke. "Whilst the debate was kept up by other speakers, Pitt, Lyttleton, and Grenville went aside, and amended their original motion, which was supposed to come from the masterly pen of Waller. The form into which they modelled it was certainly less liable to objections: but as the ground-work continued the same, there was still sufficient reason for rejecting it."

^m 209 against 132.

CHAPTER VI.

1744.

Speeches of Mr. Pitt respecting the Hanover Troops—Projected Invasion of Great Britain by the Pretender—Mr. Pitt supports the Government in an Address for the Augmentation of the Forces—Reciprocal Declarations of War between France and England—Successful progress of the French Arms under Saxe—Discontents in England—Resignation of Lord Granville—The celebrated Duchess of Marlborough bequeaths a Legacy to Mr. Pitt—Mr. Pitt supports a Motion of Sir W. Yonge, that 28,000 Men be employed in Flanders—Death of the Emperor Charles VII.—The young Pretender and the Rebellion in Scotland—Parliament assembles—Mr. Pitt's Speech upon Sir F. Dashwood's Amendment—Severe Remarks upon Mr. Hume Campbell's Motion—Disgraceful Dissensions in the British Cabinet—Resignations of almost the whole ministerial Body—Mr. Winnington—Re-appointment of the Ministry—Mr. Pitt is made Paymaster of the Forces—His high Integrity in this Office—System of continental Warfare pursued by George the Second—Battle of Lafeldt—Sir John Ligonier—Peace of Aix La Chapelle.

ON the 17th January, 1744, the Report from the Committee of CHAP.
VI.
1744.
Supply being made to the House, that 634,344*l.* be granted for de-
fraying the charge of 21,358 effective men, to be employed in Flanders
in 1744, Mr. Pitt spoke against the question to the following effect:

“^a As it is not our present custom to lay before Parliament any information respecting our public measures, as both the measures and their motives seem to be secrets too great to be communicated to this house, I protest, Sir, I know nothing about them. Nor am I more

^a The following speech is assigned to Mr. Pitt, under the character of Julius Florus, in the London Magazine for the year 1744. Mr. Pitt spoke in answer to Sir W. Yonge

CHAP. VI. 1744. able to judge of them from any public appearances. No man can know—no man can judge of them, who has not an intimate correspondence with some of our ministers of the closet. This, thank God, I possess not. I trust therefore, that, if our late or present measures be misunderstood by me, the gentlemen who congratulate themselves upon possessing such a correspondence, will excuse my mis-statements. Before we agree to the Honorable Gentleman's motion, there are two points, Sir, which ought to be fully considered and discussed: these are, first, the end, and secondly, the manner of assisting the Queen of Hungary. If the French still insist upon stripping the Queen of Hungary of great part of her German dominions, to bestow them upon the Emperor, on condition that they may possess Flanders, or some other equivalent, we ought *totis viribus* to prevent the execution of so dangerous a design. I am, Sir, and always have been of opinion, that France possesses more power than is consistent with the interests of Europe. I thought so at a time when we had a better opportunity than, perhaps, will ever recur, of reducing the power of the House of Bourbon; before, Sir, (by a most criminal connivance of our ministers,) they had made the acquisition of Lorraine. Were this, therefore, the end proposed in assisting the Queen of Hungary, I should approve of our affording her the utmost assistance; yet, even in this case, I should not agree to the Honorable Gentleman's motion, because I do not approve of the manner he proposes of giving her assistance.

“ But, Sir, if the French have entirely abandoned the design I mentioned; if they abandoned it as soon as they found themselves deserted by Prussia and Saxony; if they were then willing, as I believe they were, to restore the peace of Germany, upon the single condition that the Queen of Hungary should restore to the Emperor his hereditary dominions, we ought not, I think, to have encouraged her, by our assistance, to continue the war in Germany, and much less ought we to encourage her, as I fear we do, in thinking to procure, by our assistance, an equivalent from France, for what she has yielded to Prussia and Saxony in Germany. If this be the end of our assisting her, I disapprove of that end, as much as I do of the manner.

I disapprove of it, Sir, not because I am unwilling to see the power of France reduced, but because I consider the present a very improper time for the Queen of Hungary or ourselves to attempt to effect that reduction. There is, Sir, a certain spirit which prevails, by which courts, as well as private men, are governed. To this spirit a wise and considerate minister will ever pay attention, and regulate his measures accordingly. The world, Sir, is not to be governed by every whim which may enter the head of an undiscerning minister, however enterprising he may be.

CHAP.
VI.
1744.

“ The ambitious designs of the late King of France excited a spirit of jealousy amongst the European powers, and produced many confederacies against him : one of which, at length, brought France to the very verge of destruction. Since the death of that monarch, experience has convinced the French of the danger of again exciting such a spirit ; and so warily have they conducted themselves that none now prevails. The spirit of jealousy against them has been transferred to the House of Austria, so that there is not at this time one court in Europe who will join with us and the Queen of Hungary, in this project against France.

“ In saying this, Sir, I speak according to human probability. The race, I know, is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. Suppose then Providence should work a miracle in our favor, and aid with unexpected success our designs against France. Suppose their armies, like that of the Midianites, should set every man his sword against his fellow, and that their walls, like those of Jericho, should fall flat before us : even then, we cannot suppose, that the Princes of Germany, so jealous of the House of Austria, so anxious to retain possession of those territories they have obtained from her, will quietly see the vast augmentation of her power and the diminution of that of France. For the preservation of their newly acquired possessions, perhaps for their future independence, these Princes must look up to the friendship and assistance of France. I consider it nearly certain, therefore, that in the event of our being successful, they would all unite to check our career.

CHAP.

VI.

1744.

“ That we should maintain an army in Flanders in order to procure for the Queen of Hungary an equivalent from France, is therefore so absurd, that I am convinced it is not the real design. It must be a pretext for covering a purpose which our ministers dare not acknowledge, a purpose which, could it be proved, would cost some of them their heads. It is my opinion, Sir, that the blood and treasure of England has been lavished for the purpose of maintaining sixteen thousand Hanoverians, and of adding some little territories to the dominions of the Electorate. If it be asserted that the French design to strip the Queen of Hungary of a great part of her dominions, and then assign them to the Emperor upon condition that they shall make certain additions to their own territories, I answer, let this design be fully proved, before we plunge the country into such expenses to defeat it. We have great reason to believe, Sir, that if ever such a design was harboured by the French, it is now abandoned. It is not likely that they, unassisted by any of the Princes of Germany, would embark in a scheme so replete with danger, difficulty, and cost. The only hopes they can now have of executing such a scheme must arise from our encouraging the Queen of Hungary to be immoderate in her demands. This may rouse the jealousy of the German Princes against her, may force them into an alliance with France to reduce her power and check her ambition.

“ I have not hitherto mentioned Italy, Sir, because none can be so ignorant as to suppose that the best mode of preserving the Queen of Hungary’s dominions in Italy, is to form an army in Flanders, or to make an attempt on France on that side where she is the best guarded, and the least susceptible of impression. No one, I say, can contend that this is our object in forming and maintaining an army in Flanders.

“ Let the end proposed in assisting the Queen of Hungary be what it will, the manner of pursuing it has been altogether wrong. I shall point out, Sir, that line of conduct which, I think, this country should adopt. I lay it down, Sir, as a certain maxim that we should never assist our allies upon the continent with any great number of

troops^b. If we send our troops abroad, it should be rather with a view to improve them in the art of war, than to assist our allies. Sir, they have no occasion for our men ; the Queen of Hungary, in particular, wants them not. She has men, and brave men, in abundance of her own. She wants money alone to arm and support them. The only manner, therefore, in which we ought to support her, and our other allies upon the continent, is with our money and our ships. My reason for laying this down as a maxim is, not only because the sea is our natural element, but because it is dangerous to our liberties and destructive to our trade, to encourage great numbers of our people to depend for their livelihood upon the profession of arms. If you take care to discipline the farmer, the day labourer, the mechanic, each of these may become a good soldier, and always prepared to defend the country in case of an attack. Each of these, having another mode of livelihood, may be a good subject also : but the man who solely depends upon arms for bread, can never be a good subject, especially in a free country. For this reason, we ought to maintain as few regular soldiers as possible, both at home and abroad ; we ought never to retain them long in the service ; knowing that very few, afterwards, will turn for their support to honest and industrious employments. Another argument on this subject presents itself ; our troops cost more to maintain them, than those of any other country. Our money, therefore, will be of most service to our allies, because it will enable them to raise and support a greater number of troops than we can supply them with for the same sum. I shall prove my assertion, Sir, by figures—stubborn obstinate figures, which neither bend nor vary at the will of a minister and his friends.

“ By the motion now before the house, our own troops in Flanders are to cost us, for the next year, 634,344*l*. The sixteen thousand Hanoverians will cost us, I conceive, nearly 400,000*l*. more. To these two sums must be added 200,000*l*. more for contingent expenses—

^b The reader will smile when he reflects how widely Mr. Pitt departed from this maxim during his own administration.

CHAP. we shall find this article last year amounting to a much heavier sum.
VI. These three particulars make up the sum of 1,234,344*l.*, I shall call it
1744. in even numbers 1,200,000*l.* This we are to pay for the maintenance of an army of 37,000 men, one third part of which I shall suppose to be cavalry. Now let us see what additional number of troops might have been maintained, had this sum of money been remitted to the Queen of Hungary.

“ By several treaties, and particularly by the accession of the States General to the Vienna treaty of 1731, the charge of 1000 foot soldiers is fixed at 10,000 guilders per month. This, in sterling money, at the rate of ten guilders sixteen stivers per pound sterling, is 926*l.* The charge of 1000 horse soldiers is, for the same time, fixed at 30,000 guilders, or 2778*l.* We see, therefore, that 1,200,000*l.* would have maintained for the Queen of Hungary nearly 108,000 foot, or nearly 36,000 horse. Arranging them differently, it would have maintained for her an army of 54,000 foot and of 18,000 horse for the ensuing year. I must, therefore, ask our ministers, whether an additional army of 72,000 men to be employed wherever she pleased, would not have been of more service to the Queen of Hungary, and to what they are pleased to call the common cause, than our 37,000 men in Flanders? In making this assertion I will not allow that any of the Queen of Hungary's troops are better than the British, though I have no doubt that the worst of them are better than the Hanoverians.

“ But, Sir, even supposing it of advantage to the common cause to assist the Queen of Hungary rather with troops than with money, Flanders is the very worst place in which we could employ them. Had we formed no army there, neither would the French have done so; nor would they have attacked any places there for fear of provoking the Dutch to declare against them. If, Sir, we form an army next summer in Flanders, although we do not employ it offensively, as I firmly believe we shall not, we may furnish the French with an excuse to attack the Queen of Hungary in that country. This excuse may be admitted by the Dutch, who at present entertain no jealousy

against France ; and for this, as well as for other reasons, they seem resolved to enter into none of our romantic schemes. If the Queen of Hungary must be assisted by our troops, why did they not take up their winter quarters in Germany, or upon the Rhine, by which we might have secured a passage for Prince Charles in the Spring ? If it be alleged that the princes and circles of Germany would not allow our troops to take up winter quarters within the empire, this of itself was a reason for our recalling our troops, dismissing our mercenaries, and resolving to assist the Queen of Hungary for the future, as we ought to have done from the beginning, solely with our money, and our squadron in the Mediterranean.

CHAP.
VI.
1744.

“ In short, Sir, as I could at first see no reason for sending our troops to Flanders, unless it was to furnish ministers with a pretext to load us with the maintenance of 16,000 Hanoverians, so I now see no reason for our retaining them there, unless it be to afford a pretext for continuing that load. As I, moreover, think that our retaining these troops in Flanders may infinitely prejudice the Queen of Hungary’s cause, I can by no means agree to the report of the committee.”

As the discussion which gave occasion to the foregoing speech was extremely interesting, it was, consequently, repeatedly renewed. I give, upon the authority of the Honorable P. Yorke’s journal, the following account of the debate upon the 18th and 19th of January.

The great question respecting the Hanover troops was debated in the committee of supply on Wednesday the 18th January, 1744. As it was a day of high expectation, both parties had been equally diligent in collecting their strength. The number present, amounting exactly to five hundred, sufficiently prove the importance of the question.

Sir W. Yonge moved, that 393,773*l.* should be granted as the pay of 16,000 Hanoverians for the ensuing year. In the debate which followed, Mr. Pitt is represented as addressing himself more to the passions than to the judgment of his hearers. As specimens of the indignities to which, he said, the British troops had been ex-

CHAP. posed, he brought forward two facts, which he stated with all the
 VI. force of language; the first was, that the Hanoverian guards were
 1744. employed to do duty whilst the King was at As-chaffenberg; the
 other was, that his Majesty, throughout the campaign, lay on the left
 of the army, covered by his electoral troops^c. Mr. Pitt also asked,
 whether other troops were not to be had in Germany, that great
 market of men, and whether a certain German prince had not offered
 to supply a contingent.

Sir W. Yonge's motion was carried by a larger majority than the ministry had anticipated. This is said to have been owing to the exertions of Lord Orford, who never, during his own administration, exerted himself to carry a point with greater zeal^d.

Upon the report of the committee the question was resumed on the following day. The solicitor-general expressed himself highly pleased that the question was again debated—if it were fundamentally right, it must, he said, gain upon enquiry—if wrong, the opposition it had experienced must gather strength, and the arguments urged against it must receive confirmation. The true point, he said, had not been stated by the opposers. It had been represented as a competition between England and Hanover, and hence the necessity of a separation of the electoral from the regal dominions had been inferred. But, although the King and Parliament should be inclined to promote such a separation, the diet of the empire might be unwilling to give their consent. He appealed to gentlemen, whether it were right to suggest an unattainable object. He was afraid to think where their

^c It is proper to state that both these facts are explained by Mr. Yorke in such a manner as to exculpate the King from the charge of partiality to the Hanoverians.

^d Mr. Philip Yorke says, "The majority was larger than, from the talk without doors, there was reason to expect. According to the common reckoning, twenty-five or thirty was the utmost that the court could depend upon. Lord Orford certainly took great pains to bring all his friends into the measure, which, before he came to town, the ministers seem to have dropped all thoughts of reviving, and to be looking out for other expedients: two there were, very natural and very solid—one, upon a supposition that these troops were to be taken again into our pay, either that the King should not go abroad, or that the English and Hanoverians should act in separate bodies."

reasoning would carry us. He should keep to the Act of Succession. The limitations in that Act sufficiently prevent any real injury from resulting to Great Britain from the union of those dominions in one person. When that Act was passed, it was considered that the richer and more powerful country could never become a province to the lesser; that any trifling predilection must be temporary, and die with the present generation. The electorate of Hanover was not concerned in the present quarrel; its separate interests lay in an opposite direction. The most valuable concerns of Great Britain depend upon its issue. The nation called loudly for the vigorous support of the House of Austria, &c. Would you, (asked Mr. Murray,) if the dominions were not connected, in effect, dismiss 22,000 men without knowing where to replace them? The only conclusive argument he had heard was, that the force already maintained by us on the continent was sufficient without the troops in question. But this he could by no means admit, when he considered the great preparations of France, who seemed disposed to take an active part in Italy, on the Rhine, and in the Netherlands, whenever she sees an opportunity. Gentlemen who call out for the object, have not distinguished between the end proposed by carrying on this war, and between the plan of operations. The former, he said, was plain and obvious—to perform our guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction. The latter must depend upon the conduct of the enemy, and is not a proper subject of debate for Parliament. If France, as some insinuate, means only to keep upon the defensive, would she continue a heavy subsidy to the emperor; would she lay on such burdens upon her own subjects, to enable him to form a body of troops? Mr. Murray then proceeded to refute the charge that partiality had been shewn to the Hanoverians; and concluded thus; “What, then, is the question reduced to? Is it that the voice of the people is against it? The people are, indeed, against the submission of England to Hanover, but they are not against the common cause—they are not against checking the ambition of France by keeping these troops another year in our pay. Do the people feel or understand military punctilios? They should be

CHAP.
VI.
1744.

CHAP. VI. 1744. set right in their notions, and the Parliament by not giving way to these discontents, will take the best method to suppress them. Let us not refuse to derive that benefit from Hanover, which we should be glad to receive, were it under the dominion of a different Prince."

Mr. Pitt said that not all the sophistry of the Honorable Gentleman should make him recede from the true point in debate, which was not affected by any one of his arguments. The question before them was, not whether they should support the Queen of Hungary ; not whether they should keep up a sufficient strength on the continent to oppose France ; but, whether, after what had occurred, these troops ought to be retained in our service. He said that he had many facts in the papers in his hand, and more in his knowledge, which pointed out the source whence these waters of bitterness flowed. It was impossible that the troops under consideration could answer any of those purposes which had been so pompously exaggerated. The councils, the troops of Hanover have lamed all our operations from the beginning. What else, he asked, prevented us from following Maillebois in his march to Prague ? What else prevented us from attacking the French during the battle, or from pursuing them immediately after it ? We were then joined by 12,000 fresh men, and the enemy were so dispirited that their soldiers did not return to their colours within two days. Will it be said that the Austrians opposed it ? General Neipery said to some one who charged him with this : " it is no fault of mine, *mais cette proposition n'est pas du gout de votre cour.*" He, (Mr. Pitt,) could say something as to the bad behaviour of this corps : the regiment in the front was in a wood where they never gave nor received a fire :—two battalions, which were ordered to form in the first line, fell back and retired to the second. General Ilton, an idle spectator of the combat from a hill, refused, for want of a guide, to comply with the pressing instances of a noble duke to march down : no sooner had the French given way, than a guide was found, and he began to move ; but made a sudden halt, in the midst of his march, on the sight of a small body of Austrians which he mistook for the enemy.

The return made soon after the action, of not more than four-
 score men who were missing out of the whole sixteen thousand, was
 a full proof how little they had been engaged. Mr. Pitt then cen-
 sured a doctrine which he had heard advanced, that the King might
 follow the advice of one velt marshal as well as of another ; he called
 it monstrous and unconstitutional, because it took away the controul
 and enquiry of Parliament. He said that he had a contempt for the
 abilities, as well as for the honesty, of any minister who would not
 endeavour to gain the confidence of the people, where sentiments
 upon no point were ever more strongly, or more universally declared,
 than against the troops in question. Is it possible, he said, that
 a ministry should ever concede to the wishes and entreaties of the
 people, if they are deaf to them in the present instance ? The pass-
 ing the question will be to erect a triumphal arch to Hanover over
 the military honor and independence of Great Britain.

General Onslow, who during the battle of Dettingen had com-
 manded on the right, now rose and assured the House that no Hanove-
 rians had been posted in the wood, but at the end of the front line,
 where they performed their duty extremely well. As to the other
 story, he said he had never heard of it until the last quarter of an
 hour.

These assertions of General Onslow called up Mr. Pitt, who
 pledged his honor to the House, to bring evidence to their bar, if
 they would permit him, in proof of his charges. For this purpose,
 he begged to suggest, whether it would not be proper to adjourn the
 consideration of these estimates, until they had enquired into the
 truth of these facts which had been alleged against the Hanover
 troops.

The debate, however, proceeded in its regular course, until Mr.
 Doddington extended the suggestion of Mr. Pitt into a regular motion
 of adjournment. This produced a change in the debate, and many,
 who upon the preceding night had voted with the minority, now
 declared themselves against an enquiry, upon the principle that it
 would be disrespectful to the King.

CHAP.
VI.
1744.

This country had for some time stood in a singular predicament with respect to France. The English as allies of Austria, the French as allies of Spain, had sometimes been involved in acts of mutual hostility. At Dettingen we were more principals than accessaries in the war; we fought against and obtained a considerable victory over the French, before any declaration of hostility had been made by either country. But the law and the custom of nations were on our side; for we were simply fulfilling our engagement and fighting for our ally, the Queen of Hungary. Far otherwise was the subsequent conduct of France in equipping an armament, and endeavouring to make a descent upon our coasts, in order to force the Pretender upon us. She was then actuated by that spirit of deadly hatred, which could not wait for a formal avowal. That avowal, however, soon became indispensable.

The English government was aware of the violent designs of France, and took proper precautions to defeat them. His Majesty, having sent a message to both Houses of Parliament, informing them that the kingdom was threatened with an invasion, received the warmest assurances of support. On the 24th of February, Mr. Pelham moved in the House of Commons, "That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased, in this dangerous and critical conjuncture of affairs, when the nation is threatened with an invasion by a French power, in favor of a Popish Pretender to his crown, to augment his forces by sea and land, in such manner as he shall think proper and necessary; and to assure his Majesty that this House will make good all such expenses as his Majesty shall be at, for the defence of his sacred person, and for the security of these kingdoms."

With the exception of Admiral Vernon and Sir J. Philips, the house was unanimous in approving the motion. Mr. Pitt, although generally a strenuous opposer of the administration, never hesitated a moment in yielding his support whenever he thought the situation of the country required it. Upon the present occasion "He

* Parliamentary Journal of the Hon. P. Yorke,

acknowledged that this was a time to be alarmed, to be upon our guard, and to take all proper precautions against the attempts of France ; but we were not to be terrified as if the danger was of the most extreme description. Our fleet was out, and might intercept the embarkation. Supposing the worst, and that troops were landed, (which God forbid !) we had no inconsiderable body of forces in the island, and might recall for our own defence what number we pleased from abroad. Surely no military man could, in this situation, be very uneasy as to the event ! He was still of opinion that France intended an attack upon our credit and our fears, rather than an actual descent. He hoped good might be drawn out of evil by this event, as it would tend to unite the nation. He could not think that any persons would be found so desperate and so mad as to join the French in their attempt. If confidence was ever to be placed in ministers, it was at the present crisis, and as they were accountable to Parliament for the use they made of that confidence, he was for agreeing to the motion.”

CHAP.
VI.
1744.

Mr. Pelham congratulated himself upon having the good fortune to be supported in his motion by Mr. Pitt, and agreed with him in thinking that it would be criminal in any minister to advise the King to make any other use of the powers with which he would be intrusted upon the occasion, than for the necessary defence of the nation.

The event proved that the French were undoubtedly earnest in their intention to invade Great Britain. Seven thousand men actually sailed for the purpose, but the expedition encountered such disasters at sea, that it was compelled to return to France, and the Pretender resolved to await a more favorable opportunity for the execution of his enterprise.

The French King published his declaration of war against England on March 4th, 1744. This was couched in terms of much bitterness. In it he “ ordains and enjoins all his subjects, vassals and servants, to fall upon the subjects of the King of England, Elector of Hanover ; forbids all communication, commerce, &c. between them, and revokes all passports which had been granted to the English.” This was

CHAP. VI. 1744. followed by a counter-declaration on the part of George II. on 29th March. As usual, the party which had the greatest cause of complaint, expressed itself in much the mildest terms. Whilst the English proclamation enjoins "the generals, commanders, &c. &c. by sea and land, to do and execute all acts of hostility in the prosecution of the war against the said French King, his vassals and subjects:" it yet declares, that "whereas there are, remaining in the kingdom, divers of the subjects of the French King, all those who demean themselves dutifully, towards the King of England, shall be safe in their persons and estates." The language of Louis XV. was no idle menace. Flanders was to be the immediate scene of hostile operations, His army there was most powerful. One seldom, indeed, sees so much spirit, and such formidable numbers, directed by so much talent, or accompanied by so much success. One hundred thousand enthusiastic French soldiers, under the command of the renowned Saxe, presented a fearful contrast to the 50,000 allied troops commanded by the indolent Wade and the selfish D'Arenberg. Louis was himself on the spot to animate, by his presence, an army, then as loyal as it was valiant: and he quickly saw Courtray, Menin, Ypres, Fort la Knoque, and Furnes, submit to his power.

If complaints prevailed throughout England against our Hanoverian measures, even whilst we were successful, it may be supposed that they were more loud and universal, when the consequences of those measures were defeat and disaster. The division in the English cabinet was now most wide. Lord Carteret, who by his mother's death, had lately succeeded to the title of Earl of Granville, had long been feared and hated by the Pelhams. The King, indeed, supported him, but, amongst subjects, Lord Bath was almost his only friend. Lord Granville had vainly conceived that the King's favor, and his own splendid abilities were sufficient to maintain him in power. By neglecting the common courtesies of life towards his colleagues, he had raised up such a combination of enemies, that he at length found himself almost a solitary individual in the cabinet. To contend longer was useless. He resigned the seals as secretary of state

on the 24th November, and was succeeded by Lord Harrington. CHAP.
VI.
1744.
Parliament presented a scene of greater unanimity than had been witnessed since the King's accession. The Pelhams were now triumphant. Their professed intentions were to form an administration upon the widest basis, consisting both of Whigs and Tories. These intentions gave rise to a name which ridicule afterwards perpetuated, and the *broad bottomed administration* has generally been mentioned with a sneer. Lord Cobham was now an ally of the new administration. He was promoted to the sixth regiment of horse. His friends Mr. Lyttleton and Mr. George Grenville were respectively placed at the boards of the treasury and the admiralty. Mr. Pitt, however, was not yet admitted to power. It is strange, that, amongst the changes which then took place, when men of such opposite and violent principles were called upon to form part of the administration, a senator so distinguished for his own talents and so supported by Parliamentary friends, should have been excluded from office. But the King's antipathy to Mr. Pitt was at that time supposed to be insurmountable. Both the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham gave the most solemn assurances to Lord Cobham that it should be their part to remove as soon as possible that antipathy, and then secure the services of Mr. Pitt by introducing him to office. The removal of Lord Granville rendered the succeeding administration extremely popular. Little alteration, however, in our continental measures ensued. Although we no longer sent troops, we continued to subsidize the Queen of Hungary with a prodigal hand.

Mr. Pitt's opposition to this system of foreign subsidies, although most displeasing to the King, raised him high in the esteem of the people. He had been for some years admired as an orator, he was now revered as a patriot. Nor was this esteem, in all cases confined to words. His fortune at this time received a most considerable addition by a bequest from a very extraordinary character. The Duchess Dowager of Marlborough, by a codicil to her will, dated 11th August, 1744, assigned a legacy to Mr. Pitt in the following words;

“ I also give to William Pitt, of the parish of St. James, within

CHAP. VI. 1744. the liberty of Westminster, Esq. the sum of ten thousand pounds, upon account of his merit, in the noble defence he has made for the support of the laws of England, and to prevent the ruin of his country."

The Duchess died in the subsequent month of October, and the money was paid to Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Pitt's opposition to government, for which the Duchess of Marlborough considered him so eminently deserving of reward, ceased with the administration of Lord Granville. I postpone the consideration of the motives and the propriety of this alteration in his public conduct to the succeeding chapter.

1745. On the 23rd of January, 1745, the House of Commons having resolved itself into a Committee of supply, Sir William Yonge moved that 28,000 men should be employed in Flanders for the ensuing year.

Mr. Pitt, who had been indisposed with the gout from the commencement of the session, came down, with the mien and apparatus of an invalid, to declare his sentiments upon the circumstances and situation of the country. He is represented^f to have spoken with much grace, both of action and elocution. He commenced his speech by saying, that, if this were the last day of his life, he would spend it in the House of Commons, since he considered the situation of the country to be even worse than that of his own health. He had hoped that the Honorable Gentleman, who had spoken some time before in the debate, (Sir W. Wynne,) would not only have persuaded, but awed the House into an approbation of the measure, and that he (Mr. Pitt,) should not have had occasion to enter into a detail, which he was apprehensive his strength would not enable him to go through. He shewed how much the question had changed since the previous year, when a certain fatal influence prevailed in his Majesty's councils. The object *then* seemed to be the multiplying war upon war, expense upon expense, and the abetting the House of Austria in romantic

^f By Mr. P. Yorke from whose journal this speech is extracted.

schemes of acquisition, such as the recovery of the *Avulsa Imperii*, without regard to the immediate interest of Great Britain. The object *now* was, by connecting ourselves closely with Holland, to arrive at a situation which might enable us to hold out fair and reasonable terms of peace, both to our friends and enemies, and not to prosecute the war a moment after we had obtained an equitable and sufficient security for our own rights and those of our allies, pursuant to public treaties. He took occasion to recapitulate the miscarriages and errors of our conduct since the change in 1742. He interspersed these remarks with severe strokes of invective on Lord Granville, who, he said, had not ten men in the nation that would follow him, but supported himself in the closet, on that broken reed—an opinion of his credit with foreign princes. The capital errors, which he pointed out and condemned, were, the not following Maillebois and attacking Dunkirk in 1742; the advising the Queen of Hungary to reject the French overtures at Prague; the not improving the victory at Dettingen, and the refusal to listen to the proposals made by the Emperor through the channel of Prince William of Hesse. Mr. Pitt, however, allowed, that the demand of a subsidy for an unlimited time, was deserving of contempt. In condemning the Convention subsequent to the Treaty of Worms, he did justice to the Cabinet Council who had discharged their duty, and refused to sanction what the rash hand of a daring minister had signed. He complimented Mr. Pelham on that true love of his country, and that capacity for business, for which he had always been distinguished, and commended the present ministry for pursuing moderate and healing measures, and such as tended to place the King at the head of all his people. He thought a dawn of salvation to this country had broken forth, and was determined to follow it as far as it would lead him. He should be the greatest dupe in the world, if those now at the helm did not intend the honor of their master, and the good of the nation; should he find himself deceived, nothing would be left but to act with an honest despair. He mentioned the symptoms of a good disposition in the States, upon which Mr. Pelham had first enlarged, and observed, that if they

CHAP.
VI.
1745.

CHAP. completed their last augmentation of 12,000 men, they would have a
 VI. more numerous army on foot than they maintained during King
 1745. William's war. In the heat of his argument, he turned once or twice to Sir R. Newdigate, and asked, with an air of disdain, "if this could be called an old measure from a new ministry?" Mr. Yorke observes, that the fulminating eloquence of Mr. Pitt silenced all opposition. Sir R. Newdigate professed acquiescence, although he said he could not give his thorough approbation to the question until he had obtained further information.

The question passed with a single negative from Lord Strange.

On the 20th January, 1745, the unfortunate emperor Charles the VIIth expired at Munich. Nothing can be more striking than the miseries to which ambition subjected this ill-fated prince. The example of his father should have warned him against the delusive promises of France. The battle of Blenheim deprived the elector Maximilian Emanuel of his dominions. For ten years he lived an exile from his country, depending upon the charity of France, leaving his subjects, whom he loved, a prey to Austrian oppression. Re-established at length in his dominions, he had the happiness of seeing them restored to some degree of prosperity. This was owing to the blessings of a twelve years' peace and the great natural fertility of Bavaria. His death occurred in 1726. A continuation of peace till the year 1741, placed the country in a flourishing condition under his successor. But the imperial diadem, and the Austrian succession were temptations too brilliant to be resisted by Charles. He again plunged Bavaria into a war. The early successes he experienced rendered him more acutely sensible to his subsequent disasters. His own capital, more than once in the possession of his inveterate enemy, himself, like his father, a needy exile, he felt that he had sacrificed his real dignity and independence in the pursuit and purchase of an empty title. The sage has beautifully and truly described his fate.

The bold Bavarian in a luckless hour
 Tries the dread summits of Cæsarean power ;

With unexpected legions bursts away,
 And sees defenceless realms receive his sway.
 Short sway ! Fair Austria spreads her mournful charms,
 The Queen, the beauty, sets the world in arms.
 From hill to hill the beacon's gathering blaze
 Spreads wide the hope of plunder and of praise.
 The fierce Croatian, and the wild huzzar,
 With all the sons of rapine, croud the war.
 The baffled Prince, in fortune's flattering bloom,
 Of early greatness finds the fatal doom ;
 His foes' derision and his subjects' blame,
 He steals to death from anguish and from shame.

CHAP.
 VI.
 1745.

The death of the Emperor Charles VIIth was hailed by the Duke of Lorraine as a prelude to his own elevation, which he at length accomplished ; but although successful in this point, the arms of Austria and of England were still pursued by misfortune. The battle of Fontenoy proved a more decisive victory on the side of France than Dettingen had been on that of the allies. Marshal Saxe was never backward in following up his blow. The operations of the allies were by this defeat reduced to measures of mere defence. But we had little time to devote to an enquiry into the causes of these failures abroad ; the attention of the country was quickly drawn to its own dangerous condition, and our army was now wanted at home. A few months after the defeat at Fontenoy, the young Pretender hoisted the standard of rebellion in Scotland. To enter minutely upon this memorable event, would be foreign to the intention of my history. I shall only remark that, if a body of 6 or 7,000 Frenchmen had landed with the Chevalier, and the rebel army, instead of wasting the time in idle ceremonies and disputes at Edinburgh, had instantly marched southward, the unprepared state of the country was such, and the panic so universal, that they must have entered London almost without opposition. But providence interposed ; the courage of the people revived ; our army returned from Flanders to protect us ; and the young adventurer retired to suffer even greater hardships than had been ever experienced by his hapless ancestors. Parlia-

CHAP. VI. 1745. ment assembled on the 17th October, 1745, on account of the rebellion, upon which subject the speech from the throne was exclusively occupied. Sir Francis Dashwood, (afterwards Lord Le Despenser,) proposed the following amendment to the address in answer to the King's speech, "That for the firmer establishment of his Majesty's throne on the solid basis of his people's affections, it shall be the speedy care of the House of Commons to frame such bills as may effectually secure to his Majesty's subjects the perpetual enjoyment of their undoubted right to be freely and fairly represented in Parliaments frequently chosen and exempted from undue influence of every kind." This most injudicious and ill-timed motion was seconded by Sir John Philips. Mr. Pitt opposed it in the following spirited terms^e: "The amendment, Sir, offered as it is, during a time of so much difficulty, is fraught with the utmost danger. There is one motive only to which it can be ascribed, that of rendering ministers odious in the eyes of the people, should they put a negative upon it. But I will venture to predict a very opposite result. Although, Sir, motions of this kind must be popular in their nature, yet in this hour of difficulty and distress—rebellion raging within, invasion threatened from without—the people most earnestly employed in measures of vital importance, it is impossible to think favorably of those who would call off our attention from these most urgent subjects to points of theory and speculation. Is it now a time to sit contriving bills to guard our liberties from corruption, when that very liberty, when every thing else that is dear to us, are in danger of being wrested from us by arms? When thieves have burst into the mansion, the fool, only, would plan out methods to prevent the frauds of his servants. But why is this subject to be introduced into our address? No country, no city, no corporation have requested their representatives to bring in any such bills. The people are every where engaged in raising subscriptions and forming associations to resist those who are now in

^e This Speech, somewhat varied, and considerably shortened, is taken from Debrett, vol. 2, p. 43.

arms to rob the Sovereign of his crown and themselves of their liberties. Do gentlemen wish to give a turn to the spirit of the people, to create a contention respecting the constitution, that the kingdom itself may fall an easy prey to the enemy? Sir, if I did not know the Honorable Gentlemen who made and seconded this amendment, I should really suspect their designs. And however, from my own personal knowledge, I myself may acquit them, let them be assured that, unless they withdraw their motion, they will not escape the suspicion of the public."

CHAP.
VI.
1745.

Similar to Sir F. Dashwood's motion, was another, brought forward on the 4th November, by the Honorable Alexander Hume Campbell. Several noblemen having raised regiments for the service of his Majesty in this perilous crisis, Mr. Campbell thought proper to move, "that an address be presented to his Majesty, most humbly to beseech him, that the officers in the new regiments now raising, or already raised, may not be allowed any rank after those regiments are broke." This raised the indignation of Mr. Pitt, who thus warmly reprobated the motion^b:

"A commission, and the rank implied by a commission, are inseparable. A commission contained a power conferred by the King, by which the person who received it became subordinate to some and superior to others. The motion, I contend, is irrational, contrary to common sense, impolitic and impracticable, tending to discourage those noble persons who are exerting their utmost influence in the service of their country. The officers who are to be employed under them, are, by this motion, to be stigmatized as unworthy of rank. Sir, these gentlemen are not driven into the army by necessity, but are offering themselves to serve their country, in the day of distress, from motives of the warmest zeal. And shall we disgrace these men, shall we check their noble and generous ardour in the hour of danger? Those who desire the House to agree to this motion cannot be serious, or if serious, cannot be aware of the obvious construction of their con-

^b This speech is taken from Almon's "Anecdotes of the Life of Lord Chatham."

CHAP. VI. 1745. duct. Is this the time, I ask, to stigmatize loyalty instead of honouring and rewarding it? Are gentlemen endeavouring to obtain that object by oblique paths from which they are in a direct manner restrained? The motion, Sir, is at best suspicious; it is contradictory.

“The argument in support of the motion is an insult upon the whole army, for it implies that the army will behold with discontent this new promotion of officers. The very assertion is an impeachment of the allegiance of the army. It would be a reproach to the dignity of this House, if our deliberations were to be influenced by the views of any class of men. The right of deciding upon measures most conducive to the public interest and security, belongs not to the army, but to this House.

“Those who advise us to deny rank to the new officers, advise us to deny what the King has already granted, and what he had an undoubted right to grant. They advise us to vacate his commissions and to break his promises: they advise us to weaken him, at a time when he most wants assistance, and to show to our enemies that he is at variance with his Parliament.”

But if the alarming state of the country at this time roused Mr. Pitt to to this active and manly display of allegiance, it is the painful duty of the historian to relate, that this spirit did not extend to his friends, and that subsequently Mr. Pitt was himself the occasion of much uneasiness to his sovereign.

1746. Whilst the Duke of Cumberland was pursuing the rebel army, the English ministry was more convulsed by feuds than the country had been by invasion. One cannot read the account of these dissensions without feelings of shame and disgust. At a time when every good and loyal person ought to have suspended all party animosities, at least until rebellion was annihilated, we see the very men to whom the reins of government were entrusted, the very men who ought to have proved examples and guides to their countrymen, wrangling for power and precedence, hazarding the welfare of their kingdom, distressing and deserting their King. In my opinion, scarcely a man engaged in the ministerial dissensions, which disgraced the early part

of the year 1746, is exempt from blame. The earls of Bath and Granville are more particularly culpable. The headlong ambition of the one, and the dangerous insinuations of the other, operated with baneful influence on the mind of George II. The King had never been cordially reconciled to the ministry appointed in 1744. Some of them he despised, others he disliked, and there was scarcely one whom he respected. He had then parted with Lord Granville with extreme reluctance, and was determined to recall him upon the first favourable opportunity. It was at this time that the Duke of Newcastle irritated his Majesty by proposing the appointment of Mr. Pitt to the office of secretary of war. Offended as the King naturally was by Mr. Pitt's warm and continued opposition to the Hanoverian measures, his dislike to him was increased by the insinuations of Lord Bath. The King's wish was to emancipate himself from what he considered the thralldom of the present administration, and to form a new one, in which the Lords Bath, Harrington, and Granville, Winchelsea, and Carlisle, were to take conspicuous parts. Although he intended Mr. Winnington for the chancellorship of the exchequer, he hoped also to retain the services of Mr. Pelham. But he knew not the difficulty of the undertaking, nor how firmly the Duke of Newcastle and his brother had strengthened their parliamentary influence. They had secured to their side the most powerful noblemen in the kingdom, with the persons most distinguished for their abilities, and they knew to a man upon whom they might rely. Lord Harrington was certainly under the deepest obligations to the King, who, having in vain attempted to detach him from his party, could no longer control his indignation, but upbraided that nobleman with a want of zeal and gratitude to his person. Lord Harrington communicated what had passed to the Pelhams, who, concluding that the dissolution of their ministry was on the point of taking place, determined to anticipate the measure, and with their whole party to throw up their places. Accordingly, on the 10th February, the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Harrington resigned their seals of office. Lord Bath was immediately appointed First Lord of the Treasury, and Lord Granville

CHAP.
VI.
1746.

CHAP. Secretary of State. But it was immediately found that the resigna-
 VI.
 1746. tions were too rapid and too numerous to be adequately supplied.

On the 11th February Mr. Pelham, the Duke of Bedford, and almost every one of the members of the Boards of Treasury and Admiralty gave in their resignations. Lord Hardwicke, and other eminent members of the cabinet, were instantly expected to follow their example. The Chancellorship of the Exchequer was earnestly offered by his Majesty to Mr. Winnington, but in vain. The intimate acquaintance of that gentleman with the state of parties and family connexions, joined to his parliamentary influence, and his known talents, rendered him at that time a very prominent character. In rejecting this offer he had the candor and firmness to say to the King, "The new ministry, Sir, can neither support your Majesty nor themselves; they cannot depend on more than thirty-one lords and eighty commoners." The King was struck with this remark, and by his subsequent conduct, evinced his disposition towards the man who uttered it. He sent for Mr. Winnington on the 12th February, and paid him the high compliment of telling him (at the expense, indeed, of his party), that he was the most honest man about his person, and that he should have the honor of reconciling him to his former servants. They were all, accordingly, reinstated on the 14th February, and thus this extraordinary convulsion closed. Disgraceful as it was, it however produced one advantage to the country, by procuring the official services of Mr. Pitt. I have said that previous to this period the Duke of Newcastle had long endeavoured to overcome the repugnance of the King to Mr. Pitt. In this endeavour he was joined by others, whose dislike to Mr. Pitt was as great as the sovereign's, but who knew that the vast abilities and splendid eloquence of the man would give strength and lustre to the government. A memorial, drawn up by the elder Horace Walpole, was submitted to the King, earnestly shewing the advantages which would result to the country from appointing Mr. Pitt to the Secretaryship of War. In this paper the old charge of the opposition of Mr. Pitt to the favorite measures of the King are alluded to and admitted. Whilst the known honor and upright

intentions of Mr. Pitt sufficiently refute any insinuations to his disadvantage, I consider this recommendation as the strongest proof of the public estimation in which he was held. Although Mr. Pitt did not obtain the appointment in question, it was, perhaps, in some degree, owing to this memorial that we soon afterwards find him appointed to the Vice-treasuryship of Ireland. His name, with that of Lord Cholmondeley, was gazetted on the 22d February, 1746, in the following manner: "The King has been pleased to order letters patent to be passed under the great seal of his Kingdom of Ireland, for granting unto the Right Honorable George, Earl of Cholmondeley, and William Pitt, Esq. the office or offices of Vice Treasurer and Receiver General and Paymaster General of all his Majesty's Revenues in the said Kingdom of Ireland, and likewise the office of Treasurer of War within the said Kingdom."

CHAP.
VI.
1746.

On the 23d of April Mr. Winnington died, and on the 6th of May Mr. Pitt was appointed Paymaster in his stead.

It is not always that great abilities are accompanied by strict integrity. History contains several painful instances of men of transcendant genius, who could not resist the temptation of enriching themselves by a sacrifice of honor, and at the expense of their country. And here the mighty orator of Athens, and the great philosopher of Britain are presented to our view. We see Demosthenes unable to resist the bribes of Harpalus; and Bacon a worshipper of the unrighteous Mammon. It is gratifying to be able to withdraw from considerations so humiliating to human nature, and to regard a character which was never tainted by corruption.

There are two facts connected with Mr. Pitt's conduct during the time he held the office of Paymaster which reflect the highest honor upon his name. The first of these facts is as follows. When Mr. Pitt was first appointed to this office, it was customary that 100,000*l.* should lie, by way of advance, in the Paymaster's hands. This money, in the time of Mr. Pitt's predecessors, was usually vested in government securities, and brought an annual return of 3,000 or 4,000 pounds, which was appropriated by the Paymaster to

CHAP. his private use. It is evident that such a practice, whilst it generally
 VI. enriched the individual, might, upon particular occasions, either ex-
 1746. pose him to ruin, or impede the operations of the army, at a time
 when they were most required. For supposing the money to be thus
 locked up, and that the public funds bore a considerable discount, it
 could not be sold without the heaviest loss to the subscriber. Such
 an emergency actually occurred. In the midst of the Scotch rebel-
 lion—when the very existence of the constitution appeared to depend
 upon the fidelity of the army, the payment of that army, from such
 considerations, was stopped !

The possibility of such a predicament was revolting to the feelings of Mr. Pitt. He instantly placed in the Bank of England every sum belonging to his office, without appropriating a shilling to his private use. He placed the money where he knew it would be at once available to the public service. He subscribed not the minutest portion of it to the funds; he derived not the smallest interest from the capital, but was strictly and conscientiously satisfied with the legal salary annexed to his appointment.

The second fact is of a similar description, and no less honorable to Mr. Pitt. When the English Parliament granted subsidies to the King of Sardinia and the Queen of Hungary, it was usual even with the most respectable of Mr. Pitt's predecessors, to receive a profit of one-half per cent upon the whole subsidy advanced. This was deemed a perquisite of office. Had Mr. Pitt availed himself of this practice, he must soon have realized considerable wealth, for the subsidies at the time were very frequent and considerable. But his noble spirit disdained to profit by any indirect advantage.

“ Far other arts his heart had learned to prize.”

When the King of Sardinia was informed of Mr. Pitt's departure from the custom of his predecessors, he expressed his admiration of such greatness of mind, and desired his agent to offer to the Paymaster, as a royal present, that sum which he had before refused as a

perquisite of office. Mr. Pitt's conduct upon this occasion was worthy of a Fabricius. He declined the acceptance of the royal proffer in firm but respectful terms. He alleged, that as Parliament had granted the money for specific purposes, he had no right to the smallest share. It was his duty to pay it entire, and he trusted that he should not offend his Sardinian Majesty by refusing his gift.

CHAP.
VI.
1746.

It may well be supposed that the sentiments of this sovereign respecting Mr. Pitt were not lowered by this rejection. His former surprise now arose to astonishment, and he declared that Mr. Pitt's conduct did honor to human nature.

The 16th April, 1746, was marked by the total defeat of the rebel army at Culloden, which for ever crushed the hopes of the Pretender. For this victory the Duke of Cumberland well deserved those high acknowledgments and thanks which were bestowed upon him from every quarter of the kingdom. Nor did the popularity thus acquired by the Duke rest solely with him, it extended itself to the royal family in general, and enabled the king to carry on his favorite measures with greater facility. The hopes which the nation might entertain from the removal of Lord Granville with respect to foreign measures were soon disappointed. The principal motive which had induced that minister to enter with enthusiasm into the Queen of Hungary's quarrel operated similarly with the Duke of Newcastle. That feeble-minded man, incapable of conducting with vigour and effect the ordinary measures of government during times of repose, was induced to continue the ruinous system of continental warfare to secure himself in the cabinet by furthering the wishes of the King. Subsidy after subsidy was voted, battle after battle was lost, and still we kept stupidly continuing a war from which no possible good could be expected.

The King was a man of tried courage, he had served with the utmost valour in the armies commanded by Marlborough. He was fond of camps and armies, and, independent of his inclination to interfere on the continent as Elector of Hanover, his taste was war. He knew that the English troops had not degenerated, and he fondly ex-

CHAP.
VI.
1746.

pected, from their exertions, an equal measure of success with that which signalised the arms of Queen Anne. This sanguine spirit had been undoubtedly fostered by Lord Granville, and was kept alive by the Duke of Cumberland. But it was the duty of his ministry to point out to the King the very different posture in which Europe now stood, and the very different conduct which the interests of England required. The English at this time had to contend against the united efforts of France, Spain, and Prussia. We had to raise immense sums of money to procure the tardy, unwilling, and ineffective assistance of several German princes, and all for the alleged purpose of adjusting the balance of power in which we had but a secondary concern. Our principal ally, the Queen of Hungary, whilst she eagerly received our supplies, never furnished her stipulated contingent of troops, but left the confederate army to be constantly out-numbered by that of France. Our influence with the Dutch was also comparatively weak, and did not enable us to procure from them a necessary and cordial co-operation.

It is a mistake to suppose that the successes of Marlborough were exclusively owing to the abilities he displayed in the field of battle. That careful commander concerted with the allies his plans for the ensuing campaigns, many months before he undertook them. He constantly calculated upon every difficulty which might arise, and overcame the scruples of the allies as much by his prudence and conciliation, as he did the arms of his enemies by his consummate military skill. To the soundest good sense he added the most delightful manners and address, and brought the most refractory courts into his measures, by the constant exercise of a gentle, graceful, and dignified behaviour. His principle seemed to be that of Cæsar, *nil actum reputans dum quid superesset agendum*. Our war in support of the Queen of Hungary was conducted upon a system directly opposite to that which Marlborough pursued. Our money was lavished with the most heedless profusion, and our blood was spilt in a foreign and ungrateful cause; our councils were taken without concert, conduct, or confidence, and our battles were fought without

any requisite to success but that of valor alone. The Duke of Cumberland was, indeed, as brave and as heroic a soldier as ever existed; he fought, and encouraged his men to fight, with energy and enthusiasm; but he was placed at the head of armies when extremely young, and wholly without experience, and it is not surprising that in learning the art of war, he had to undergo the severest lessons of failure and misfortune. He no more resembled Marlborough, in all the great requisites of a commander-in-chief, than his colleague, Prince Charles of Lorraine, resembled Prince Eugene. The talents necessary to a general were wholly on the side of the adversaries of England. Marshal Saxe and the King of Prussia were men of consummate military skill, and their successes were equal to their abilities. The battles of Racoux, in 1746, and of Lafeldt, in 1747, were striking instances of the superiority of Saxe to Prince Charles and the Duke of Cumberland. The allied armies suffered considerably in both these actions; in both were they highly benefited, and in the last action preserved, by the conduct of a native of France, who happily was in the service of Great Britain. This was the celebrated Sir John Ligonier. In the battle of Lafeldt, at the instant when total destruction seemed to impend over the allied army, General Ligonier put himself at the head of the British dragoons, and, charging the whole line of the French cavalry, caused such a diversion by the tremendous shock, that the Duke of Cumberland was enabled to effect an orderly retreat with his army. His horse having been killed, Ligonier was himself taken prisoner by the enemy, but the regiments he commanded retired with deliberation and in safety.

CHAP.
VI.
1747.

However successful the arms of Louis XV. had been, both that monarch, and his general Saxe, were most desirous of peace. Addicted to luxury more than to ambition, Louis preferred the undisturbed enjoyment of his pleasures in peace, to the uncertain and arduous glory to be acquired by war. Strongly attached as he had been to his preceptor, Fleury, the pacific system of that minister came doubly recommended to his heart. In addition to this, the finances of France were terribly disordered, and required a cessation of hostili-

CHAP. ties to restore them. Martial glory is supposed to be most at a
 VI. Frenchman's heart, but in the present case that glory had been pur-
 1747. chased at an immense expense, and there were causes, in acquiring
 it, to damp the national vanity.

Catholic and bigoted as they were, neither Louis nor his people saw with complacency a foreigner and a protestant at the head of their armies. The successes of Marshal Saxe reconciled the French to his command, but the reverses of war would instantly have involved him in disgrace. This reason acted reciprocally, and of course rendered Saxe also most anxious for peace. After the battle of Lafeldt Sir John Ligonier was admitted to several conferences with the French King, he had also repeated interviews with Saxe, and was enabled to apprise the English Cabinet of their pacific desires. Although this communication could not be displeasing to George II., it produced no instant accommodation between the two countries. The Duke of Cumberland, whose disposition was ever ardent and sanguine, still hoped to efface the memory of former disasters by the glories of a new campaign. In his Majesty's speech to Parliament, November 12th, 1747, the angry animadversions upon France, the disparaging terms in which the overtures of peace from that country are mentioned, and the strong exhortation to his subjects, "to grant such supplies as their own security, and lasting welfare, and the present critical and important situation of affairs require," gave but little encouragement to England to hope for a speedy termination of the war. It was therefore to the surprise of the public and the satisfaction of all right judging persons that preliminaries of peace were signed at Aix la Chapelle on the 30th April, 1748. The fear that Maestricht, then closely besieged by Saxe, should fall into the hands of the French was the urgent cause with the British cabinet for signing these preliminaries. The only party, to whom the conditions of this peace were avowedly disagreeable, was the Empress Queen. Although by this treaty the election of the Emperor was acknowledged, and the House of Austria obtained the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction; although Maria Theresa recovered the Low Countries, yet as she was obliged

to make restitution of her conquests in Italy, to confirm the cession of Silesia and Glatz to the King of Prussia, and to yield the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla to Don Philip, she was excessively dissatisfied. She resisted stubbornly for some time, and it was not until after much violence of remonstrance that her plenipotentiaries were allowed by her to sign the definitive treaty.

The conditions of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, considered by themselves, were certainly not favorable to the interests and honor of Great Britain. We gave up much in exchange for very little. The right of English subjects to navigate in the American seas, which had been the original cause of the war with Spain, was not even mentioned, and our possessions in North America were left undefined. Strictly speaking, the treaty could be considered as little more than a temporary truce. But the war, on the part of England and the allies, had been carried on with such wretched success, and the prospect of a fresh campaign was so very discouraging, that peace, upon almost any terms, and for a time however short, had become imperatively necessary.

CHAPTER VII.

1748.

Charges against Mr. Pitt's political Consistency examined—The Advisers of the Prince of Wales—Characters of Lord Egmont, Mr. Nugent, and Dr. Lee—Mr. Pitt's Speech upon the Mutiny Bill—Upon the Glasgow Petition—Mr. Pitt in Retirement—George the Second endeavours to secure the Election of the Archduke Joseph to the title of King of the Romans—The Westminster Election—The Prince of Wales's Court—Illness and Death of his Royal Highness.

CHAP. VII. FROM the time Mr. Pitt entered Parliament, to the end of the year 1748. 1744, we have seen him a steady and most determined enemy of the continental measures of the minister. We have seen him reprobating, in the most glowing language, the supineness of Walpole, and the headlong impetuosity of his successor. We have now to regard his conduct in a different point of view. He is now to be considered as a silent spectator of measures, when pursued by Newcastle, which, under Carteret, he had so loudly condemned. We have, moreover, to consider him as the advocate of several principles, to which before he seemed decidedly hostile. From what cause, it may properly be asked, did such inconsistency arise? Was the spirit of Pitt, which a fond public considered superior to all sordid considerations, subdued by the hopes of office? or was his strong voice hushed by the soft whispers of self-interest? These are most important questions, and must be most solemnly considered, before the historian presumes to decide upon the character of Pitt. Heavy is his responsibility who undertakes to consign to posterity the names and actions of the illustrious dead. Whilst the memory of the dead is to be most deeply

regarded, a still deeper respect must be paid to truth, to the eternal difference betwixt right and wrong, with which no admiration of the character in question must be allowed to interfere. That writer, whose partiality induces him to vindicate, or conceal, the faults of exalted persons, contributes, as far as his work extends, to mislead mankind. A dangerous sophistry may thereby deduce the best actions from imaginary or selfish motives. The weak and irresolute may eagerly catch at such precedents, in designating their own defects, and the vicious may plead them as palliatives of their own enormities. But, on the other hand, rash and indiscriminate censures may be attended with consequences no less pernicious. To decide correctly upon the conduct of men, especially in the complicated and often contradictory affairs of nations, is a most difficult task. The lapse of a few years will often produce a total change in the system of policy which before it was necessary to pursue, and the opposition which, at one time, may prevent many national calamities—may, when exerted at an improper season, perpetuate and increase them. The charges of political tergiversation against Mr. Pitt, which fall in with this period of my history, are chiefly three; first, his acquiescing in the continental measures pursued by the Duke of Newcastle after Lord Granville had retired from power; secondly, his abandoning the claim of British seamen to an exemption from the search of Spanish guardships; thirdly, his defence of the extension of military law.

CHAP.
VII.
1748.

Without offering any laboured apology for Mr. Pitt's change of political sentiments, which he himself was ever foremost to allow, I shall suggest such arguments upon the three charges above-mentioned, as I deem worthy the consideration of every impartial enquirer. I begin with the first charge. Mr. Pitt had in 1746 become a member of an administration, which, however unhappy and unwise in their conduct of the war in Germany, carried into effect many measures most beneficial to Great Britain. So far as the internal interests of the country were concerned, that administration was eminently useful. Mr. Pelham was a good and honorable man, of great candour and

CHAP. VII. 1748. affability of manners, and possessing the greatest influence with his associates in power. It appears from his correspondence^a that Mr.

Pelham, himself, disapproved of the system which we pursued on the continent, but was unable to prevent it. I have no doubt that his conduct and example upon this point had great weight with Mr. Pitt. When the latter saw that Mr. Pelham, so powerful by his family connexions, and so respected from his known desire to promote the public welfare, was unable to prevent the adoption of those German measures which entailed such expenses upon the country, he must have felt that his own single opposition to them would have been wholly without effect. Mr. Pitt undoubtedly, possessed the greatest confidence in his own abilities, and looked forward to the time when an introduction to one of the great offices of state would enable him to exert them for the benefit of his country. To continue a single opposition to our continental measures would have been worse than useless; would have embarrassed the general operations of government, and for ever have excluded him from any high official employment. Under these impressions, probably, he was induced to forbear the expression of his sentiments, and for the sake of the general harmony of administration, to forego an opposition to those measures which he found himself unable to overthrow.

I shall now consider the second charge of inconsistency. I believe that every impartial enquirer must admire and applaud Mr. Pitt's noble defence of the freedom of British navigation against the aggressions of the Spaniards, in the latter years of Sir R. Walpole's administration, and will agree with me in thinking that a war was, at that time, as expedient as it was just. A most important question was at issue, and to decide that question, when every other effort had been tried, the nation had recourse to arms. Unhappily, however, the war with Spain had been so weakly conducted, and the efforts of the nation so much diverted and exhausted upon other and unnecessary points, that at the end of a nine years' struggle we found

^a See his Letters to the senior Horace Walpole, in Coxe's Life of Lord Walpole.

ourselves utterly unable to enforce the great point in dispute. Under such circumstances, what was it the duty of a wise senator to advise? In my opinion it was peace with Spain. The justice of our claims, indeed, remained the same, but our inability to assert those claims had been woefully proved, and the continuation of the war, which originated in justice and expediency in 1739, would, in 1748, have been obstinate and dangerous in the extreme.

CHAP.
VII.
1748.

As to the third charge of inconsistency, I think the occurrence of certain events was calculated to produce a change of opinion, with respect to the necessity of a military establishment, in the freest and firmest mind. Accordingly, the extreme consternation into which the country had been thrown by the invasion of the young Pretender, the utter inadequacy of the militia to resist the rebels, and the intense anxiety with which our troops had been expected from Germany to protect us, made a lasting impression on Mr. Pitt. He was thence induced to infer, that, if the Pretender, with an inconsiderable and undisciplined body of men, and those too at variance amongst themselves, was able to penetrate very far into the country, and to endanger the safety of the capital itself, the successful invasion of a regular French army could at no time be prevented but by the constant existence of a strong military force.

Several other allegations of inconsistency have been made against the conduct of Mr. Pitt, but they cannot well be resolved into a change of opinion as to *things*, but, probably, arose out of some misunderstanding with *persons*, from which scarcely any public character has the happiness to be exempted. Of this description was his conduct towards the Prince of Wales. It will be remembered that Mr. Pitt first displayed his powers as an orator in a lofty panegyric upon his Royal Highness. He was subsequently appointed groom of the bed-chamber to the Prince. He resigned that situation towards the close of the year 1744. Although I have made diligent enquiry to ascertain the fact, I am unable to state upon what grounds he adopted this measure^b. Horace Walpole charged him with ingratitude to the

^b As my grandfather, Archdeacon Thackeray, was chaplain to the Prince of Wales, and

CHAP. Prince, but as he has not even pretended to substantiate his assertion,
 VII.
 1748. it may reasonably be considered as one of the many uncharitable sur-
 mises which disgrace his page.

Although the opposition had for some time languished, it began to assume a more formidable appearance in the year 1747, and was openly headed by the Prince of Wales. Lord Bolingbroke, the Earl of Egmont, Dr. Lee, and Mr. Nugent, were the principal advisers of his Royal Highness. These were all men of considerable talent. I have before spoken of Lord Bolingbroke*, and shall only here observe that age, which had added to his knowledge, had in no respect diminished the charms of his address and conversation. He was highly obsequious to the Prince, with whom his influence was considerable. Lord Egmont possessed great abilities and unwearied application. The reputation he acquired as a writer, by the celebrated pamphlet "Faction detected," was unfavourable to his interests as a politician. He was conscious of this, and would willingly have relinquished whatever interest he might command in the House of Commons for a seat amongst the Peers. Mr. Pelham would not gratify him in this respect, and he attached himself to the party of the Prince of Wales.

It will be remembered that Dr. Lee was, in 1741, elected chairman of the committee of privileges and elections against the efforts of Sir R. Walpole. This gentleman was a lawyer of great erudition and integrity, and was a sound and weighty speaker. The Prince of Wales intended him for his future chancellor of the exchequer, although the nature of his studies, and his practice as a civilian, had excluded him from that extensive knowledge of mankind which the high posts of government require.

Mr. Nugent was a man of such unequal powers, that it is difficult to know what place to assign him, as a speaker, or as a man of busi-

honored with much of his Royal Highness's notice, I hoped to discover from his papers something which might throw light upon this subject, but I have been disappointed.

* Lord Bolingbroke had the highest opinion of Mr. Pitt's abilities, as he also had of those of his sister, Mrs. Anne Pitt. The former, his Lordship termed sublimity Pitt, and the latter, divinity Pitt.

ness. Humorous and undaunted in his elocution, he gave utterance to every idea which arose in his mind, but he wanted the good taste to perceive that the constant use of ridicule must disgust his hearers, and destroy the effect of severity when the occasion demanded it.

CHAP.
VII.
1748.

By the advice of Lord Bolingbroke, the Prince of Wales held a stannary court, in his capacity of Duke of Cornwall, and revived some claims which, had they been admitted, would have given him considerable influence in the Cornish boroughs. The agitation of these claims, (which were declared to be wholly inadmissible by the ministry,) excited considerable attention, and inflamed the opposition of the Prince to the measures of government.

A new Parliament had met in November 1747, and the first session passed over with unanimity. During the prorogation, the opposition rallied their powers, and determined to act with vigour for the future. From the preceding view of the principal characters of those who formed this opposition, it will be seen, that the men of the greatest genius and ability were supporters of the administration. Mr. Pelham had no reason to dread the efforts of the adverse party, when he numbered Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Murray amongst his friends.

The second session of the new Parliament commenced on the 29th November, 1748. In the speech from the throne, his Majesty observed, that "It had been his chief endeavour, in putting an end to the calamities of war, to make the most effectual provision for securing the rights and interests of his subjects, and to procure the best terms and conditions for his allies that the situation of affairs would admit." An animated debate arose upon the vote of an address to the throne.

The leaders of opposition commented very severely upon the terms of the late treaty of Aix la Chapelle, which they designated the worst and most inglorious that England ever had subscribed. In answer to their objections, the ministers entered into a full explanation and defence of the treaty, and carried their address by a great majority. Mr. Pitt did not speak upon the occasion

CHAP.
VII.
1748.

Few contests have been more violent than those which arose upon the discussion of two annual bills, which were brought into Parliament soon after this time, respecting our naval and military establishments. The first was intituled, "A Bill for amending, explaining, and reducing into one Act of Parliament, the laws relating to the navy," and was framed with the intention of subjecting half-pay officers to martial law. Every odious objection to this bill was brought forward by the opposition, and the liveliest alarm was excited amongst the officers of the navy. A petition, very numerous and respectably signed, was presented to the House of Commons against it, and a motion made that the petitioners should be heard by their counsel. This was resisted by Mr. Pelham. He was supported by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Lyttleton. The motion was rejected, and the bill, after a few amendments and mitigations, passed through both Houses, and received the royal assent.

The other bill was intituled, "the New Mutiny Bill," and encountered no less opposition. It was considered by many as an innovation upon the liberty of the subject, calculated to extend the influence of the crown, and to promote the authority of a military jurisdiction. By the final clause of this bill, martial law was extended to all officers on half pay. It was upon the expediency of this clause that Mr. Pitt expressed himself in the following extraordinary terms: "What danger, I ask, can arise from obliging a half-pay officer to continue upon the military establishment? It is admitted on all hands, that while he is in full pay he must employ his time, his study, and even his sword, as his superiors shall direct. There may possibly be danger in this, but it never can happen until the direction becomes wicked, nor prevented but by the virtue of the army. It is to that virtue we even at this time trust, small as our army is; it is to that virtue we must have trusted, had this bill been modelled as its warmest opposers could have wished; and without this virtue should

^d Most of the short speeches assigned to Mr. Pitt in this chapter are taken, almost *verbatim*, from Almon's Anecdotes of the Life of Lord Chatham.

the Lords, the Commons, and the people of England, entrench themselves behind parchment up to the teeth, the sword will find a passage to the vitals of the Constitution.”

CHAP.
VII.
1749.

On the 12th of April, 1749, the house being resolved into a committee of supply, there was a debate respecting the propriety of granting 10,000*l.* to the city of Glasgow, that sum having been extorted from the city by the Pretender during the late rebellion. A petition had been presented on the subject, and a motion was made that Parliament should grant its request. This was opposed by Mr. Bowes, who observed that if this sum were granted to Glasgow, other towns, which were no less deserving, would expect an equal remuneration. In answer to Mr. Bowes, Mr. Pitt expressed himself thus :

“ * I shall not enter into a dispute with the Honorable Gentleman, whether there are not many places, both in England and Scotland, that have an equal pretence to loyalty with the city of Glasgow, and that showed as much zeal for the support of the government during the late rebellion; but this I will aver, that there was no city, town, or place in Great Britain, that suffered so much or that shewed greater zeal in the cause. And, without making any invidious comparisons, I may say, that there are not many cities in the united kingdom that have so often, or so remarkably distinguished themselves in the cause of liberty. It was this, Sir; it was the whole tenor of this city's conduct, from the time of the Reformation, that drew down the resentment of the rebels upon it, and made them resolve upon the extravagant demand which at first they made upon that city. Had they insisted upon the demand, Glasgow must have been ruined, because it would have been impossible for the inhabitants to raise the sum. Of this they had the good fortune to convince the rebel-leaders, who shewed that they had no inclination to ruin so flourishing a city, although the inhabitants appeared generally

* This Speech was written by Gordon, who, I have before stated, was a contributor to the London Magazine. I have attempted to reduce it somewhat nearer to the general standard of Mr. Pitt's language, but have been unable to divest it entirely of the vulgarity introduced by its reporter.

CHAP. VII. 1749. to be their enemies. Shall then a British Parliament shew less regard to their friends than the rebels shewed to their enemies? The rebels gave them 10,000*l.*; that is to say, they receded from 10,000*l.* of their first demand rather than ruin the city. I may the more justly call this giving them 10,000*l.* because had the rebels plundered Glasgow they would have found thrice the value of the sum among the inhabitants. If then, the rebels gave that city 10,000*l.* rather than expose it to ruin, shall a British Parliament withhold that sum which may restore it from ruin?

“ I am really shocked, Sir, that such a question should stand a debate in a British House of Commons. Had the rebels succeeded in their flagitious attempt, and called a slavish Parliament, (they would never have called a free one,) I should not have wondered to see such a question opposed in a House of Commons assembled by their authority; but it does astonish me to see such a question opposed in a House where every member present professes his friendship for the petitioners, and acknowledges the gratitude due to them from the public. The Honorable Gentleman has informed us that he did not intend to depreciate the real merit of the city of Glasgow. I know not what were his intentions, but he certainly endeavoured to shew that the conduct of that city was not so meritorious as had been represented, because they attempted nothing in favor of government till after the rebels had marched into England, from whence they had reason to expect that none of them would ever return. This, Sir, was certainly an insinuation that the people of Glasgow never did any thing in favor of the government, as long as they thought it endangered by the rebellion. Sir, had this been really the case, I should have had no great opinion of their merit. But I will shew that, before the rebel army entered England, it was not in the power of the people of Glasgow to do any thing in favor of the government; and that they had not then the least reason to suppose that the danger from the rebellion was past.

“ When we consider, Sir, that the rebels marched through one half of England, without any opposition from the militia; when we

consider, that even in their retreat, though pursued by the Duke and the regular forces, they met with no obstruction from the militia ; we cannot with any justice censure the south or west parts of Scotland for not opposing them with a similar force. As to the city of Glasgow, it had neither time to provide for its defence nor the means of making resistance. The town is an open town, without so much as a wall about it ; the inhabitants were without arms and ammunition, and totally ignorant of military discipline ; it was, therefore, impossible for them to think of opposing an army of Highlanders, who by the care of their chiefs, are bred up to arms and military discipline from their infancy. Besides, they had no time for such an undertaking. The rebels came down upon them in a very few weeks after first appearing in arms ; and till the battle at Preston, every one had reason to believe that General Cope, with the forces under his command, would have prevailed against them.

CHAP.
VII.
1749.

“ The case was very different, Sir, with regard to Newcastle and Carlisle, because both those places being surrounded with a wall, may in a few days be so fortified as to be able to resist a flying party. Yet how little resistance did the latter make ! Although they had many weeks to prepare for their defence ; although they had hopes of being relieved in a few days by the army then assembled at Newcastle, under Marshal Wade, they gave up their city the very day after they found the rebels were preparing for a general assault. Yet that city, or at least the castle, might have held out much longer against the rebels who had no battering cannon with them ; indeed, a small party of the rebels afterwards defended the castle for several days against the Duke, and would probably have held out much longer if they had not heard that some artillery was upon the road from Whitehaven to be employed against them.

“ As to the opinion which the people of Glasgow might entertain of the safety of the government, or the event of the rebellion, at the time the rebel army marched into England, they could not have reasoned as the Honorable Gentleman was pleased to represent. From the small number of that army, the people of Scotland had

CHAP. reason to fear, either that the rebels were well assured of being joined
VII. by great numbers in England, or that there was treachery in his
1749. Majesty's councils and armies; for without some such well-grounded
hopes no one could suppose that men of common sense would think
of invading England with an army of 5 or 6000 Highlanders. At
the time of the Revolution it was at first said, that the Prince of
Orange was to invade England with an army of 30,000 men, and
many of the King's adherents seemed to be terrified by the report; a
noble lord, who was known to be a firm friend, seemed to make light
of the intelligence, and said he apprehended no danger from such an
army; but when it was afterwards reported that the Prince was to
bring 20,000, he began to be alarmed; and when he heard that the
Prince was to come with 14,000 only, then cries he, 'We are un-
done!' When they asked him why he, who had appeared to despise
30,000 should be afraid of 14,000, he answered, 'An army of 30,000
men cannot conquer England; but no man would come here with
14,000 were he not sure of finding a great many traitors amongst
us.'

"This mode of reasoning, Sir, was not incorrect; and though
the event proved that, if the rebels entertained such hopes, those
hopes were ill grounded; yet this the people of Glasgow could not
foresee. From the small number of the rebel army, they had
rather cause to dread the event than to suppose that none of that army
would ever return. Nor could they suppose this from the spirit that ap-
peared in England in favor of the government; for, though I am very
well convinced that this spirit was sincere, yet I fear that if the rebel
leader could have persuaded his people to encounter the Duke in Staf-
fordshire, or could have given him the slip, marched towards London,
and fought a battle near this city, the fate of England would have de-
pended upon the issue of that battle. Had they obtained a victory,
and made themselves masters of London, I question much if the spirit
of the populace would not soon have taken a very different turn.

"I must therefore conclude, Sir, that when the rebel army
marched to England, the people of Glasgow could form no certain

judgment respecting the event of the rebellion ; and consequently that what they afterwards did proceeded alone from their steady attachment to the government. I must add that their zeal was the more meritorious as it was manifested after they had severely suffered for it : after so large a sum of money had been extorted from them by the rebels, solely on account of the zeal they had formerly shewn in supporting the liberties of their country. A burnt child, the proverb remarks, is in dread of the fire ; if the people of Glasgow after having suffered so severely for their loyalty, had resolved to lie quiet, and wait the event of the invasion, their conduct would have been excusable. By such conduct they would have been considerable gainers, even should we now grant the money for which they petition. But they honestly and bravely resolved to be no idle spectators of the troubles of their country. They resolved to exert themselves ; and they spared no expense by which they might assist the government.

CHAP.
VII.
1749.

“ To maintain, Sir, that the expense which they incurred was attended with no success or effect, is what no man can with certainty say ; for the regiment they raised and sent to Stirling with two more, so effectually guarded the pass that no reinforcement ever did march that way to the rebels ; and the regiment they kept at home very probably prevented any reinforcement being sent by the way of Glasgow. And though our army was unfortunate at Falkirk, yet had the Glasgow regiment not been there the disaster might have been greater, and the victory of the rebels more complete ; for, although that regiment was engaged in the action, it is evident it was not defeated and dispersed, because, had this been the case, the men would have fled to their homes instead of retreating, after the battle, in good order to Edinburgh, without any additional loss.

“ As to the behaviour of the northern counties, and that of Newcastle in particular, comparisons are so odious, Sir, that I should have avoided making them had I not been forced to do so by the Honorable Gentleman who spoke last. I readily and gratefully acknowledge the dutiful zeal of all these places for the support of his Majesty’s government ; and I likewise confess, that those who desire

CHAP. VII.
1749.] no reimbursement of the expense to which they were exposed on that occasion, have more merit than those who do: at the same time, Sir,

I must observe, that before the rebels left Edinburgh, the northern counties were secured against their attacks not only by the strong town of Berwick, but by an army equal to that of the rebels, encamped near Newcastle, and commanded by one of the best generals in the service; whereas the inhabitants of Glasgow shewed their zeal for his Majesty even when the rebels were masters of their country. As to the expense, it must be acknowledged, that over and above the relief now prayed for, Glasgow was, either voluntarily or by compulsion, at a much greater proportionate expense than any of the places referred to; for, from what was said by the gentleman at your bar, it appears, that over and above the two fines extorted from them by the rebels, their expenses amounted to above 8,000*l*. This is a heavier sum than was extorted from the town of Newcastle; and more in proportion for the single city of Glasgow than 30,000*l*. is for the whole county of York. Besides, Sir, the northern counties suffered no interruption in their trade or manufactures, whereas the trade and manufactures of Glasgow were entirely at a stand during almost the whole time of the rebellion. To this I must add, that the expense on the part of the northern counties was voluntary, whereas it was, for the greater part, compulsory on Glasgow. This makes a very great difference, for people may generously and largely contribute to the assistance of government, as all those places did, but they will never voluntarily contribute more than they can spare; whereas, a people may be forced to contribute what would infallibly prove their ruin should they meet with no retribution; which is the case now before us.

“ Then, Sir, as to the city of Carlisle, the rebels might, perhaps, raise the taxes there, as they did in many other places; but I cannot think they imposed a fine. I am rather inclined to think they favoured that city, because the people absolutely refused to support his Majesty's commanding officer there in making a stout resistance, which was the cause of the surrender of the city and castle. I therefore

think we have no reason to fear applications for relief from any of those places. Should any such be made, they cannot be so well supported as the application now under consideration ; and, consequently, our complying with this can be no precedent for our complying with others also.

CHAP.
VII.
1749.

“ But the introduction of a bad precedent, is not, it seems, Sir, the only danger likely to arise from our agreement to this motion: we are, besides, threatened with the danger of exciting a rebellion in England. This, Sir, is so imaginary an alarm, that I cannot think any one gentleman in this House is really affected by it. If there should be no future application of this kind, we can be in no such danger ; because no man can feel disobliged that the Parliament has not granted a relief for which he has not applied. Sir, I have good reason to hope that there will be no such future application. I hope all gentlemen and bodies politic in Great Britain will follow the example of the City of Glasgow, and desire no relief for what they voluntarily contributed towards the support of his Majesty’s government, nor for what they suffered when compelled to give free quarters to the rebels. If, then, we have no application upon either of these heads, I believe we need apprehend no others. But, supposing that other applications should be made, we shall then have an opportunity to consider their merits ; and if the circumstances should appear to be the same with those of the petitioners before us, I do not question that they will meet with the same success. If the circumstances should appear to be different, and not nearly so meritorious, we may refuse their petition with safety ; because, however partial they may be to their own solicitation, the rest of the nation will judge impartially, and approve our refusal. Sir, if the rest of the nation approve it, we can be in no danger of its exciting a rebellion in this part of the kingdom.

“ Another danger alleged is, that if we agree to this motion it will encourage people to be inactive in defending themselves against any future invasion or insurrection, or perhaps, under the pretence of force, induce them to support the invaders. This I grant, Sir, might

CHAP. be the consequence of laying it down as a general principle, that all
 VII. who suffer by an invasion or insurrection shall have their loss made
 1749. good by the public; and therefore it would be wrong to lay down
 such a general principle. But if the laying down such a principle would
 surely be wrong, much more so would it be to assert the contrary as
 an unalterable maxim of state. It would be unjust as well as im-
 prudent, to establish it as a principle, that those who honestly and
 bravely risk their lives and fortunes in opposition to an invasion or
 insurrection, and have suffered severely on account of that opposition,
 should meet with no relief from the public, especially when their
 preservation or ruin depends upon that relief. This appears to be the
 case now before us: and if we allow that justice is due to the public
 creditors, or that relief is due to our poor labourers and manufac-
 turers, we must agree to this motion, because the public revenue will
 suffer a great deal more by the ruin of such a trading town as
 Glasgow, than it can suffer by granting the relief desired by the
 petitioners to prevent that ruin.

“This relief, Sir, they cannot receive from the produce of the
 forfeited estates in Scotland. The proposal of such relief would be
 like prescribing a remedy to a sick man, which could not be prepared
 until his distemper had put an end to his life. It will be several years
 before any thing can be made of those estates; and in the mean time
 the inhabitants of Glasgow must be ruined by the law charges of
 creditors, who will sue them for their money, unless the interest be
 regularly paid. Sir, it is impossible for the Corporation to do this,
 and at the same time support their necessary annual expense, out of
 their present income. Their ruin, therefore, must be inevitable, or the
 relief now moved for must be granted.”

All dispassionate readers, will, I think, allow the truth and jus-
 tice of Mr. Pitt's arguments in favour of Glasgow. That city had
 adhered with unshaken fortitude to the principles of the protestant
 succession, and in the trying times of 1715 and 1745, had exhibited
 the most manly example of loyalty and zeal towards the government.

The sum prayed for was granted by Parliament.

The election of a member for Westminster, which, both at the time and subsequently, occasioned such violent disputes, commenced on the 22nd November, 1749. The candidates were, the late representative Lord Trentham, eldest son of Earl Gower, and Sir George Vandeput, a private gentleman brought forward by Lord Egmont. This scene of confusion was opened on the 16th November, by an advertisement from Lord Trentham addressed to the inhabitants of Westminster, informing them that he had been appointed one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, but entreating them to re-elect him their member.

CHAP.
VII.
1749.

After a very severe contest, in which the general concomitants of a Westminster election, abuse and uproar, abundantly prevailed, the poll was closed on the 8th December, and the numbers declared to be, for Lord Trentham 4811, for Sir G. Vandeput 4654. A scrutiny was then demanded by Sir G. Vandeput, and, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of Lord Trentham's council, was granted by the High Bailiff. After the extremely protracted period of five months, Lord Trentham was declared to have a majority of 170 upon the scrutiny, and was accordingly returned member for Westminster. But this by no means settled the dispute, to which I shall have occasion to recur.

When the Mutiny Bill was under the consideration of the House in January 1750, the Hon. Colonel Townshend proposed to insert a clause, by way of rider, that no non-commissioned officer should be broke or reduced to the ranks, and no soldier punished, but by the sentence of a court-martial. He had witnesses, he said, at the door to prove that a serjeant and corporal were reduced to the ranks, because some of their party, as they were going on duty to the play-house, happened to say in the street, *Vandeput for ever*. For this offence, which it was out of their power to prevent, the two non-commissioned officers, were, without trial, reduced to the ranks.

A long debate ensued upon this, and Mr. Pitt spoke thus against the clause: "I never will agree to call officers and soldiers to the bar of this House to traduce and impeach each other. If they once learn

CHAP. the way here with their complaints, they will next come with their
 VII. petitions. Our business is to consider the number of forces necessary
 1750. for the defence of this kingdom and our possessions, and to grant the
 money for the maintaining that number. We have no business with
 the conduct of the army, or the officers' or soldiers' complaints; those
 are subjects which belong to the King, or to such as shall be com-
 missioned by him to hear them. If we give ear to them, we shall not
 only destroy the discipline of the army, but make Parliament detest-
 able; for it will be impossible to give satisfaction to both parties; be-
 sides causing great trouble and neglect of duty, in coming from distant
 parts of the kingdom. Therefore, I hope, Sir, the House will not
 permit any enquiry to be made into the complaint that has been
 offered. There is not the least pretence for saying, that it relates to
 the freedom of election, nor to the particular election for Westminster
 now going on. It relates singly to the duty of two non-commissioned
 officers, sent out with a party upon duty, to report this circumstance, (if
 it happened, and they knew of it,) to their commanding officer. Why
 they did not do so, it is not for us to enquire; nor is it a question for
 this House to determine whether the commanding officer has punished
 his serjeant and corporal with unmerited severity; it belongs to a court-
 martial, or board of officers."

On the 5th February, 1750, Lord Egmont moved for copies of
 all letters and papers relative to the demolition of Dunkirk according
 to the late treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The motion was opposed by
 Mr. Pitt, who said :

"The motion is not only impolitic, but dangerous; tending to in-
 volve the nation in another war with France, when it is notorious we
 are in no situation to bear the expense. It is a very good answer to
 the motion to say it is premature; for since the conclusion of the
 treaty no opportunity has been afforded of executing all its provisions;
 the cost of the work to be defrayed resting upon and to be performed
 by the French, they may say 'our finances are reduced, we cannot
 afford the money at present, but shall in a little time.' At all events
 the motion is highly inopportune at this moment. It is an affront to

the French court, and as we are not in a condition to support it by any strong measures, it is exhibiting our petulance and impotence. At a future period, with a recruited finance and repaired marine, the motion may be proper, if the terms of the treaty have not been complied with. But if the motion is carried, and it should appear that Dunkirk is now in the state that it was in by the treaty of Utrecht, explained in the year 1717, which I believed to be the fact, will any gentleman say this is a crime in the present ministry, or a sufficient reason for a quarrel with France?"

CHAP.
VII.
1750.

From this particular scene of political life, which has not much to interest or instruct us, I shall request the reader for a short time to withdraw, and to follow Mr. Pitt from the busy haunts of men to his retirement in the country. Mr. Pitt resided during this time at South Lodge, in Enfield Chase. All his pursuits, even in the hours of relaxation, bore the stamp of dignity and grace. Whether he entertained his friends by occasionally reading to them the finest passages of the immortal Shakspeare^f, or whether he occupied himself in projecting and executing alterations in his grounds, all bespoke the man of high spirit, taste, and genius^g.

^f " Lord Chatham was an extremely fine reader of tragedy; and a lady of rank and taste, now living, declares with what satisfaction she has heard him read some of Shakspeare's historical plays, particularly those of Henry the Fourth and Fifth. She, however, uniformly observed, that when he came to the comic or buffoon parts of those plays, he always gave the book to one of his relations, and when they were gone through, he took the book again."—*Seward's Anecdotes—Lord Chatham.*

^g " His taste in laying out his grounds was exquisite. One scene in the gardens of South Lodge, in Enfield Chase (which was designed by him), that of the Temple of Pan and its accompaniments, is mentioned by Mr. Whately, in his 'Observations on Modern Gardening,' as one of the happiest efforts of well-directed and appropriate decoration."—*Seward's Anecdotes.*

It is pleasing to reflect that Mr. Pitt did not relinquish his fondness for these elegant recreations even when the weightiest affairs of the nation were committed to his care. "He was once, whilst he was Secretary of State, directing the improvements in the grounds of a friend near London, and was called to that city sooner than he expected, upon the arrival of some important despatches. On receiving the summons in the evening, he immediately sallied out, attended by all the servants he could get together with lanterns, and planted stakes in the different places for which he intended clumps and trees."—*Seward's Anecdotes.*

Mr. Hayley, in the Memoirs lately published, mentions the admirable taste of Lord Chatham in selecting points of picturesque scenery.

CHAP.
VII.
1750.

The following verses composed by Mr. Pitt, at this time, and addressed to Lord Cobham, will have many charms for the reader^b.

From Norman Princes sprung, their virtues' heir,
Cobham! for thee my vaults inclose
Tokai's smooth cask unpierc'd. Here purer air,
Breathing sweet pink and balmy rose,

Shall meet thy wish'd approach. Haste then away,
Nor round and round for ever rove
The magic Ranelagh, or nightly stray
In gay Spring Gardens' glittering grove.

Forsake the town's huge mass stretch'd long and wide,
Pall'd with profusion's sickening joys;
Spurn the vain Capital's insipid pride,
Smoke, riches, politicks, and noise.

Change points the blunted sense of sumptuous pleasure;
And neat repasts in sylvan shed,
Where Nature's simple boon is all the treasure,
Care's brow with smiles have often spread.

Now flames Andromeda's effulgent Sire,
Now rages Procyon's kindled ray,
Now madd'ning Leo darts his stellar fire,
Fierce suns revolve the parching day.

The Shepherd now moves faint with languid flock
To riv'let fresh and bow'ry grove,
To cool retirements of high-arching rock,
O'er the mute stream no zephyrs move.

Yet weighing subsidies and England's weal,
You still in anxious thought call forth
Dark ills, which Gaul and Prussia deep conceal,
Or fierce may burst from lowering North.

All-seeing Wisdom, kind to Mortals, hides
Time's future births in gloomy night;
Too-busy care, with pity, Heaven derides,
Man's fond, officious, feeble might.

^b It would be unfair to criticise severely this effusion of a leisure hour. It is an imitation of Horace's beautiful Ode commencing with, *Tyrrhena regum progenies*, so exquisitely translated by Dryden.

Use then aright the present. Things to be,
Uncertain flow, like Thames; now peaceful borne
In even bed, soft-gliding down to sea;
Now mould'ring shores, and oaks uptorn,

Herds, cottages, together swept away,
Headlong he rolls; the pendent woods
And bellowing cliffs proclaim the dire dismay,
When the fierce torrents rouse the tranquil floods.

They, masters of themselves, they happy live,
Whose hearts at ease can say secure,
"This day rose not in vain; let Heav'n next give
Or clouded skies or sunshine pure."

Yet never what swift Time behind has cast,
Shall back return. No pow'r the thing
That was, bid not have been; for ever past,
It flies on unrelenting wing.

Fortune, who joys perverse in mortal woe,
Still frolicking with cruel play,
Now may on me her giddy smile bestow,
Now wanton to another stray.

If constant, I caress her; if she flies
On fickle plumes, farewell her charms!
All dower I wave, (save that good Fame supplies),
And wrap my soul in Freedom's arms.

'Tis not to me to shrink with mean despair,
Favour's proud ship should whirlwinds toss;
Nor venal Idols sooth with bart'ring prayer,
To shield from wreck opprobrious dross.

'Midst all the tumults of the warring sphere,
My light-charged bark may haply glide;
Some gale may waft, some conscious thought shall cheer,
And the small freight unanxious glide.

CHAP.
VII.
1750.

I now revert to the public affairs of Europe.

The extreme partiality of George II. for his German dominions continued to be productive of the greatest inconvenience and expense to Great Britain. Apprehensions for the safety of Hanover had been one great cause of the war which terminated in 1748. The same fears were destined to involve us deeper in expense and hostility. The great object of the King, at this period, was to secure the succession of the imperial dignity to the House of Austria.

For this purpose it became necessary to obtain a majority of votes both in the Electoral College, and in the diet of the Empire. This was a most difficult task, and could only be accomplished by the heaviest expense. A treaty with Bavaria was concluded, by which that Elector, in consideration of receiving an annual subsidy of 40,000*l.* engaged to promote the cause. We subsequently entered into treaties with other electors, but it is most extraordinary that no pains were taken to conciliate the King of Prussia. Whether that aspiring Prince entertained hopes of himself succeeding to the imperial throne, or whether it was from dislike to England, and from jealousy of Austria, it is certain that his opposition to the election of the young Archduke was most decided. France joined him warmly in resisting the measure. Austria and her partizans were not wanting in their efforts to establish their cause. The charters and institutions of the Empire were elaborately examined and quoted for or against the election, according to the opposite principles of the parties.

The English Parliament assembled on the 17th January, 1751. In the course of his speech, his Majesty informed the Houses that he had concluded one treaty with Spain, for the purpose of terminating our differences with that country, and another treaty with Bavaria¹, for the security of the empire. The address in the House of Lords was moved by the Earl of Northumberland; in the House of Commons, by the younger Horace Walpole, and Mr. Probyn. Lord Egmont opposed the address, both on account of the approbation

¹ The Treaty, which I have mentioned, to secure the vote of the Elector.

which it bestowed upon the treaties, and the subsidies which it promised to pay. He proposed the omission of all the words of appro-
bation. CHAP.
VII.
1751.

The following observations formed part of Mr. Pitt's speech in answer to his Lordship.

"The treaty with Bavaria was founded in the best political wisdom; it was a wise measure, tending most effectually to preserve the balance of power in Germany, and of course to preserve the tranquillity of Europe. The Elector of Bavaria was taken off from the French interest by it, which, as it contributed to weaken the House of Bourbon, contributed to the continuation of peace. The treaty with Spain was a wise and advantageous measure. The court of Spain had agreed to many concessions; they had agreed to pay a large sum to the South Sea Company; to the re-establishment of the British trade in Spain, that British subjects were to pay no other duties on merchandize than what the King of Spain's own subjects were to pay."

Lord Egmont having observed that the claim of *no search* had not been revived in the treaty with Spain; that it was not even mentioned there, but seemed altogether abandoned, Mr. Pitt said, "he had once been an advocate for that claim: it was when he was a young man; but now he was ten years older, had considered public affairs more coolly, and was convinced that the claim of no search, respecting British vessels near the coast of Spanish America, could never be obtained, unless Spain was so reduced as to consent to any terms her conqueror might think proper to impose."

Lord Egmont's motion was negatived by 203 against 74.

Mr. Pitt had ever pleaded for the increase of our naval establishment, and although he now held a profitable post under the government, he did not shrink from the avowal of his opinion on the subject. On the 22nd January, Lord Barrington having moved that the number of seamen for the ensuing year should be 8000, Mr. Potter proposed, as an amendment, that it should be 10,000. Mr. Pitt supported the motion for the larger number, which was, however, lost by

CHAP. a majority of 167 against 107. On the 29th January, Mr. Pitt spoke
 VII.
 1751. again in the debate upon the naval establishment. He called the
 fleet our standing army ; the army a little spirited body, so improved
 by discipline, that that discipline alone was worth 5000 men. He
 bestowed many encomiums upon Mr. Pelham, but concluded with
 saying, he did not think the House liked 8,000 better than 10,000
 men. He was, however, mistaken, the report for 8,000 passing by a
 majority of 189 to 186.

The high bailiff of Westminster, Mr. Leigh, had for some time been accused by Sir G. Vandeput and his friends of partiality and injustice. On the 28th January, Mr. Cooke, the member for Middlesex, presented a long petition from several of the electors of Westminster against Lord Trentham. But, upon the examination of evidence, it soon appeared that Sir G. Vandeput and his friends, so far from having justice on their side, were entirely to blame for impeding and protracting the scrutiny upon that occasion. Mr. Leigh brought a very serious charge of riotous interference against the Hon. Alexander Murray, brother of Lord Elibank. Much time was spent in the investigation of this charge, and many speeches delivered in the House of Commons. We are told by Horace, Lord Orford, that on the 6th February, Lord Egmont made an artful speech, William Pitt a florid one, and T. Pitt a dull one upon the occasion. It being resolved by the House that Mr. Murray should, for his dangerous and seditious conduct, be committed to Newgate, he was called up to receive his sentence upon his knees. Upon his refusing to comply with the Speaker's command to kneel, many members advised that the severest methods should be adopted against him. Mr. Fox went so far as to mention a place of confinement in the Tower, called Little Ease. Sir William Yonge proposed the closest confinement in Newgate without being visited. Mr. Pitt hinted at a bill to be passed against him, should he persist in his contumacy. The result of these discussions was, that Mr. Murray was sent to Newgate, and there confined until the end of the session, when, by the cessation of the authority of Parliament, he was

discharged. He subsequently evaded all farther prosecution by retiring to Franceⁱ. On the 22nd February, Mr. Pelham, in the committee of supply, opened the subsidy of 40,000*l.* to be paid for six years, annually, to Bavaria; 20,000*l.* by England, and 10,000*l.* each by Austria and Holland. Lord Egmont spoke ill upon this occasion, and owned that the measure was rather expedient than otherwise. Mr. Pitt spoke in reply to Lord Egmont, but his speech, which, although spirited, is said to have been too general, has not been preserved^k.

CHAP.
VII.
1751.

The greater part of George the Second's reign was remarkable for the many factions which arose in the government. At the time of which I now speak, although the Pelhams had depressed, and almost annihilated opposition, there was much discordance amongst the different members of administration. The Duke of Bedford and his friends were united with the Duke of Cumberland, and wished to oppose Mr. Fox to Mr. Pelham. The Duke of Newcastle and his brother countenanced Mr. Pitt against all antagonists.

The Prince of Wales's court was not more unanimous than his father's. It consisted of men of singular and opposite characters. The Earl of Bute, a nobleman of handsome figure, theatrical air, and showy accomplishments, had been lately appointed one of the Lords of his bed-chamber. Mr. Doddington who possessed considerable talent, but was unsteady in his principles, vain, selfish, and inconstant, and who had more than once deserted his Royal Highness, was again received at Leicester House.

The Prince was here accustomed to discuss with his favorite adherents the general system of his administration when his father's death should call him to the throne. Perhaps nothing ever more forcibly proved the uncertain lot of mortality, and the vanity of all human expectations, than the plans and hopes of those who regarded him as their future sovereign. Past that age when the impetuous

ⁱ He returned from France in 1771, and died in 1777.

^k Lord Orford's Memoires.

CHAP. tide of health, power, and passion, too often dash the youthful votary
VII. upon the rocks of intemperance, and there crush or overwhelm him,
1751. the Prince had arrived at that period when prudence usually exerts
her fullest influence over the mind and body. A long continuance of
health and strength was consequently expected by himself and the
nation. His father's years exceeded those generally allotted to man,
and his own succession to the throne was anticipated as an event of
almost daily probability. The political aspirant already fancied him-
self in possession of those honors in a future reign which were denied
to him under the present Sovereign. "Put not your trust in Princes,"
is a maxim applicable as well to the shortness and uncertainty of
their lives, as to their general inconstancy as men. In the midst of
all his views, of all his promises, and of all his expectations, in the
flower of his age, the Prince was called away, his breath went forth,
he returned to his earth, and all his thoughts of power and dominion
perished.

The Prince of Wales three years before had received a blow
from a tennis-ball, and in the summer of 1750, a fall had occasioned
him considerable pain upon his stomach. But from neither of these
accidents was the least danger apprehended. Early in March, 1751,
he was attacked by a pleuritic disorder, from which it was supposed
he was recovered, but taking cold his disorder returned, and he ex-
pired on the 22nd of March, in the 45th year of his age. The cha-
racter of the Prince has been variously represented. By some it has
been extolled with blind exaggeration, by others degraded by rash
and unfounded invective. His undutiful conduct to his parents, and
his constant jealousy of his brother, to the aspersers of whose fame he
ever gave countenance, are the greatest reproaches upon his memory.
Much of this was doubtless owing to the suggestions of those about
him, particularly of Lord Bolingbroke. The affection which he bore
to the Princess was undoubted. In considering his errors much allow-
ance must be made for his situation. It is difficult for Princes to ob-
tain a just view of their own condition and of mankind in general.
He who is accustomed to have every saying applauded, must possess

the firmest mind if he do not become opinionated and overbearing; and he who knows that what he commands is sure to be obeyed, must be moderate indeed if he do not become arbitrary and despotic. His Royal Highness, without being learned himself, enjoyed the society of scholars; and his patronage of letters reflects high honor upon his taste. He was of a frank and forgiving disposition, and had Providence allotted him a lengthened life, it is probable he would have studied the happiness of his people.

CHAP.
VII.
1751.

CHAPTER VIII.

1751.

Regency Bill—Mr. Pitt's Speech—Changes in the administration—Mr. Pitt's anxiety respecting the Education of his Nephew—Unanimity in Parliament—Characters of Mr. Murray and Mr. Fox—Mr. Pitt's Letters to his Nephew—Death of Mr. Pelham—The Duke of Newcastle's ascendancy in the Cabinet—Marriage of Mr. Pitt—Disputes between the English and French in North America—General Braddock—Mr. Pitt's Speech for the Relief of the Chelsea Pensioners—Letters of Mr. Fox descriptive of Mr. Pitt's Eloquence.

CHAP. VIII. 1751. THE first measure of the government, after the death of the Prince of Wales, was to obtain a parliamentary sanction to the settlement of a Regency. On the 26th April the King sent a message to both Houses, desiring them to pass an act to appoint the Dowager Princess of Wales Regent of these Kingdoms, in the event of his own death, before the young Prince^a had attained the age of eighteen years. A bill for this purpose was drawn up, by Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, appointing the Dowager Regent and Guardian, but limiting her authority by the addition of a Council of Regency, consisting of the great Officers of State, with the Duke of Cumberland at its head. The debates in both Houses, respecting the restrictions of the Regent, and the propriety of continuing the old Parliament in the event of the King's demise during the minority of his grandson, were long and vehement. The Speaker, (Mr. Onslow,) in very solemn and affecting terms, deprecated the restrictions to which the Princess Regent was to be

^a Afterwards George III.

subjected, as contrary to the genius of the British constitution, distressing to the Regent, and dangerous to the country. Mr. Pelham, a warm promoter of the measure, was excessively shocked and disconcerted by the Speaker's observations. Mr. Pitt said: "He had no objection to the council, as he could find no traces of a Regent without control. The present case, (alluding to the misfortune which gave birth to it,) was doubly aggravated by the loss of the most patriot Prince that ever lived, to whom he had such infinite obligations, and such early attachments, which he was proud to transfer to his family. He regarded the King with wonder, for exerting a fortitude of which Edward III. had not been master; he blessed the crown when it was the first to lessen the royal authority, (as it had been in the present case,) by pointing out these limitations, so expedient, as dangers were to be foreseen from abroad—from at home, if we considered the great person who might have become sole Regent. What a precedent would that have been for futurity, if hereafter any ambitious person should think less of protecting the crown, than of wearing it! With regard to the Princess, the limitations were of no consequence, for let her but hint to Parliament at any improper negative given by the Council to her recommendation, and an address would be immediately offered her to remove them. He desired, if that event should ever happen, to be reminded of what he now said, and he would second the motion."

CHAP.
VIII.
1751.

Some argument then arose on the part of Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, as to the possibility of a misunderstanding between the Regent and her Council, and the probable consequences. Mr. Fox, although he declared himself in favor of the bill, made numerous objections to it, and was afterwards told by Mr. Pelham, that Mr. Pitt's speech was the finest he ever heard, but that he, (Mr. Fox,) had not spoken like himself. The clause, respecting the Council, was voted by 278 against 90^b.

The death of the Prince of Wales having annihilated the opposi-

^b Lord Orford's Memoires.

CHAP. tion, the Duke of Newcastle and his brother were desirous of more
 VIII. closely condensing the power of their family, by the dismissal of
 1751. certain members of the cabinet, and by the substitution of others
 either more insignificant or more subservient to their views. They
 considered Lord Sandwich as too much connected with the Duke of
 Cumberland, to be favorable to themselves; and the strict intimacy
 which subsisted between the former nobleman and the Duke of Bedford
 caused them to regard the latter, also, with feelings of dislike. The
 Duke of Newcastle's object was to obtain the dismissal of Lord Sand-
 wich from the Admiralty, and thereby provoke his friend, the Duke
 of Bedford, whose temper was very impetuous, to resign the seals.
 His design succeeded; and the consequence was a considerable change
 in the administration. Lord Granville, who had been, a few years
 before, the great mark against which every shaft of open violence,
 and every weapon of insidious enmity had been aimed; with whom
 the Pelhams had declared they never would unite, came again into
 power. But he came with altered and with moderate views: years
 had mitigated the fervor of his disposition; his strength, health, and
 expectations were no longer the same. He was no longer the minister
 who determined solely to give law to Europe, and who looked down
 with contempt upon the narrow comprehension of his colleagues. He
 was now contented to hold an office without exerting power, and to
 submit to the measures of those men over whom he was conscious of
 his own infinite superiority. On the 17th June, Lord Granville was
 appointed President of the Council, Lord Hartington Master of the
 Horse, Lord Albemarle Groom of the Stole, Lord Anson First Lord,
 and the Admirals Boscawen and Rowley Commissioners, of the Admi-
 ralty. On the 18th, Lord Holderness was made Secretary of State.
 The session of Parliament closed in June.

The reader may be disappointed that I have not been able to
 introduce Mr. Pitt more fully to his acquaintance in the interesting
 relations of domestic life. It is, indeed, most deeply to be regretted
 that so few incidents of the private life of this extraordinary man have
 been preserved; because, whenever we are enabled to trace him to

his retirement, we find him as amiable there, as he was illustrious when before the public; we find him exemplifying the virtues of the pleasing companion, the polished gentleman and scholar, the affectionate relative, the honorable and religious man. CHAP.
VIII.
1751.

In a very early period of this history I have stated that his eldest brother, Thomas Pitt, of Boconnock, had married Christian Lyttleton. By this lady he had three children, two daughters and a son. It was in the welfare and education of this son of his brother's, that William Pitt evinced the warmest zeal. Several letters, addressed by him to this amiable youth, have been presented to the public by Lord Grenville. The date of the following letter induces me to insert it here.

Bath, Oct. 12, 1751.

MY DEAR NEPHEW,

As I have been moving about from place to place, your letter reached me here, at Bath, but very lately, after making a considerable circuit to find me. I should have otherwise, my dear child, returned you thanks for the very great pleasure you have given me, long before now. The very good account you give me of your studies, and that delivered in very good Latin, for your time, has filled me with the highest expectations of your future improvement; I see the foundations so well laid, that I do not make the least doubt but you will become a perfect good scholar; and have the pleasure and applause that will attend the several advantages hereafter, in the future course of your life, *that* you can only acquire now by your emulation and noble labours in the pursuit of learning, and of every acquirement that is to make you superior to other gentlemen. I rejoice to hear that you have begun Homer's Iliad; and have made so great a progress in Virgil. I hope you taste and love those authors particularly, you cannot read them too much; they are not only the two greatest poets, but they contain the finest lessons for your age to imbibe; lessons of honor, courage, disinterestedness, love of truth, command of temper, gentleness of behaviour, humanity, and, in one

CHAP. word, virtue in its true signification. Go on, my dear nephew, and
 VIII. drink as deep as you can of these divine springs : the pleasure of the
 1751. draught is equal, at least, to the prodigious advantages of it to the
 heart and morals. I hope you will drink them as somebody does
 in Virgil, of another sort of cup : *Ille impiger hausit spumantem
 pateram.*

I shall be highly pleased to hear from you, and to know what
 authors give you most pleasure : I desire my service to Mr. Leech ;
 pray tell him I will write to him soon about your studies.

I am, with the greatest affection,

My dear Child,

Your loving Uncle.

The Parliament met on the 14th November. This session is memorable for nothing so much as for the extraordinary cessation of that opposition in the House of Commons which had existed from the time of Elizabeth. Never since England had been a kingdom was a Parliament so undisturbed as at this conjuncture. The causes of this tranquillity were various.

In point of internal administration the country was certainly well governed. It was, however, not so much by the talents of Mr. Pelham, as by his moderation, by his evident desire to promote the public welfare, that he succeeded in gaining the approbation of all good men. But these causes would not have been sufficient to keep him unshaken at his post. It was owing to the exceeding influence of his family, and to the assiduity with which he sought to break opposition, by securing the ablest men in the service of the government, that he principally maintained his power. A jealousy, moreover, existing between several of the most eminent of his contemporaries, prevented them from executing any schemes they might separately entertain of advancing themselves higher on the scale of power. The men most distinguished in the House of Commons for knowledge and Parliamentary abilities, Mr. Murray, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Pitt, although at

this time they all held places under the government, evinced no harmony in their general feelings, sentiments, and dispositions. They were all, however, the friends of Mr. Pelham, and whilst they readily acted under his administration, none would willingly have submitted to the dictation of either of the rest.

CHAP.
VIII.
1751.

The Honorable William Murray was the fourth son and the eleventh child of David Viscount Stormont, and was born at Perth, in the year 1704. Both at Westminster School and at the University of Oxford he gave the strongest proofs of genius and of proficiency in classical knowledge. His active mind, as much as his slender fortune, impelled him early to the study of the law. In him the soundest judgment was united to a very brilliant imagination. His voice was clear and harmonious. Extremely handsome and prepossessing in his person, he possessed a command of language and a gracefulness of action singularly at variance with the general barren elocution of his legal contemporaries. With these advantages, as he was very assiduous in the study of his profession, it is remarkable that he should have continued for some time unnoticed as an advocate. A speech he made as Counsel at the bar of the House of Lords first introduced him to public observation. From this time his practice was at once confirmed; and he himself has been heard to remark, that he never knew the difference between a total absence of employment and a professional gain of 3,000*l.* a year. Had his mind been less capacious, or his constitution less vigorous, he must have limited the exertion of his talents entirely to one department. But his views, although chiefly directed in the line of his profession, were by no means confined there. When his reputation as a lawyer was fully established, and he had risen to the high situation of his Majesty's Solicitor-General, he took his seat in Parliament, and became a most important ally of the minister. As Mr. Pitt, by the force of his expression, and the grandeur of his sentiment, resembled the vehement Demosthenes, so Mr. Murray, by the elegance of his language, may be compared to the all-accomplished Cicero. The speeches of the Roman orator were models which he studied with unceasing care; and perhaps no man, either as a writer,

CHAP. an advocate, or senator, ever approached more nearly to his ori-
 VIII. ginal.
 1751.

In private society Mr. Murray's manners were particularly captivating. His wit is celebrated by Pope. The ease, cheerfulness, and variety of his conversation rendered him a most delightful and instructive companion. Some of his familiar letters to his friends have been preserved, which, in point of elegance and happy expression, are surpassed by few. When we follow him in imagination to his chambers, whilst he penetrates into the obscurest and deepest labyrinths of the law; attend him afterwards to the Court of Chancery, and there hear him expound, in the clearest manner, questions the most knotty and perplexed; then see him at the bar of the House of Lords addressing that assembly with the utmost dignity and grace; next observe him enter the lists of the House of Commons as the formidable antagonist of Pitt; and lastly, return with him to his dwelling, and there, during the short period allotted to relaxation, behold him giving the highest zest to the entertainment by the life and brilliancy of his conversation, our feelings must be those of the highest surprise and admiration.

Such and so great was Murray. It must however be admitted, that as the duties of a most laborious profession necessarily required a very great share of his time and attention, he scarcely ventured upon the arena of politics upon equal terms with those who made them their only study. His speeches, although smooth and argumentative, are destitute of the force which characterise those of Mr. Pitt: both his natural disposition and the habits of balancing questions, which the nature of his legal studies imposed, gave him sometimes an air of timidity and indecision most opposite to the undeviating courage of his celebrated antagonist.

* I am very far from thinking that Mr. Murray equalled the Roman orator. Perhaps the only specimens of splendid eloquence which will stand a comparison with those of Cicero are the written speeches of Mr. Burke. I am speaking of elaborate and highly ornamented eloquence. The speech of Lord Strafford, upon his trial, is, in my opinion, one of the most simple, touching, and noble in our language.

Henry Fox was born in the year 1705. He was the contemporary of Mr. Pitt at Eton, but his seniority of three years of course precluded any competition between them. Nor was young Fox of a disposition to be fired by literary emulation, either at school or upon his first entrance into the world. Strong in constitution, an ardent lover of pleasure, he expended, at an early age, his patrimony in gaming and debauchery. Necessity, rather than inclination, then induced him to visit the Continent, where he remained several years. His turn of mind and disposition were congenial to those of Sir Robert Walpole, who was very cordial in his friendships. By the interest of that minister Mr. Fox was appointed, soon after his return to England, one of the commissioners of the Treasury. His robust constitution enabled him to support without illness or inconvenience a close application to business, and a free participation in the convivial indulgencies of his Parliamentary associates. Frank and agreeable in his manners, although too impetuous in his temper, he was well calculated to make and to secure friends. In all the graces of elocution, in imagination, and in fluency he was infinitely inferior to Mr. Pitt, but he was a strong and close reasoner, and possessed great Parliamentary knowledge. Mr. Fox's abilities were considerable, and, allowing for some failings which are too apt to be engendered by ambition, he was at this time generally respected as a man of honor, spirit, and veracity.

CHAP.
VIII.
1751.

The negotiations for electing the young Archduke Joseph King of the Romans were carried on with much greater earnestness on the part of England than of Austria. For the purpose of procuring another electoral vote a subsidiary treaty was concluded with Saxony. On the 22d Jan. 1752, Mr. Pelham moved in the House of Commons that the subsidy of 32,000*l.* be granted to that elector. Mr. Pelham did not undertake this measure without the greatest reluctance. When the subsidy to Bavaria was brought before the House he had pledged himself that it should be the last with which the country should be charged. It was upon this occasion that the senior Horace Walpole adopted the singular method of speaking against the measure

1752.

CHAP. whilst he voted in its favour. His speech was very able and perspi-
VIII. cuous. His nephew, Lord Orford, ridicules this inconsistency, but
1752. does not attempt to shake the strength of his reasoning.

It appears that Mr. Pitt's sentiments upon this subject accorded with those of Mr. Horace Walpole. Both of these gentlemen had supported the treaty with Bavaria, upon the promise of the minister, that the country should not be subjected to other burthens of a similar description. Mr. Walpole committed the substance of his speech to paper, and submitted it to the perusal of Mr. Pitt, who, a short time afterwards, returned it with the following letter of acknowledgment.

Dear Sir,

I return you the packet you was so good as to send me, together with a thousand thanks for the favour. Your speech contains very weighty matter, and, from beginning to end, breathes the spirit of a man who loves his country. If your endeavours contribute to the honest end you aim at, namely, to check foreign expenses, and prevent entanglements abroad, under a situation burdened and exhausted at present, and liable to many alarming apprehensions in futurity, you deserve the thanks of this generation, and will have those of the next.

I am, with very great regard,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient,

and most humble servant,

W. PITT.

The celebrated Marriage Act this year, introduced by Lord Hardwicke, occasioned considerable discussion within both Houses of Parliament, and great dissatisfaction amongst the people. Mr. Fox

took such a decided part against it, and expressed himself in such
 sarcastic and cutting terms, that the chancellor and he were never
 afterwards friends.

CHAP.
 VIII.
 1752.

Whether Mr. Pitt was offended that he had not been appointed secretary of state, upon the resignation of the Duke of Bedford, or whether he considered that the quiet posture of the country did not require his active interference in Parliament, we do not find him addressing the House for a considerable period. I have mentioned that a bill for the naturalization of the Jews was passed in the former session. This occasioned such excessive disturbances amongst the people, that the minister found himself under the necessity of repealing it. Accordingly, on the 27th November, the question was agitated in the House of Commons. Mr. Pitt spoke in favour of the repeal, and against an alteration of certain expressions in the preamble of the bill, which was suggested by Mr. Northey. The question was carried by a majority of 150 against 60.

But this concession did not satisfy the people. By the Plantation Act, any person professing the Jewish religion, after a residence of seven years in one of his Majesty's American colonies, became entitled to the privileges of a British-born subject. This was denounced by many persons as too favorable to the Jews. On the 4th December, Lord Harley and Sir James Dashwood moved in the House of Commons to repeal the bill. Mr. Pelham very wisely resisted this, and stigmatised the attempt as arising from a spirit of persecution unworthy of the times. He was supported by Mr. Pitt, who plainly showed how little he cared for popular approbation when purchased at the expense of propriety and justice. He said, "he had not expected that this would be the first return to Parliament for their condescension in repealing the late Act. Here the stand must be made, or *venit summa dies!* we should have a church spirit revived. He believed the late clamour was only a little election art, which was courteously given way to: that the former bill was not a toleration of, but a preference given to Jews over other sects. His maxim was not to do more for the church than it now enjoys; now you would except

CHAP. the Jews, in the opposite extreme. It is the Jew to-day, it would be
 VIII. the Presbyterian to-morrow : we should be sure to have a septennial
 1752. church clamour. We are not now to be influenced by old laws enacted before the Reformation. Our ancestors would have said, 'A Lollard has no right to inherit lands.' But we need not fear indulging the Jews ; they will never be great purchasers of land ; they love money, and trade with it to better advantage^d."

The motion was negatived by 208 against 88.

We are now approaching that period when Mr. Pitt was again to emerge from his parliamentary inactivity, and to renew his opposition to the ministry. Before we are arrived at this point, I must request the reader to pause awhile and reflect upon the sentiments of this illustrious man in his capacity of a private individual. They are expressed in the four following letters to his nephew ; we here find him "implanting with parental kindness into the mind of an ingenuous youth, seeds of wisdom and virtue, which ripened into full maturity in the character of a most accomplished man ; directing him to the acquisition of knowledge, as the best instrument of action ; teaching him, by the cultivation of his reason, to strengthen and establish in his heart those principles of moral rectitude which were congenial to it ; and, above all, exhorting him to regulate the whole conduct of his life by the predominant influence of gratitude and obedience to God, as the only sure ground of human duty^e." Let the man who is inclined to suspect the integrity of Mr. Pitt, first weigh the contents of these letters, which were never intended for the public eye ; let him then ask himself, could such sentiments proceed from a mind solely impelled by ambition ?

^d Lord Orford's Memoires.

^e Lord Grenville's preface to the Earl of Chatham's Letters to his nephew, p. 10.

*Bath, January 12th, 1754.*CHAP.
VIII.
1754.

MY DEAR NEPHEW,

Your letter from Cambridge affords me many very sensible pleasures: first, that you are at last in a proper place for study and improvement, instead of losing any more of that most precious thing, time, in London. In the next place that you seemed pleased with the particular society you are placed in, and with the gentleman to whose care and instructions you are committed: and above all I applaud the sound, right sense, and love of virtue, which appears through your whole letter. You are already possessed of the true clue to guide you through this dangerous and perplexing part of your life's journey, the years of education; and upon which, the complexion of all the rest of your days will infallibly depend: I say you have the true clue to guide you, in the maxim you lay down in your letter to me, namely, that the use of learning is, to render a man more wise and virtuous; not merely to make him more learned. *Macte tua virtute*: go on, my dear boy, by this golden rule, and you cannot fail to become every thing your generous heart prompts you to wish to be, and that mine most affectionately wishes for you. There is but one danger in your way; and that is, perhaps, natural enough to your age, the love of pleasure, or the fear of close application and laborious diligence. With the last there is nothing you may not conquer: and the first is sure to conquer and enslave whoever does not strenuously and generously resist the first allurements of it, lest by small indulgences he fall under the yoke of irresistible habit. "*Vitanda est Improba Siren, Desidia*," I desire may be affixt to the curtains of your bed, and to the walls of your chambers. If you do not rise early, you never can make any progress worth talking of, and another rule is, if you do not set apart your hours of reading, and never suffer yourself or any one else to break in upon them, your days will slip through your hands, unprofitably and frivolously; unpraised by all you wish to please, and really unjoyable to yourself. Be assured, whatever you take from pleasure, amusements, or indolence, for these first few years of your life, will repay you a hundred fold, in the pleasures,

CHAP.
VIII.
1754.

honors, and advantages of all the remainder of your days. My heart is so full of the most earnest desire that you should do well, that I find my letter has run into some length, which you will, I know, be so good to excuse. There remains now nothing to trouble you with but a little plan for the beginning of your studies which I desire in a particular manner, may be exactly followed in every tittle. You are to qualify yourself for the part in society, to which your birth and estate call you. You are to be a gentleman of such learning and qualifications as may distinguish you in the service of your country hereafter; not a pedant, who reads only to be called learned, instead of considering learning as an instrument only for action. Give me leave therefore, my dear nephew, who have gone before you, to point out to you the dangers in your road, to guard you against such things as I experience my own defects to arise from; and at the same time, if I have had any little successes in the world, to guide you to what I have drawn many helps from. I have not the pleasure of knowing the gentleman who is your tutor, but I dare say he is every way equal to such a charge, which I think no small one. You will communicate this letter to him, and I hope he will be so good to concur with me as to the course of study I desire you may begin with; and that such books, and such only, as I have pointed out, may be read. They are as follows: Euclid; a course of Logic; a course of Experimental Philosophy; Locke's Conduct of the Understanding; his Treatise also on the Understanding; his Treatise on Government; and Letters on Toleration. I desire for the present, no books of poetry but Horace and Virgil; of Horace the Odes, but above all, the Epistles and *Ars Poetica*. These parts, *Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna*; Tully de Officiis, de Amicitia, de Senectute; his Catilinarian Orations and Philippics; Sallust; at leisure hours, an abridgment of the History of England to be run through, in order to settle in the mind a general chronological order and series of principal events, and succession of Kings; proper books of English history, on the true principles of our happy constitution shall be pointed out afterwards; Burnet's History of the Reformation abridged by himself, to be read with great care;

Father Paul on Beneficiary Matters in English; a French Master, and only Moliere's Plays to be read with him or by yourself, till you have gone through them all; Spectators, especially Mr. Addison's papers, to be read very frequently at broken times in your room. I make it my request that you will forbear drawing totally while you are at Cambridge; and not meddle with Greek^f, otherwise than to know a little the etymology of words in Latin, or English, or French; nor to meddle with Italian. I hope this little course will soon be run through. I intend it as a general foundation for many things of infinite utility, to come as soon as this is finished.

CHAP.
VIII.
1754.

Believe me,

With the truest affection,

My dear Nephew,

Ever Yours.

Keep this letter, and read it again.

Bath, January 14th, 1754.

MY DEAR NEPHEW,

You will hardly have read over one very long letter from me before you are troubled with a second. I intended to have writ soon, but I do it the sooner on account of your letter to your Aunt, which she transmitted to me here. If any thing, my dear boy, could have happened to raise you higher in my esteem, and to endear you more to me, it is the amiable abhorrence you feel for the scene of vice and folly, (and of real misery and perdition, under the false notion of pleasure and spirit,) which has opened to you at your college, and at the same time the manly, brave, generous, and wise resolution and

^f Lord Grenville, in his Preface to the Brief Collection of Letters from which the above is taken, very justly remarks, that, "the temporary advice, addressed to an individual whose education had been neglected, must not be understood as a general dissuasive from the cultivation of Grecian literature. The sentiments of Lord Chatham were in direct opposition to any such opinion.—This was afterwards most unequivocally manifested, when he was called upon to consider the question with a still higher interest, not only as a friend and guardian, but also as a father."

CHAP. true spirit, with which you resisted and repulsed the first attempts
 VIII. upon a mind and heart, I thank God, infinitely too firm and noble,
 1754. as well as too elegant and enlightened, to be in any danger of yielding to such contemptible and wretched corruptions. You charm me with the description of Mr. Wheler^s, and while you say you could adore him, I could adore you for the natural, genuine love of virtue, which speaks in all you feel, say, or do. As to your companions, let this be your rule, cultivate the acquaintance with Mr. Wheler which you have so fortunately begun, and in general, be sure to associate with men much older than yourself: scholars whenever you can; but always with men of decent and honorable lives. As their age and learning, superior both to your own, must necessarily, in good sense, and in the view of acquiring knowledge from them, entitle them to all deference, and submission of your own lights to theirs, you will particularly practise that first and greatest rule for pleasing in conversation, as well as for drawing instruction and improvement from the company of one's superiors in age and knowledge, namely, to be a patient, attentive, and a well-bred hearer, and to answer with modesty; to deliver your own opinion sparingly and with proper diffidence; and if you are forced to desire farther information or explanation upon a point, to do it with proper apologies for the trouble you give: or, if obliged to differ, to do it with all possible candour, and an unprejudiced desire to find and ascertain truth, with an entire indifference to the side on which that truth is to be found. There is likewise a particular attention required to contradict with good manners; such as begging pardon, begging leave to doubt, and such like phrases. Pythagoras enjoined his scholars an absolute silence for a long noviciate. I am far from approving such a taciturnity; but I highly recommend the end and intent of Pythagoras's injunction; which is, to dedicate the first parts of life more to hear and learn, in order to collect materials, out of which to form opinions founded on

^s The Rev. John Wheler, Prebendary of Westminster. The friendship formed between this gentleman and Lord Camelford at so early a period of their lives, was founded in mutual esteem, and continued uninterrupted till Lord Camelford's death.—*Lord Grenville's Note.*

proper lights, and well examined sound principles, than to be presuming, prompt, and flippant in hazarding one's own slight, crude notions of things; and thereby exposing the nakedness and emptiness of the mind, like a house opened to company before it is fitted either with necessaries, or any ornaments for their reception and entertainment. And not only will this disgrace follow from such temerity and presumption, but a more serious danger is sure to ensue, that is, the embracing errors for truths, prejudices for principles; and when that is once done, (no matter how vainly and weakly,) the adhering perhaps to false and dangerous notions, only because one has declared for them, and submitting, for life, the understanding and conscience to a yoke of base and servile prejudices, vainly taken up and obstinately retained. This will never be your danger; but I thought it not amiss to offer these reflections to your thoughts. As to your manner of behaving towards these unhappy young gentlemen you describe, let it be manly and easy; decline their parties with civility; retort their raillery with raillery, always tempered with good breeding: if they banter your regularity, order, decency, and love of study, banter in return their neglect of them; and venture to own frankly, that you came to Cambridge to learn what you can, not to follow what they are pleased to call pleasure. In short, let your external behaviour to them be as full of politeness and ease as your inward estimation of them is full of pity mixed with contempt. I come now to the part of the advice I have to offer to you, which most nearly concerns your welfare, and upon which every good and honorable purpose of your life will assuredly turn; I mean the keeping up in your heart the true sentiments of religion. If you are not right towards God, you can never be so towards man; the noblest sentiment of the human breast is here brought to the test. Is gratitude in the number of a man's virtues? if it be, the highest benefactor demands the warmest returns of gratitude, love, and praise: *Ingratum quæ dixerit, omnia dixit*. If a man wants this virtue, where there are infinite obligations to excite and quicken it, he will be likely to want all others towards his fellow-creatures, whose utmost gifts are poor

CHAP.
VIII.
1754.

CHAP. compared to those he daily receives at the hands of his never-failing
 VIII. Almighty Friend. *Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth,*
 1754. *is big with the deepest wisdom: the fear of the Lord is the beginning*
of wisdom; and an upright heart, that is understanding. This is
 externally true, whether the wits and rakes of Cambridge allow it or
 not: nay, I must add of this religious wisdom, *Her ways are ways*
of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace, whatever your young
 gentlemen think of a whore and a bottle, a tainted health and battered
 constitution. Hold fast, therefore, by this sheet-anchor of happiness,
 Religion; you will often want it in the times of most danger; the
 storms and tempests of life. Cherish true religion as preciously as
 you will fly with abhorrence and contempt superstition and enthu-
 siasm. The first is the perfection and glory of the human nature; the
 two last the deprivation and disgrace of it. Remember the essence
 of religion is, a heart void of offence towards God and man; not
 subtle speculative opinions, but an active vital principle of faith. The
 words of a heathen were so fine that I must give them to you: *Com-*
positum jus fasque animi, sanctosque recessus mentis et incoctum ge-
neroso pectus honesto.

Go on, my dear child, in the admirable dispositions you have
 towards all that is right and good, and make yourself the love and
 admiration of the world! I have neither paper nor words to tell you
 how tenderly

I am Your's.

Bath, Jan. 24, 1754.

I WILL lose not a moment before I return my most tender
 and warm thanks to the most amiable, valuable, and noble-minded of
 youths, for the infinite pleasure his letter gives me. My dear nephew,
 what a beautiful thing is genuine goodness, and how lovely does the
 human mind appear in its native purity, (in a nature as happy as
 your's,) before the taints of a corrupted world have touched it! To
 guard you from the fatal effects of all the dangers that surround and

beset youth, (and many they are, *nam variæ illudunt Pestes*,) I thank God, is become my pleasing and very important charge ; your own choice, and our nearness in blood, and still more, a dearer and nearer relation of hearts, which I feel between us, all concur to make it so. I shall seek, then, every occasion, my dear young friend, of being useful to you, by offering you those lights, which one must have lived some years in the world to see the full force and extent of, and which the best mind and clearest understanding will suggest imperfectly, in any case, and in the most difficult, delicate, and essential points, perhaps not at all, till experience, that dear-bought instructor, comes to our assistance. What I shall therefore make my task, (a happy delightful task, if I prove a safeguard to so much opening virtue,) is to be for some years, what you cannot be to yourself, your experience ; experience anticipated, and ready digested for your use. Thus we will endeavour, my dear child, to join the two best seasons of life, to establish your virtue and your happiness upon solid foundations : *Miscens Autumni et Veris Honores*. So much in general. I will now, my dear nephew, say a few things to you upon a matter where you have surprisingly little to learn, considering you have seen nothing but Boconnock ; I mean behaviour. Behaviour is of infinite advantage or prejudice to a man, as he happens to have formed it to a graceful, noble, engaging, and proper manner, or to a vulgar, coarse, illbred, or awkward, and ungenteel one. Behaviour, though an external thing which seems rather to belong to the body than to the mind, is certainly founded in considerable virtues : though I have known instances of good men, with something very revolting and offensive in their manner of behaviour, especially when they have the misfortune to be naturally very awkward and ungenteel ; and which their mistaken friends have helped to confirm them in, by telling them, they were above such trifles, as being genteel, dancing, fencing, riding, and doing all manly exercises, with grace and vigour. As if the body, because inferior, were not a part of the composition of man : and the proper, easy, ready, and graceful use of himself, both in mind and limb, did not go to make

CHAP.
VIII.
1754.

up the character of an accomplished man. You are in no danger of falling into this preposterous error : and I had a great pleasure in finding you, when I first saw you in London, so well disposed by nature, and so properly attentive to make yourself genteel in person and well-bred in behaviour. I am very glad you have taken a fencing master : that exercise will give you some manly, firm, and graceful attitudes : open your chest, place your head upright, and plant you well upon your legs. As to the use of the sword, it is well to know it : but remember, my dearest nephew, it is a science of defence : and that a sword can never be employed by the hand of a man of virtue, in any other cause. As to the carriage of your person, be particularly careful, as you are tall and thin, not to get a habit of stooping ; nothing has so poor a look : above all things avoid contracting any peculiar gesticulations of the body, or movements of the muscles of the face. It is rare to see in any one a graceful laughter ; it is generally better to smile than laugh out, especially to contract a habit of laughing at small or no jokes. Sometimes it would be affectation, or worse, mere moroseness, not to laugh heartily, when the truly ridiculous circumstances of an incident, or the true pleasantry and wit of a thing call for and justify it ; but the trick of laughing frivolously is by all means to be avoided : *Risu inepto, res ineptior nulla est*. Now as to politeness ; many have attempted definitions of it : I believe it is best to be known by description ; definition not being able to comprise it. I would however venture to call it, benevolence in trifles, or the preference of others to ourselves, in little daily, hourly, occurrences in the commerce of life. A better place, a more commodious seat, priority in being helped at table, &c. what is it, but sacrificing ourselves in such trifles to the convenience and pleasure of others ? And this constitutes true politeness. It is a perpetual attention, by habit it grows easy and natural to us, to the little wants of those we are with, by which we either prevent or remove them. Bowing, ceremonies, formal compliments, stiff civilities, will never be politeness : that must be easy, natural, unstudied, manly, noble. And what will give this but a mind benevolent, and perpetually attentive to exert

that amiable disposition in trifles towards all you converse and live with? Benevolence in greater matters takes a higher name, and is the queen of virtues. Nothing is so incompatible with politeness as any trick of absence of mind. I would trouble you with a word or two more upon some branches of behaviour, which have a more serious moral obligation in them than those of mere politeness; which are equally important in the eye of the world. I mean a proper behaviour, adapted to the respective relations we stand in, towards the different ranks of superiors, equals, and inferiors. Let your behaviour towards superiors, in dignity, age, learning, or any distinguished excellence, be full of respect, deference and modesty. Towards equals, nothing becomes a man so well as well-bred ease, polite freedom, generous frankness, manly spirit, always tempered with gentleness and sweetness of manner, noble sincerity, candour and openness of heart, qualified and restrained within the bounds of discretion and prudence, and ever limited by a sacred regard to secrecy, in all things entrusted to it, and an inviolable attachment to your word. To inferiors, gentleness, condescension, and affability, is the only dignity. Towards servants, never accustom yourself to rough and passionate language. When they are good we should consider them as *humiles Amici*, as fellow Christians, *ut Conservi*; and when they are bad, pity, admonish, and part with them, if incorrigible. On all occasions beware, my dear child, of anger, that dæmon, that destroyer of our peace. *Ira furor brevis est; animum rege qui nisi paret Imperat, hunc frænis, hunc tu compesce catenis.*

CHAP.
VIII.
1754.

Write soon, and tell me of your studies.

Your ever affectionate.

Bath, Feb. 3, 1754.

Nothing can, or ought to give me higher satisfaction, than the obliging manner in which my dear nephew receives my most sincere and affectionate endeavours to be of use to him. You much overrate

CHAP.
VIII.
1754.

the obligation, whatever it be, which youth has to those who have trod the paths of the world before them, for their friendly advice how to avoid the inconveniences, dangers, and evils which they themselves may have run upon for want of such timely warnings, and to seize, cultivate, and carry forward towards perfection, those advantages, graces, virtues, and felicities which they may have totally missed, or stopped short in the generous pursuit. To lend this helping hand to those who are beginning to tread the slippery way, seems, at best, but an office of common humanity to all ; but to withhold it from one we truly love, and whose heart and mind bear every genuine mark of the very soil proper for all the amiable, manly, and generous virtues to take root, and bear their heavenly fruit ; inward, conscious peace, fame amongst men, public love, temporal and eternal happiness ; to withhold it, I say, in such an instance, would deserve the worst of names. I am greatly pleased, my dear young friend, that you do me the justice to believe I do not mean to impose any yoke of authority upon your understanding and conviction. I wish to warn, admonish, instruct, enlighten, and convince your reason ; and so determine your judgment to right things, when you shall be made to see that they are right ; not to overbear and impel you to adopt any thing before you perceive it to be right or wrong, by the force of authority. I hear with great pleasure, that Locke lay before you when you writ last to me ; and I like the observation that you make from him, that we must use our own reason, not that of another, if we would deal fairly by ourselves, and hope to enjoy a peaceful and contented conscience. This precept is truly worthy of the dignity of rational natures. But here, my dear child, let me offer one distinction to you, and it is of much moment, it is this : Mr. Locke's precept is applicable only to such opinions as regard moral or religious obligations, and which as such our own consciences alone can judge and determine for ourselves, matters of mere expediency, that affect neither honor, morality, or religion, were not in that great and wise man's view ; such are the usages, forms, manners, modes, proprieties, decorum, and all those numberless ornamental little acquirements, and genteel well-bred

attentions, which constitute a proper, graceful, amiable, and noble CHAP.
 behaviour. In matters of this kind, I am sure your own reason, to VIII.
 which I shall always refer you, will at once tell you, that you must, 1754.
 at first, make use of the experience of others ; in effect, see with their
 eyes, or not be able to see at all ; for the ways of the world as to its
 usages and exterior manners, as well as to all things of expediency
 and prudential consideration, a moment's reflection will convince, a
 mind as right as yours, must necessarily be to inexperienced youth,
 with ever so fine natural parts, a *terra incognita*. As you would not
 therefore attempt to form notions of China or Persia but from those
 who have travelled those countries, and the fidelity and sagacity of
 those relations you can trust ; so will you, as little, I trust, prema-
 turely form notions of your own concerning that usage of the world,
 (as it is called,) into which you have not yet travelled, and which
 must be long studied and practised, before it can be tolerably well
 known. I can repeat nothing to you of so infinite consequence to
 your future welfare, as to conjure you not to be hasty in taking up
 notions and opinions : guard your honest and ingenuous mind against
 this main danger of youth : with regard to all things, that appear not
 to your reason, after due examination, evident duties of honor, mora-
 lity, or religion, (and in all such as do, let your conscience and reason
 determine your notions and conduct,) in all other matters, I say, be
 slow to form opinions, keep your mind in a candid state of suspense,
 and open to full conviction when you shall procure it, using in the
 mean time the experience of a friend you can trust, the sincerity of
 whose advice you will try and prove by your own experience here-
 after, when more years shall have given it to you. I have been
 longer upon this head than I hope there was any occasion for : but
 the great importance of the matter, and my warm wishes for your
 welfare, figure, and happiness, have drawn it from me. I wish to
 know if you have a good French master. I must recommend the
 study of the French language, to speak and write it correctly, as to
 grammar and orthography, as a matter of the utmost and indispens-
 able use to you, if you would make any figure in the great world. I

CHAP. need say no more to enforce this recommendation : when I get to
 VIII. London, I will send you the best French Dictionary. Have you been
 1754. taught geography and the use of the globes by Mr. Leech ? if not,
 pray take a geography master and learn the use of the globes : it is soon known. I recommend to you to acquire a clear and thorough notion of what is called the Solar System ; together with the doctrine of Comets. I wanted, as much or more, to hear of your private reading at home, as of public lectures, which I hope, however, you will frequent for example's sake. Pardon this long letter, and keep it by you if you do not hate it. Believe me

My dear Nephew,
 ever affectionately,
 Yours.

On the 6th March an event occurred as unfortunate for, as it was unexpected by, the country—the death of Mr. Pelham. Without possessing shining abilities as a statesman or as an orator, Mr. Pelham's judgment and understanding were particularly sound. His experience in business and his thorough knowledge of the world rendered him a very useful and efficient minister. A disciple of Sir R. Walpole, his knowledge, like his master's, was chiefly confined to the affairs of his own country. He interfered but little with the politics of Europe : indeed he wanted the energy of character which a minister must possess who wishes to impress upon foreign countries a proper sense of the importance of his own. Although he is charged with fomenting jealousies amongst several of his contemporaries in office, his intentions, upon the whole, are allowed to have been upright and disinterested. Immense authority and revenues were entrusted to his care, yet he lived without abusing his power, or accumulating wealth.

Neither the illness nor age of Mr. Pelham were such as to lead men to anticipate his death. Great expectation and great confusion consequently arose in the cabinet. Mr. Fox, Mr. Murray, and Mr.

Pitt were severally named by many persons, as the probable successors of Mr. Pelham. Many obstacles existed to the admission of Mr. Pitt. The King's prejudices against him had never been removed. His parliamentary connections were few. He had for some time abstained from taking an active part in the House of Commons, and it was uncertain whether his health would enable him to support the fatigues of a leading official appointment. Although he had long desired and looked forward to a more prominent share in the administration, his spirit was too high to solicit what he thought his services and character should command.

CHAP.
VIII.
1754.

It is not known whether Mr. Murray formally refused the chancellorship of the exchequer, but it is certain that he sent Mr. Stone to Mr. Fox, disclaiming all emulation; stating that his views were professional, and that he looked forward alone to a high judicial employment.

On the 12th March it was arranged that the Duke of Newcastle should be first commissioner of the treasury, Mr. Legge chancellor of the exchequer, and Mr. Fox secretary of state, with, as he understood, the management of the House of Commons. On the following morning, however, this arrangement was disturbed. The intended management of the House of Commons was withdrawn from Mr. Fox, who consequently declined accepting the office of secretary of state. The other appointments remained the same. Sir T. Robinson received the seals which Mr. Fox had refused. Lord Barnard, Lord Duplin, and Mr. Nugent formed the remainder of the board of treasury. With a view to soften the disappointment of Mr. Pitt, his intimate friend and relative, Mr. George Grenville, was made treasurer of the navy, and George Lyttleton cofferer of the household. The Duke of Newcastle was now, in effect, what he had so long and so ardently desired to become—sole minister of the country, for to him alone the King appears to have transferred his confidence. But this disposition of affairs was far from giving general satisfaction. Mr. Fox considered himself insulted and betrayed. Mr. Pitt was offended. All who valued the public good saw, with concern, the chief direction of

CHAP. affairs entrusted to one so weak and indecisive as the Duke of New-
VIII. castle.
1754.

The similarity of their situations brought Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox to an explanation respecting their former conduct towards each other. They soon found that the misunderstanding which so long prevailed between them, had been fomented by the Pelhams, who at the same time professed to deprecate and to endeavour to remove it.

Under these circumstances, the minister's situation was one of great anxiety and apprehension. He could expect no support from the two statesmen whose views he had disappointed. Whilst, indeed, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox held public appointments, the Duke of Newcastle imagined that a sense of propriety would prevent them from obstructing the measures of government. But he was well aware of the high spirit of Mr. Pitt, and knew that his feelings might induce him suddenly to relinquish his place, and come forward in all the terrors of opposition.

If the minister had reason to dread impediments to his administration at home, the relation in which England stood with regard to other countries, particularly France, inspired him with much greater alarm. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, whatever it might effect, for a time, in Europe, had by no means put an end to the hostilities between the French and English in the other three quarters of the globe. The territories of the two countries in Asia and America, had never been accurately defined by treaties, and the French were indefatigable in detaching the natives from our interest, and in encroaching upon our possessions. For many years the greatest ignorance and supineness respecting our settlements in America prevailed in the English cabinet, and it was not till after the most repeated complaints from the colonists of the aggressions of the French that the subject was considered as one of national importance. Remonstrances were then made to the Court of Versailles, and commissaries appointed by the two countries to adjust the dispute. These negotiations proved ineffectual. The proceedings of the French in America became more avowed and alarming. It appears that their object was to erect a

chain of garrisons from Canada to the mouths of the Mississippi, to cut off the communication of the English with the Indians west of that river, and thereby destroy our trade and plantations. This was no longer to be borne with patience. The governors of our settlements received orders from England to form a confederacy for their mutual support, and to resist force by force. Open hostilities commenced under disagreeable circumstances. M. Jumonville, a French officer, was killed by a detachment under Major Washington^b, and his death gave rise to much misrepresentation on the part of his countrymen. Soon after this, Mr. Washington was compelled, by the superiority of the French force, to surrender the fort which he commanded upon the banks of the Ohio. The account of this disaster reached London in August, 1754, and the minister, pusillanimous as he was, felt himself obliged to obey the commands of his sovereign, and prepare a force to support his subjects in America. In effecting this, the Duke of Cumberlandⁱ was consulted, but great want of judgment appeared in the arrangements. General Braddock, a stranger certainly to fear, but obstinate in the extreme, with no other notions of war than the punctilious enforcement of military discipline, was sent to oppose the wild attacks and ambuscades of the Indians. A fencing-master might, with equal prudence, be sent to attack a tiger. The manner in which this armament was prepared was no less injudicious than the choice of its commander.

Braddock's force was not sufficient to accomplish any very important enterprise, but it might have been extremely serviceable had its destination been unknown to the enemy. But, instead of concealing their purpose, it was proclaimed with the most absurd ostentation, and the French had thus an opportunity of instigating that resistance which proved so fatal to the expedition.

^b In after times the celebrated General and Statesman of America.

ⁱ Lord Orford says, that his Royal Highness was not consulted, but the Duke of Newcastle in a letter to the elder Horace Walpole, positively states that the whole arrangement of this force was left to the Duke.

CHAP.
VIII.
1754.

It was at this time that Mr. Pitt strengthened his intimacy with the Grenville family by stricter ties than even those of friendship. On the 6th November, he married Lady Hester Grenville, the sister of Earl Temple. This lady possessed a very superior understanding, and was highly distinguished by her manners and conversation. Such a union could not fail to add largely to the happiness of Mr. Pitt. But however great were his domestic attachments, his public ardour was not abated by his marriage.

Parliament assembled on the 14th November. The general tenor of the King's speech implied the probability of continued tranquillity; but the preservation of our rights in America was alluded to with a view to the supplies which might afterwards be demanded. The address to the throne was unanimously voted. On the following day Mr. Pitt moved for leave to bring in a bill for the relief of Chelsea Pensioners, for which he will ever merit the noble title of the soldier's friend. Mr. Pitt depicted, in strong colors, the hardships to which the out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital were exposed, under existing regulations for the payment of their pensions. The poor disabled veterans, he said, who were entitled to this excellent charity, were cruelly oppressed by wretches who supplied them with money in advance. By the present mode of payment, the poor pensioner can receive no money until he has been twelve months on the list. This was extremely unjust, because the veteran's claim to the charity commenced from the moment of his disability in the service. By the present delay of the first payment, he was under the necessity of borrowing money upon the certificate of his admission on the list. He was supplied with a pittance by one of those people called usurers, who compelled the wretched man to allow him a most exorbitant interest. The practice continuing a few years, the pensioner had nothing to subsist on—the whole of his pension was swallowed up in usury. To remedy this grievance, Mr. Pitt proposed, that when the pensioner was admitted upon the list, half a year's pension should be advanced to him. This, with a few other humane regulations, formed the basis of Mr. Pitt's motion. The bill unanimously passed

both Houses of Parliament, and its provisions were carried into immediate effect. CHAP.
VIII.
1754.

The following letters of Mr. Fox to the Marquis of Hartington, contain so animated and so just an account of the debates of the 25th and the 27th of November, and of the former gentleman's communication with Mr. Pitt, that I should consider my history incomplete without their insertion.

Nov. 26, 1754.

MY DEAR LORD,

YOU would be with reason angry, if, after your commands, I let such a day as yesterday pass, without being the occasion of a letter to you. I did not come in till the close of the finest speech that ever Pitt spoke^k, and, perhaps, the most remarkable ; of which I can give your Lordship a true, though it must be a hearsay account.

Mr. Wilkes, a friend it seems of Pitt's, petitioned against the younger Delaval, chose at Berwick, on account of bribery only. The younger Delaval made a speech on his being thus attacked, full of wit, humour, and buffoonery, which kept the House in a continual roar of laughter. Mr. Pitt came down from the gallery, and took it up in his highest tone of dignity. He was astonished when he heard what had been the occasion of their mirth. Was the dignity of the House of Commons on so sure foundations, that they might venture themselves to shake it?—Had it not, on the contrary, been diminishing for years, till now we were brought to the very brink of the precipice, where, if ever, a stand must be made? High compliments to the Speaker,—eloquent exhortations to Whigs of all conditions, to defend their attacked and expiring liberty, &c. “Unless you will degenerate into a little assembly, serving no other purpose than to register the

^k The compiler of the Anecdotes of Lord Chatham says, “Mr. Pitt took no part in the debates during the session which ended on the 25th April, 1755.” What a singular assertion, when it is known that some of his very finest speeches, those in particular mentioned by Mr. Fox, were delivered during that time!

CHAP.
VIII.
1754.

arbitrary edicts of one too powerful subject ;” (laying on the words *one* and *subject*, the most remarkable emphasis.) I have verified these words by five or six different people, so that your Lordship may be assured these were his very words. When I came in, he was recapitulating ; and ended with “ our being designed, or likely, (I cannot tell which he said,) to be an appendix to—I know not what—I have no name for it.” Displeased, as well as pleased, allow it to be the finest speech that was ever made ; and it was observed that by his first two periods, he brought the House to a silence and attention, that you might have heard a pin drop. Except the words marked, observe that I do not pretend to give your Lordship his words, but only the purport of his speech, of which a good deal was on bribery, I suppose, and the manner of treating it, which so much tended to lower, what was already brought too low, the authority of the House of Commons. The Speaker shook him by the hand, ready to shake it off ; which, I hear, gave almost as great offence as the speech. I just now hear that the Duke of Newcastle was in the utmost fidget, and that it spoiled his stomach yesterday.

Legge got up after Pitt ; gave his assent and consent to the maintenance of the dignity of the House of Commons, which, he hoped, they would think best maintained by a steady adherence to whig principles, on which, whether sooner or later, whatever is to be my fate, I am determined to stand or fall. This, I suppose, meant for Murray, who looked pale and miserable, most remarkably so ; but neither he nor any body else, said a word.

I have not done yet ; for the committee last night afforded another extraordinary scene. The Reading petition was ordered on a day agreed upon ; then a day very soon after it was moved for Colchester ; when Pitt moved a later day, as Reading would take time, demanding their best attention, as it regarded a noble lord ; he then made a panegyrick on Lord Fane, to make which, was undoubtedly the sole motive of his speaking ; nor did he say one word on the cause. This needed not have called up a Secretary of state ; but Sir Thomas Robinson rose, and with warmth, among other things asserted, that

it would be a short cause, and on the side of the sitting member, a *poor* cause. Pitt handled him roughly. Sir Thomas answered with passion ; and Pitt replied. I then spoke, (for I dread what your Lordship foresaw might be offered, and thought these things tended to it.) I expressed great regard for Lord Fane ; and excused Sir Thomas Robinson's irregular and blameable expression, by his twenty years residence abroad, where he had done honor to himself and to his country, and which easily accounted for his total inexperience in the matters now before us : he did not like it. Pitt and he had talked of his great office ; and Sir Thomas Robinson said, it was well known he had not been ambitious of it. Pitt believed it ; and gave him to understand, that if any body else had been so, he would not have had it. Your Lordship may believe I did not, at the greatest distance even, touch this part of the matter.

Your lordship may believe much speculation ensued ; and it was pleasant to see, when the committee rose, the whole form at once into knots of two, three, or four whisperers, who, I suppose, did, (what I cannot yet do,) make some conclusion. I fancy this fire breaking out yesterday might be a great deal owing to accident ; but break out I knew it would, and the Duke of Newcastle may thank himself for the violence of it, having, since you went, owned to Pitt, that he had acquainted the King with part of their last conversation ; adding, like an idiot,—*to do you good—to do you good* : and that he had not mentioned that part of it which could do him harm. Thus we are already got to a point which I hardly thought a whole sessions could have brought us to. The event I know not. If your Lordship should think it would be the offer you mentioned, a more disagreeable, delicate, embarrassing, and if accepted, a more disgraceful affair, could not happen.

Adieu,

Your ever obliged.

CHAP.
VIII.
1754.

Thursday, November 28th, 1754.

MY DEAR LORD,

More news.—Pitt entertained us again yesterday, and I never wished more than yesterday for your lordship, for the pleasure it would have given you. The two Beckfords *only*, and very stupidly, opposed the army ; I answered very short, and without going in the least from the purpose. Lord Barrington and Nugent made unnecessary and fulsome speeches ; both declaring the extreme popularity not only of his Majesty but of his ministers, and that *there were no Jacobites in England*. Nugent flattered the Duke of Newcastle by the name of the first lord of the treasury, and not without allusion to Pitt's Monday speech. Pitt, angry perhaps at this, did not however say a word of it. But, (after treating the question in a masterly way, and on a very different foot from what they had done, in three and four sentences,) introduced his opinion of Jacobitism ; of the tendency of too much security on that head ; and of that seminary of disaffection, Oxford. He introduced the last in the prettiest manner in the world. Nugent had said, that many who thought they had nursed up Jacobites were extremely surprised when the trial came to find they were not such. He lived in the country a good deal, and rural images presented themselves. He had seen a hen that had hatched duck-eggs, with surprise see them follow, whenever the water came in view, what sense and nature, not she, had taught them. Pitt, after talking gravely and finely on the subject, said “ this ingenious image struck him ; for, Sir, I know of such a hen,” &c. ; which he most delightfully brought out to be the University of Oxford ; but begged them “ not to be too sure that all she hatched would ever entirely forget what she had taught them.” He was nearly, (perhaps quite,) single now ; but he wished he might not live to see the day, when, not with declamation, not with anger, (which Nugent had accused him of,) but with deep concern of heart, those who would not listen to him now should say, when it was too late, “ you were in the right.” (This was for old Horace.) Sir Roger Newdigate answered

pro forma. Pitt rose again, and told the story of what had happened to him in a party of pleasure at Oxford lately, a story told most elegantly, most inimitably : Oxford had nothing to say. He made his inferences as before; and in both speeches every word was *Murray*; yet so managed, that neither he nor any body else could, or did take public notice of it, or in any degree reprehend him, I sate next Murray; *who suffered for an hour*. Old Horace advises Pitt, Legge, and me, not only to be easy, but to be cheerfully active, and says the old Whigs will hate us if we are not; in short, advises more than the Duke of Newcastle can even presume to *wish*. I see no Whiggism in this. And as it is clear now that the House of Commons are to have no share, and that Lord Chancellor, Lord Granville, and Duke of Newcastle are determined to depress them, not to resist, seems too much to be expected. He talks much of the Duke of Devonshire; but I fancy, and hope we shall find your family as formerly, and other noble families too, ready to prevent what old Horace, without a pretence of reason, strangely adopts; and that you will not be inclined to think, that taking all from the House of Commons is the way to preserve Whig liberty. The Lords stand between the crown and the privileges and liberties of both Peers and Commons; and after we are nothing, you will not long continue what you wish to be. Lord Granville embraced Murray yesterday, and was heard to say, "Resolution must be shewn." What that Lord means, whether mischief or success to Duke of Newcastle, is hard to guess.

It is the universal opinion that business cannot go on as things now are, and that offers will be made to Pitt or me. On this subject Pitt was with me two hours yesterday morning. A difficult conversation : I managed it, I think, as well as such a conversation could be managed : I am sorry it is too long to give you any account of in a letter. The result of this is, and of every other shall be, that I will be as prudent as I can be with honor; but no suspicion, I promise your Lordship, shall be fixed on honor, though it should be necessary to depart from all prudence to preserve it. Legge has taken his party, I think, and will be softened no more. I think Arundel may

CHAP.
VIII.
1754.

CHAP. venture to say, that the *Curl* he foretold is come. There are symp-
 VIII. toms of Lord Egmont's having been talked to ; and certain verified
 1754. tokens of union between Murray, Mr. G. Lee, and some Tories. Pitt
 assures me, it is the *testament politique* of Lord Bolingbroke, lodged
 in great hands ; and really brings more circumstances than your Lord-
 ship would imagine to warrant this assertion. If so, Horace is not
 only working hard to fix the sole power of the Duke of Newcastle
now, but in the end to accomplish a scheme of Lord Bolingbroke's ;
 they are not (*just the*) two men in the world he is most obliged to :
 so that is strange. But that he should call it old and true Whiggism
 is more than strange ; it is absurd, and indeed provoking. Except what
 in my last I told your Lordship of Monday night, I have not said a
 word that can possibly be misinterpreted.

Adieu ; do not expect another debate by Saturday, for I shall
 not go to the House : there is nothing to do there to-morrow.

Adieu—Adieu.

CHAPTER IX.

1755.

Peculiarity of Mr. Fox's situation—Mr. Fox becomes a Cabinet Councillor—Mr. Pitt's Speech upon the Sheriff's depute in Scotland—Want of Harmony between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox—Posture of Public affairs—Anxiety of the Duke of Newcastle to secure the support of Mr. Pitt—Character of the Earl of Hardwicke—Mr. Pitt's Speech upon the Foreign Treaties—Mr. Fox becomes Secretary of State—Mr. Pitt is deprived of the Paymastership—Speeches of Mr. Pitt upon Mr. Ellis's Motion for 50,000 seamen; upon Mr. Pulteney's Motion; upon the Militia Bill—Debates upon the Treaties with Hesse and Russia—Speech of the Hon. Hume Campbell—Mr. Pitt's very severe reply—Speeches of Mr. Pitt upon the Treaties; upon the Estimate of the Charges of the Hanoverian Troops; upon Sir G. Lyttleton's Motion—Minorca—Admiral Byng—Embarrassments and resignation of the Duke of Newcastle—Mr. Pitt is appointed Secretary of State.

THE Duke of Newcastle, feeling that the late impetuous attack upon Sir Thomas Robinson was aimed by Mr. Pitt at himself, became irritated and alarmed. His inclination prompted him to dismiss Mr. Pitt from his office of the paymastership, but the measure was too vigorous for his adoption. He then endeavoured to conciliate Mr. Fox. The King was desirous of securing the services of Mr. Fox in the cabinet, and commissioned Lord Waldegrave to undertake the negociation between the Duke of Newcastle and that Gentleman. Mr. Fox's situation was now extremely delicate. He enjoyed the good opinion of his Majesty, and the particular confidence of the Duke of Cumberland, but he had entered into communication with Mr. Pitt, and was unwilling to take any decided step without consulting him on the subject. Mr. Pitt's conduct throughout this transaction appears to have been so dignified and at the same time so temperate, that

CHAP.
IX.
1755.

CHAP.
IX.
1755.

it raises him infinitely beyond his contemporaries. Struck with the manliness of his behaviour, the Duke of Cumberland observed to Fox, "I don't know him, but by what you tell me, Pitt is what is scarce, he is a man." When asked invidiously by the Chancellor "could you bear to act *under* Fox," Mr. Pitt replied, "Leave out *under*, my Lord, it will never be a word between us, Mr. Fox and I shall never quarrel." Mr. Fox's conduct has been variously represented upon this occasion. Lord Orford describes him as irresolute, affecting content, borne down by the Duke of Cumberland, aspiring at sole power, conferring with Mr. Pitt but not entering into real measures. On the other hand, Lord Waldegrave says, "Fox, during the whole negociation, behaved like a man of sense and a man of honor; very frank, very explicit, and not very unreasonable." Although sneering was the delight of Lord Orford, I am of opinion that his remark upon this occasion, is just, and that Mr. Fox's conduct must be viewed in no advantageous light. Upon Mr. Pelham's death he had urgently solicited to be made Chancellor of the Exchequer. By his own statement he was disappointed and deceived by the Duke of Newcastle. He then formed a sort of intimacy with Mr. Pitt. At length he became a Cabinet Councillor, but because he knew the King had a prejudice against Mr. Pitt, he privately disclaimed all connexion with the man whose conduct towards himself had been so manly and explicit. This declaration of Mr. Fox, coming to the knowledge of Mr. Pitt, produced in him a disgust to that gentleman, which no subsequent circumstances appear to have removed.

The bill for subjecting the Sheriff's depute of Scotland to the King's pleasure during seven years, (after which they were to hold their offices for life,) being about to expire, the Lord Advocate moved that it should be continued for some time longer under the same restrictions. On the 26th February, 1755, an animated debate arose upon the subject in the House of Commons, Mr. C. Townshend opposed the motion with warmth as repugnant to the principles of the Revolution. Lord G. Sackville defended it with ability, and ridiculed the importance which seemed to be attached to offices so insignificant

as those in question. The Attorney General contended, that the proposition of the Lord Advocate, was no breach of the privileges of the Revolution. He insisted that it was by no means the sense of Scotland, that their little magistrates should be continued for life. He owned that judges, who are to decide on questions of state, should be for life, as in cases of treason, where it is not fit to trust the crown with its own revenge; in cases of charters also, &c. but it is not necessary to be so *strict* in mere cases of *meum* and *tuum*. CHAP.
IX.
1755.

In describing this debate, Horace Walpole says the attorney-general was answered by Pitt “with great fire, in one of his best worded and most spirited declamations for liberty, but which, like others of his fine orations, cannot be delivered adequately without his own language; nor will they appear so cold to the reader, as they even do to myself, when I attempt to sketch them, and cannot forget with what soul and grace they were uttered. He did not directly oppose, but wished rather to send the bill to the committee, to see how it could be amended. Was glad that Murray would defend the King, only with a salvo to the rights of the Revolution; he commended his abilities, but tortured him on his distinctions and refinements. He himself, indeed, had more scruples; it might be a Whig delicacy, but even that is a solid principle. He had more dread of arbitrary power dressing itself in the long robe, than even of military power. When master principles are concerned, he dreaded accuracy of distinction; he feared that sort of reasoning; if you class every thing, you will soon reduce every thing into a particular; you will then lose great general maxims. Gentlemen may analyze a question till it is lost. If I can show him, says Murray, that it is not My Lord Judge, but Mr. Judge, I have got him into a class. For his part, could he be drawn to violate liberty, it should be *regnandi causâ*, for this King’s reigning. He would not recur for precedents to the diabolic divans of the second Charles and James—he did not date his principles of the liberty of this country from the Revolution: they are eternal rights; and when God said, *Let justice be justice*, he made it independent. The Act of Parliament that you are going

CHAP. IX. 1755. to repeal is a proof of the importance of sheriffs-depute ; formerly they were instruments of tyranny. Why is this attempted ? Is it to make Mr. Pelham more regretted ? *He* would have been tender of cramming down the throats of people what they are averse to swallow. Whig and minister were conjuncts he always wished to see. He deprecated those who had more weight than himself in the administration, to drop this ; for seven years, for fourteen, though he was not disposed to weigh things in such golden scales.

“ Fox said, that he was undetermined, and would reserve himself for the committee ; that he only spoke now, to show it was not crammed down his throat ; which was in no man’s power to do. That in the committee he would be free, which he feared Pitt had not left it in his own power to be, so well had he spoken on one side. That he revered liberty and Pitt, because nobody could speak so well on its behalf^a. ”

In the subsequent and final discussion of this bill, several concessions were made by the ministry. Mr. Fox having made some humorous observations, Mr. Pitt spoke of the harmony of the day, and wished that Mr. Fox “ had omitted any thing that looked like levity on this great principle. He said that the ministry giving up the *durante benè placito* was an instance of moderation. That two points of the debate had affected him with sensible pleasure, the admission that judicature ought to be free, and the universal zeal to strengthen the King’s hands. That liberty was the best loyalty ; that giving extraordinary powers to the crown, was so many repeals of the Act of Settlement^b. ” The bill was continued for the seven ensuing years upon the same footing as before.

Soon after this time, the elder Horace Walpole accepted a commission from the Duke of Newcastle for the purpose of effecting an accommodation with Mr. Pitt. Although neither the message nor the messenger appear to have been explicit, Mr. Pitt determined that

^a Lord Orford’s Memoires, vol. i. p. 372, 373.

^b Lord Orford’s Memoires. Vol i. p. 380.

his own sentiments should not be misunderstood. He told Mr. Walpole that he did not wish that any vacancy in the offices of state should be made for him, but that when such vacancy did occur he expected the seals; in the mean time, he demanded that the proscription, which excluded him from the cabinet, should be removed. Mr. Walpole acquiesced in the propriety of these proposals, but the Duke of Newcastle, when he heard them, affected to be extremely indignant, and told him that he had exceeded the bounds of his commission ^c.

CHAP.
IX.
1755.

The posture of public affairs was at this time extremely awkward and embarrassing. The hostile preparations of France were known, and the navy of England was in a state to resist them. But no declaration of war had been made by either country. Admiral Boscawen was ready to sail with a very powerful fleet, and waited only for the instructions of his government. It was a delicate point to determine what those instructions should be. How did it behove this great country to act, so as firmly to maintain her rights, without giving offence to her allies, and without violating the sacred law of nations? It was, at length, determined that, as no hostilities had taken place between the two countries in Europe, Boscawen should allow the fleets of France to sail unmolested from their ports: but that, as America had been the scene of the past aggressions of the French, and was evidently now the destination of their armament, he should intercept and attack them in the American seas. There was both justice and vigour in this decision. The English squadron, accordingly, sailed, and encountering a portion of the French fleet, captured two of their ships off the coast of Newfoundland. The sensation excited by this action in France and England was equally vehement, but, of course, of the most opposite description. In France, it was stigmatized as the grossest outrage of national faith; in England, it was applauded as a just and happy vindication of our colonies. Whatever might be the clamour in France against them, so far, I think, the measures of the British ministry were just. Their sub-

^c Lord Melcombe's Diary. Lord Orford's Memoires.

CHAP. IX. 1755. sequent conduct was, unhappily, without excuse; it cannot be defended by justice, nor was it even called for by necessity. I allude to the instructions given to Admiral Sir Edward Hawke in July, 1755. To me it appears indisputably clear that no hostile operations in Europe should have taken place on the part of England, without a previous declaration of war against France. If war was necessary, the King's return from Hanover should earnestly have been entreated by the regency, and then it should have been declared. If the necessary preparations for war were not completed, it behoved the country to wait till they were so. We should have snatched no unfair advantages, we should not have allowed our sailors to be branded with the name of pirates, attacking, without the least previous notice, an unconscious and unguarded foe. These dictates of justice were disregarded by the regency. After long deliberation, it was determined that Hawke should sail with hostile orders, although war was not declared. Such being the position of public affairs, the King of England foresaw that France would be eager for revenge, and would probably take an early opportunity of invading his Electoral dominions^d. To guard against such invasion, his Majesty, whilst at Hanover, stipulated by treaty for the aid of 12,000 men from the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and entered into negociation with the Czarina to obtain the co-operation of 40,000 Russians. Whilst such eagerness appeared in transacting these treaties, it is most extraordinary that those with Saxony and Bavaria should have been allowed to expire*. The English had subjected themselves to heavy expenses in subsidizing

^d The King had good grounds for his fears. It seems that the hope of plunder, as much as the feeling of resentment, was an inducement with France to attack Hanover. Early in 1755, Rouillé said to the Prussian minister at Paris, "Ecrivez, monsieur, au Roi de Prusse, qu'il nous assiste dans l'expédition de Hanovre; il y a là de quoi piller, le trésor du Roi d'Angleterre est bien fourni; le Roi n'a qu'à le prendre: c'est, monsieur, une brave capture."—*Histoire de mon Temps*.

* This conduct, if so homely an illustration may be allowed, resembles that of a man upon a journey, who, fearing rain, encumbers himself with a heavy cloak, and, after bearing the inconvenience of it for a considerable distance, discards it when the storm is about to burst over his head.

these countries in time of peace, when their alliance could be of no avail, and upon the eve of a war with France, when their assistance could only be effective, neglected the means of securing it.

CHAP.
IX.
1755.

The Duke of Newcastle, who appears to have maintained himself in power by the most abject submission to the wishes of the King, was apprehensive of serious opposition in England to these treaties with Hesse Cassel and Russia. His object, therefore, was, if possible, to induce the most formidable of his opponents to approve them. Notwithstanding the failure of former negociations he commissioned the Honorable Charles Yorke^f to confer with Mr. Pitt. When Mr. Yorke had opened the business of his commission, and began to make a tender of the Duke's sincere friendship and unlimited confidence, he was at once stopped by Mr. Pitt, who said, that as to friendship and confidence there were none between them; if any had ever existed they were now at an end: it was loss of time to talk in that strain: that he would neither take nor hold any thing as a favor from his Grace. If the Duke was really in earnest why did he not state his proposals? Namely, what was the work to be done? Who were the gentlemen proposed to do it? And how were they to act? When he was informed upon these three points, and had consulted his friends, he should be able to give an answer.

The declarations of Mr. Pitt were not those of one to be overcome by subtilty and refinement, yet they did not deter the Duke of Newcastle from continuing the negociation. He therefore requested the Lord Chancellor to hold a conference with Mr. Pitt. From the wisdom of the negociator he certainly had reason to anticipate success to the negociation.

The eminence of Lord Hardwicke's character will, I trust, render a short digression upon his history not unacceptable to the reader.

The profession of the law in England has raised men to higher elevation in the state than in any other country in the world. Numerous are the families to whom it has given wealth and nobility. None,

^f Son of the Lord Chancellor.

CHAP. however, can complain that this is unreasonable. For constant appli-
 IX. cation being one of the first requisites for public men, and no profession
 1755. requiring so much of this quality as the law, its followers have just
 claims to emolument and distinction. In a profession at once so
 arduous and so encouraging, the rise of few men has been more
 entirely owing to their own abilities and exertions than that of the
 first Earl of Hardwicke.

Philip Yorke was the son of a solicitor at Dover, and born December 1, 1690. In the first instance, I believe, he followed his father's particular branch of the profession, but soon directing his attention to higher objects, he prepared himself for the bar by studying conveyancing under the eminent Mr. Salkeld. Close as was his application to legal pursuits, he did not neglect the cultivation of elegant literature, for the 364th number of the Spectator was contributed by Mr. Yorke^s. Although this paper affects no display of great learning or talents, it shews that the writer was accustomed to written composition, and the letter of "Philip Homebred" is characterized by much of Addison's sprightliness and ease.

Mr. Yorke was called to the bar in 1714. His talents must very soon have rendered him a conspicuous character, for we find him, in the year 1718, returned to Parliament as member for Lewes. In March, 1720, he became solicitor, and in February, 1724, attorney-general. Upon the first of these appointments he received the honor of knighthood. As an advocate of the crown, none could accuse Sir Philip Yorke of unnecessary severity, or of being influenced by a courtier's motives. His conduct was marked by a love of truth and a wish to be impartial. He departed not from the strict line of justice, or if ever in the least degree he did so, it was when leaning to the side of humanity. In October, 1733, Sir P. Yorke was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and soon after elevated to the peerage by the title of Baron Hardwicke. It was now that his Lordship's

^s That is, the first, and by far the longest letter in this number ; the other two letters are by Steele.

conduct proved how little he was actuated by mercenary considerations. When it was proposed to raise the salary of the Chief Justice from two to four thousand pounds a year, Lord Hardwicke refused to accept the augmentation ; and he evinced the same disinterested feeling in the arrangements which took place respecting the appointment of a Lord Chancellor, which happened at the same time to be vacant. Upon the death of the amiable Lord Talbot, in 1737, Lord Hardwicke was called to fulfil the highest legal appointment ; one full of honor and emolument, but perhaps the most arduous and responsible of any under the crown—he was appointed Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. This exalted office requires, in an eminent degree, learning, penetration, judgment, a strong bodily constitution, a courteous and a patient disposition. Nor is it alone in his legal capacity that these qualifications are necessary. The Chancellor of England is a statesman as well as a lawyer. As one of the principal advisers of the crown, and as Speaker of the House of Lords, he stands forth conspicuously as a politician ; and ignorance upon any national question would expose him to public scorn. In no one of these points was the character of Lord Hardwicke deficient. As a politician, he wanted, indeed, the energy of Pitt ; as a nobleman, he wanted the mild dignity of Talbot, and the high breeding and elegance of Murray ; but, in the combination of qualities essential to his exalted station, he has, perhaps, never been surpassed. “ When Lord Hardwicke pronounced his decrees,” said Lord Mansfield, “ Wisdom herself might be supposed to speak.”

The character of such a man, joined to his exalted station, must have rendered his influence almost universal throughout the country. Mr. Pitt, although he does not appear to have entertained any particular veneration for the legal profession, thought highly of Lord Hardwicke’s abilities. But he was not one to be dazzled with any man’s reputation, and he considered Lord Hardwicke, upon the present occasion, as the simple medium of a communication from the ministry to himself. The following were the Chancellor’s statements in the conference which took place :

CHAP.
IX.
1755.

CHAP.
IX.
1755.

That he trusted Mr. Pitt would lend his cordial assistance to the ministry: that the King, he owned, entertained prejudices against him (Mr. Pitt); that steps had been taken to remove these prejudices before the King went abroad, and had since been the subject of a correspondence; that their endeavours, upon this point, had not been so successful as they desired; that the king was much attached to his present secretaries of state, Lord Holderness and Sir T. Robinson, but that, if, by any accident, a vacancy should occur, they would, upon Mr. Pitt's cordial promise of assistance, endeavour to obtain for him the seals which he so much desired.

Mr. Pitt answered, that he must begin with his Lordship's last words—*the seals which he so much desired*—desired of whom? he did not remember that he had ever applied to Lord Hardwicke for them: he was sure he never had to the Duke of Newcastle. He assured the Chancellor that if they could prevail upon the King to give him the seals, under his present dislike, the only use he would make of them would be to lay them at his Majesty's feet: that till the King desired it, and thought it necessary to his service, he never would accept them. He knew the King had lately said that he had obtruded himself into office: the Chancellor was aware that this was not the case, and if he (Mr. Pitt) were to ask a favor, it would be that his Majesty should be correctly informed upon that point. The Chancellor had said a great deal, but he desired to know from his Lordship, in what he was expected to assist? and what was the work? Here the Chancellor said "to carry on the war in which they were engaged." Mr. Pitt said, he had no hesitation in concurring with this, as the war was a national one. He thought also, that a regard should be paid to Hanover, *should it* be attacked on our account—the Chancellor interrupted him by saying he was extremely pleased to find that they agreed in their principles, and that they both thought Hanover should be defended. Mr. Pitt desired his Lordship to observe the words he had used, "that a regard should be paid to Hanover;" not that we could find money to defend it by subsidies, which, if we could, was not the way to defend it. An open country

was not to be defended against a neighbour who had 150,000 men, and an enemy who had 150,000 more to back them.

CHAP.
IX.
1755.

After urging many of the soundest reasons against all subsidies, Mr. Pitt observed, that, as the King's honor would be pressed on account of the Hessian treaty, he would make an exception in favor of that : he did not say that he would support it ; but if the Duke of Newcastle would engage that he never would propose another subsidy during the whole course of the war, he (Mr. Pitt) would consult his friends, and see what could be done in its favor. To the Russian subsidy, (of 120,000*l.* per annum, to be paid now, and 500,000*l.* per annum, when we took the stipulated number of men into pay,) he never would consent. It would only be leading Hanover into a snare, and deceiving and ruining ourselves. For if 70,000 men proved insufficient, we must take more, till they were sufficient, which would either ruin us, or compel us to abandon them at last. The Chancellor said, he understood that the Commons had, during the last session, tacitly allowed that Hanover must be defended ; and it was in consequence of such acquiescence that the treaties with Hesse and Russia had been undertaken. He acknowledged that subsidies should have their bounds, and that those which were coming before Parliament were not likely to be popular. When Mr. Pitt enforced the necessity of putting a total stop to them, and of leaving Hanover to the system and constitution of the empire, the Chancellor seemed to acquiesce, but said, he (Mr. Pitt) must be sensible that this was not the mode to succeed with the King. The Chancellor was desirous that Mr. Pitt should once more see the Duke of Newcastle, and discuss these affairs with him. Mr. Pitt said that if the Duke sent to desire to speak with him, he should wait on his Grace, but not otherwise.

On the 2nd September another interview, between the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt, occurred at the desire of the former. Mr. Pitt painted the evil consequences of this subsidizing system in the strongest colours. He deprecated the ruin which these treaties would complete, in the present dangerous state of the country—the King

CHAP. abroad, without a man about him with one English sentiment—and
 IX. now he was to bring home a whole set of treaties ! He stated that
 1755. he was willing to promote the King's service, but, if this was what
 he was sent for to promote, few words were best—nothing in the world
 should induce him to agree to these subsidies. The Duke of New-
 castle, in answer, was tedious and perplexed. He endeavoured to
 soften Mr. Pitt by representing how important he might become as a
 cabinet councillor. He stated that the King was highly pleased with
 both his secretaries, but, in the event of a vacancy, would be glad to
 avail himself of Mr. Pitt's services, &c. Mr. Pitt replied, that he
 desired neither the occurrence of such a vacancy, nor the office ; he
 had declared, when pressed on the subject of the House of Commons,
 that, if they expected him, or any one else, to carry on their business
 in that House, they must entrust him with proper powers and distinc-
 tion : that, in short, the Duke's system in the House of Commons
 would not do, and whilst he had life and utterance he would oppose
 it. There must be men of efficiency and authority in the House of
 Commons—a secretary, and a chancellor of the exchequer, at least,
 who should have access to the crown ; he meant habitual, frequent,
 familiar access, that they might tell their own story, do themselves
 and their friends justice, and not be the victims of a whisper. He
 had an esteem for both the secretaries, but he supposed something
 was wanting, or why was he sent for ? If those secretaries could carry
 on the government he should be glad : for his own part, if the ministry
 asked nothing of him, he asked nothing of them. The Duke then
 said, that the *system* of subsidies, indeed, was not to be insisted on,
 but *two* did not make a system, and the King's honor was pledged as
 to *those*. Mr. Pitt rejoined, that he had a deep regard for the honor
 of the King, but that the system of subsidies was so fatal, that he
 could not think even of submitting to that with Hesse, unless minis-
 ters solemnly engaged that nothing of the same kind should again
 be offered ; and unless it should be notoriously declared and under-
 stood on both sides, that it was given and received as a mark of affec-
 tion from a ruined nation, to save the honor of its king, who had

entered into a rash engagement. As for *two* subsidies, it was the same as twenty, and no persuasion should induce him to support them.

CHAP.
IX.
1755.

He desired his Grace to think seriously upon the consequences. What if the Duke of Devonshire should commence an opposition in the House of Lords! Should this prove so, he (Mr. Pitt) would echo such opposition in the House of Commons with his utmost might. He now wished to ask whether this was all? Were there no subsidies to be renewed? The Duke indistinctly said, that the subsidies with Saxony and Bavaria were offered and pressed, but that nothing had been determined on; that the Hessian treaty was perfected, the one with Russia not yet concluded. His Grace having laid particular stress upon the King's honor, Mr. Pitt observed, that then he would advise his Majesty to sacrifice a portion of his individual property^b, by giving his kinsman of Hesse 100,000*l.* and the Czarina 150,000*l.* and thus be released from his engagements, rather than allow suggestions so dangerous to his own repose, and the safety of his family, to be thrown out in the debates which would ensue upon the subjectⁱ.

These conferences ended without effect. The Duke of Newcastle, although extremely desirous to secure Mr. Pitt's co-operation, was too fond of power to submit to such curtailments of it as a union with that gentleman would necessarily have imposed. He therefore commenced a negotiation in other quarters: this proved successful, and ended in Mr. Fox's becoming secretary of state. Lord Barrington succeeded Mr. Fox as secretary at war, and Sir T. Robinson resumed his former place at the wardrobe, with a considerable pension upon the Irish establishment.

Parliament met on the 13th November. The King's speech was principally confined to the following subjects: the measures which had been adopted for the protection of his Majesty's dominions in America: the promptitude with which a large naval force had been

^b It was very erroneously supposed at this time that the King had saved 15,000,000*l.*

ⁱ These conversations are given by Doddington in his diary as communicated to him by Mr. Pitt. Both Lord Orford and Lord Waldegrave, in their respective memoirs, allude to them, and to the transactions in which they originated.

CHAP. equipped : the land forces which had been sent to the West Indies :
 IX. his Majesty's disposition to reasonable terms of accommodation with
 1755. France : the silence of France upon that head, and the pacific intentions of Spain : very brief mention was made of the new treaties with Hesse and Russia.

After the speech was read in the House of Commons, one of the longest debates on record ensued. The following expressions occurred in the address to the throne, which was moved by Lord Hillsborough.

“ We look upon ourselves as obliged, by the strongest ties of duty, gratitude, and honor, to stand by and support your Majesty in all such wise and necessary measures and engagements, as your Majesty may have taken in vindication of the rights of your crown ; or to defeat any attempt which may be made by France, in resentment for such measures ; and to assist your Majesty in disappointing or repelling all such enterprises as may be formed, not only against your kingdoms, but also against any other of your dominions, although not belonging to the crown of Great Britain, in case they should be attacked on account of the part which your Majesty has taken for maintaining the essential interests of your kingdoms.”

Mr. Gerard Hamilton now made his first speech in Parliament, in defence of the treaties, with admirable effect. The Attorney-general^{*}, in answer to Mr. Beckford, who wished that the Duke of Cumberland could be made Elector of Hanover, argued that it was not in the King's power to transfer his electoral dominions. He painted with a masterly hand the merit of the King, who might have ensured tranquillity to the evening of his life, had he studied only his own repose. The French would have accorded him fair terms—then they would have encroached a little—then referred the contested points to commissaries—but his Majesty disdained such tranquillity as would entail greater difficulties upon his successor and upon the nation. How hard would it be, in return, if we declared against protecting Hanover !

^{*} Mr. Murray.

if we sowed his pillow with thorns ! He should be sorry if, at the peace, we were to restore our acquisitions in America, in exchange for Hanover which we had abandoned.

CHAP.
IX.
1755.

After giving extracts from the speeches of Lord Egmont, Sir G. Lee, Sir T. Robinson, and others, Lord Orford thus proceeds :

“ These uninteresting discourses served to heighten what wanted no foil, Pitt’s ensuing oration. How his eloquence, like a torrent long obstructed, burst forth with more commanding impetuosity ! He and Legge opened their new opposition in the very spirit of their different characters : the one, humble, artful, affecting moderation, gliding to revenge ; the other, haughty, defiant, conscious of injury, and of supreme abilities.

“ Mr. Pitt began with expressing his solicitude upon the frequent and unparliamentary use which had been made of the King’s sacred name ; of the cruelty of so using it : formerly a man would have been brought to the bar for twice using it thus. But he had perceived, for some time, that every art was practised to lower the dignity of the House ; he had long observed it dwindling, sinking ! It was to such abuse he objected. No man could feel more veneration for the name that had been mentioned than himself : he particularly felt grateful returns for late condescending goodness and gracious openings. Nor did he, as yet, feel any other sensations ; as yet he had no rancor to any man who had set himself at the head of this measure ; as yet that man¹ had only his pity. He did not propose to follow all the various flashy reasonings of the debate, the scope of which tended to nothing but this : ‘ follow your leader.’ He was lost amid the number and contradictions of arguments, and should only skim over the most remarkable that had been made.

“ One^m had argued so strangely, as if we were to turn our eyes to these mercenaries as a reserve, if our navies should be defeated. What ! must we drain our last vital drop and send it to the North Pole ! If you would traffic for succours with the Czarina, why, rather

¹ Mr. Fox.

^m Lord Egmont.

CHAP. IX. 1755. than her troops, did not you hire twenty of her ships? He would say why. Because ships could not be applied to Hanover. In the reign of Charles II. what efforts were made to procure fleets from Sweden and Denmark! Now the natural system of Europe was lost. He did not know what majorities would do, but this would hang like a mill-stone about the neck of any minister, and sink him along with the nation. We had been told, indeed, that Carthage, and that Spain, in 1688, were undone, notwithstanding their navies. True! but not till they betook themselves to land operations—and *Carthage had, besides, a Hannibal^a, who would pass the Alps.*

“The present war was undertaken for the long-injured, long-neglected, long-forgotten people of America. Hanover had been excepted as an ally by the Act of Limitation, not so much for fear of prejudices, as on account of its locality. But we are told, that we must assist the Hanoverians out of justice and gratitude. Out of justice! We can produce a charter against it. Out of gratitude, indeed, we ought, if Hanover has done any thing in our quarrel to draw down upon her the resentments of France. These expressions^o were unparliamentary, unconstitutional. With all his duty to his Majesty, he must say, that the King owes a supreme service to his people. Would our ancestors have used adulation like this? The very paragraph ought to be taken notice of and punished.—Besides, is there any thing in the speech respecting Hanover, that calls for this resolution? Grotius declares that it is not necessary even *socium defendere si nulla spes boni exitus*. Then, turning with an air of the greatest contempt towards Sir George Lyttleton, (Mr. Pitt said,) a gentleman near me has talked, too, of writers on the law of nations. Nature is the best writer—she will teach us to be men, and not truckle to power. The noble Lord who moved the address seemed inspired with it. I, (continued Mr. Pitt) who am at a distance from that *sanctum sanctorum*, whither the priest goes for inspiration;—I, who travel through a desert, and am overwhelmed with mountains of

^a Alluding to the Duke of Cumberland.

^o The expressions in the Address.

obscurity, cannot so easily catch a gleam to direct me to the beauties of these negociations. But there are parts of this address that do not seem to come from the same quarter with the rest.—I cannot unravel this mystery—yes, (cried Mr. Pitt, suddenly raising his hand to his forehead,) I, too, am inspired! Now, it strikes me! I remember at Lyons to have been carried to see the conflux of the Rhone^p and Saone^q; the one a gentle, feeble, languid stream, and though languid of no depth; the other, a boisterous and impetuous torrent. But they meet at last; and long may they continue united to the comfort of each other, and to the glory, honor, and security of the nation! I wanted, indeed, to know whence came the feebleness of that which goes upon too many legs; whose child it is—I see who breeds it up. These incoherent, un-British measures are what are adopted instead of our proper force—our navy. It was our navy that procured the restoration of the barrier and of Flanders in the last war, by making us masters of Cape Breton. After that war, with even that indemnification in our hands, we were forced to rejoice at a bad peace. Bad as it was, we have suffered infractions from it every year, till the ministers would have been stoned as they went along the streets, if they had not at last shewn resentment. Yet how soon have they forgotten in what cause they took up arms! Are these treaties English measures? Are they preventive measures? Are they not measures of aggression? Will they not provoke Prussia, and light up a general war? If a war in Europe ensues from these negociations, I will always follow up the authors of this measure. They must mean a land war, and how preposterously do they meditate it! Hanover is the only spot you have to fight upon. Can you now force the Dutch to join you? I remember, every body remembers, when you did force them. All our misfortunes are owing to those daring, wicked councils^r. Subsidies annihilated ten millions in the last war; our navy brought in twelve millions. This day, I hope, will give a color to my life—though nothing, I fear, can resist the torrent. Out of those

CHAP.
IX.
1755.

^{p q} Mr. Fox and the Duke of Newcastle.

^r Lord Granville's.

CHAP. rash measures sprung up a ministry—(what if a ministry should spring
IX. out of this subsidy?) I saw that ministry; in the morning it flou-
1755. rished; it was green at noon; by night it was cut down and forgotten.

“But it is said that it will disgrace the King to reject these treaties! But was not the celebrated treaty of Hannau transmitted hither, and rejected here? If this is a preventive measure, it is only preventive of somebody's exit*.

“Mr. Pitt then taxed Murray's pathetic commiseration of the evening of the King's life, with premeditation. He (Mr. Pitt) too, could draw a pathetic commiseration of his Majesty. He could figure him far from an honest council, could figure him surrounded all the summer by affrighted Hanoverians, and with no advocate for England near him. But alas! we cannot suspend the laws of nature, we cannot make Hanover otherwise than an open defenceless country. He then opposed a pathetic picture of the distressed situation of this country; and reverting to Murray's image of the King, said, he believed that within two years his Majesty would not be able to sleep in St. James's for the cries of a bankrupt people. He concluded by saying, that we imitated every thing of France, but the spirit and patriotism of their Parliament; and that the French thought we had not sense and virtue enough, (perhaps he thought so too,) to make a stand in the right place.

“This speech, accompanied with variety of action, accents, and irony, and set off with happy images and allusions, particularly in the admired comparison of the Rhone and Saone, (though one or two of the metaphors were a little forced,) lasted above an hour and a half, and was kept up with inimitable spirit, though it did not begin till past one in the morning, after an attention and fatigue of ten hours.” The address was carried by a large majority.

“After the debate, Fox said to Pitt, ‘Who is the Rhone?’ Pitt replied, ‘Is that a fair question?’ ‘Why,’ said Fox, ‘as you have said so much that I did not desire to hear, you may tell me one thing that I would hear. Am I the Rhone, or Lord Granville?’ Pitt answered, ‘You are Granville.’ Lord Temple, no bad commentator of

* That of the Duke of Newcastle.

Pitt's meaning, said, 'that the Rhone meant the Duke, Fox, and Lord Granville; the Saone, the Duke of Newcastle, the Chancellor, and Murray.' Yet it was generally understood, that the former was personal to Fox, the latter to Newcastle. The description *languid, yet of no depth*; was scarce applicable to the Chancellor, by no means to Murray¹.

CHAP.
IX.
1755.

Mr. Fox received the seals on the 15th November; and on the 20th of the same month Lord Holderness wrote to Mr. Pitt, Mr. Legge, and Mr. George Grenville, signifying that his Majesty had no farther occasion for their services. Mr. Pitt answered the letter in terms of great submission and respect. Mr. James Grenville resigned his appointment at the board of trade on the following day.

Mr. Pitt's fortune was, at this time, extremely small. Lady Hesther Pitt, at the urgent request of her brother, Lord Temple, was therefore induced to urge upon Mr. Pitt the propriety of accepting a pension of a thousand pounds a year. He, accordingly, accepted it.

I have had occasion to notice two instances of high disinterestedness which marked the conduct of Mr. Pitt during the first years in which he held the office of paymaster. He was distinguished for the same integrity during his continuance in that department, and his virtue appeared never more manifest than upon his dismissal. It was then found, that the balances belonging to his office were all deposited in the bank of England. His character thus high, whilst he was in office, was not lowered by the pension he received on quitting it. He, surely, was not to be consigned to indigence because he had disdained to enrich himself at the expense of his country.

Mr. Ellis having moved in the House of Commons for 50,000 seamen, including 9113 marines, observed that in time of peace we have a fund but for 40,000 sailors. Mr. Pitt said he shuddered at hearing that our resources for the sea service were so narrowed, especially as the Attorney-general had pronounced that we ought to be three times as strong as France to be able to cope with her. He re-

¹ Memoires, page 418.

CHAP. IX.
1755. membered the "fatal measure of the reduction to 8000; he had stated the danger then in the face of power, and against that combined administration, and that collusion of power which was playing the land and sea services into one another's hands. He would pursue the authors of those measures which made the King's crown totter on his head. Never was a noble country so perniciously neglected, so undone by the silly pride of *one man, or the timidity of his colleagues, who would share his power, but not his danger. This must one day be answered for, unless a fatal catastrophe from our hereditary enemy overtakes us. The peril comes from little struggles for a thing called power—is it the power of doing good? On an English question he would not hinder, but implore unanimity; would ask favors of any minister for his country; would have gone that morning to the Honorable Gentleman's levee[†], to desire him to accept 50,000 seamen, not including marines. If he could obtain it, it would be the first thing done for this country since the peace of Aix. There would be proofs that this war had been colluded with and abetted, till broad shame had stared them in the face, till shame and danger had come together. He had been frightened with these sensations from the highest authority; the House had adopted those terrors, and was willing to grant more assistance. The House, indeed, is a fluctuating body, but he hoped would be eternal. It was different from our councils, where every thing was thought of but the public. On the contrary, we were a willing giving House of Commons: the King might call for any thing for an English object. He (Mr. Pitt) dare not move for 10,000 more seamen because he would not blemish unanimity. Mr. Pitt concluded with a prayer for the King, for his posterity, for this poor, forlorn, distressed country[‡].

Mr. Fox said he was surprised that such a trifle as the reduction of 2,000 seamen, in 1751, should be made of such moment. So, not voting 2,000 more, in a year after the war, was betraying this country!

* In the year 1751.

† It was the morning of Mr. Fox's first levee.

* The Duke of Newcastle.

‡ Lord Orford's Memoires, p. 424.

If voting one man more would raise one man, he would agree to it : but voting more, if they could not be raised, would only increase expense. This number was greater than we had ever had on foot, even in declared wars against France and Spain. He would never hear Mr. Pelham's measures censured without defending them. The reduction mentioned had been the consequence of Mr. Pelham's economy, and of his provision against a war. He had discharged, too, artificers from the dock-yards, and, when Lord Anson represented against it, Mr. Pelham answered, you will never pay your debt, if you always go to the extent of what you can do. He had wanted, the same year, to reduce the garrison of Port Mahon, but was told, by a great officer, that Port Mahon could bear no diminution.

“ With regard to struggles ; what the motives of these struggles have been, *let those who have struggled most and longest for power tell*. For himself he had been called to his present situation, and had exerted his strength cheerfully upon a melancholy occasion. We had been told, that nobody who approached the King had sense and virtue ! that sense and virtue are somewhere else—but how shall the King hear of them ? He feared this House would not inform him. What conversation will lead him to that superior degree of it ? He (Mr. Fox) should exert his strength as cheerfully as if he had struggled for it. Perhaps he had expressed his wishes for an earlier augmentation. Mr. Pitt had asked, why it was not made sooner ? He (Mr. Fox) would ask, Why not demanded sooner ? Why did Mr. Pitt not call sooner to arms ? It came too late now, for no sense and virtue could be added to the reigning spirit of augmentation.”

Mr. Pitt rose again, and said, “ that neither that day nor ever had he said that there was no sense and virtue near the throne. If he had been misunderstood, he might also have been misrepresented. If ever man had suffered by those stilettos of a court which assassinate the fair opinion of a man with his master, he had. The accusation of his having struggled for power had been received with such assent by the House, that he must speak to it. Was he accused of it because

CHAP. he had not yielded to poor and sordid measures which he saw tended
 IX. to destroy his country? If he had so yielded, he might have been
 1755. introduced to that august place. It was impossible to go into all the private details of a whole summer, though compelled, in such an uncandid manner, to notice them. He should only say, he might have had, what the Honorable Gentleman, at a long distance of time, so gladly accepted. He had been unfortunate, but the measures were so ruinous, that he could not, with conscience and honor, concur in them; he could have strained the former a little, as far as to make a compliment, in order to be admitted to that august conversation. The having struggled for power was not the cause of his present situation. Was it not, that he could not submit to these treaties? The challenge was a bold one; let those who know the truth tell it! If they did not, he desired not their suffrage."

Mr. Fox here rejoined: that the mention of *struggles* had called him up again, and that he had chosen to forget the gentleman's former words of *no sense and virtue near the throne*. Mr. Pitt interrupted him, and, speaking to order, said, "he averred on his honor that those words were not his. His words had been, *that France would found her hopes on the want of sense, understanding, and virtue, in those that govern here*. He had not interrupted Mr. Fox before, because he did not like to stop those whom plain truth would answer. Mr. Fox's modesty had taken those words to himself. Nobody feared personal invectives less than he (Mr. Pitt) did. He was not fond of using them. He would not put the gentleman in mind of struggles to limit the power at which he had hinted. He had urged these things strongly, in order to ground judicial proceedings. Sir Thomas Robinson's notable information of the answer of the court of France to their merchants, had descended to the public papers. He must congratulate the government on having some intelligence. Would France build, too, on his wishing for 50,000 seamen? He did believe our information would improve, now Mr. Fox had got the seals. He wished the latter would tell him what language to hold which, instead of encouraging, would terrify France. He could not

say he had treated Mr. Fox as *the minister*—it was not quite that yet. He (Mr. Pitt) never went to the place where so many bets were made, but, if he might talk familiarly, would bet on Mr. Fox's sense and spirit, although some little things were against him. But he asks why, (continued Mr. Pitt,) I did not call out sooner? *My* calling out was more likely to defeat than promote. When I remonstrated for more seamen, I was called an enemy to government. Now I am told that I want to strow the King's pillow with thorns. I am traduced, aspersed, calumniated, from morning to night. I would have warned the King; did *he*? If he, with his sense and spirit, had represented to the King the necessity of augmentation, it would have been made. But what! If there is any man so wicked—don't let it be reported that I say there is—as to procrastinate the importing troops from Ireland, in order to make subsidiary forces necessary! This whole summer I have been looking for government—I saw none—thank God his Majesty was not here! The trade of France has been foolishly spared. There has been a dead stagnation. Orders contradicting one another were the only symptoms of spirit. When his Majesty returned, his kingdom was delivered back to him more like a wreck than a vessel able to stem the storm. Perhaps a little sustentation of life to this country will be obtained by a wretched peace. These are my sentiments; and when a man has truth on his side, he is not to be overborne by quick interrogatories. Mr. Pitt proceeded to state that he had not uttered a word of personality to Mr. Fox. Want of virtue was not only the characteristic of the ministry, but of the age. He was happy to shew a zeal not inferior to that of the ministers. Let them shew him how to contribute to the King's service, before they taxed him with strowing the royal pillow with thorns! But what were the services of those who were so alert in loading him? The Attorney General, indeed, had vaunted that 140,000 of the best troops in Europe were provided for the defence of Hanover—who boasts of what numbers are prepared for England? for America? Compare the countries, compare the forces that are destined for the defence of each! Two miserable battalions of Irish, who scarce ever

CHAP.
IX.
1755.

CHAP. saw one another, had been sent to America, had been sent to be sacri-
 IX. ficed—if this parallel was exaggerated, he desired to be made happy
 1755. by being told so.”

Mr. Fox, with great temper, observed, that it was most unparliamentary to speak so long to order. He was glad to hear that he was not minister, though he certainly had been treated so. Upon his honor he did not know to the offer of what Mr. Pitt had said *no*. He himself had staid till every body had said *no*. He had lived near Town, all the summer, as happy as any man that then heard him. His opinion had been for subsidies—was asked if it was; on affirming it, was told, “Then support them.” He would quit, when his opinion should be otherwise. He wished every ill might happen to him, if he had done Mr. Pitt any hurt in the closet. He thought it the strongest point of honor not to accuse a man where he could not defend himself. If he underwent any loss of power, he should be amply recompensed by not being treated as if he had it.

“Mr. Fox,” says Lord Orford, “keeping thus almost wholly upon the defensive, was chiefly to be admired for his great command of himself, which the warmth he had been accustomed to shew now made remarkable. The Attorney-General, who had laid in wait to profit of any slips that Mr. Pitt might make in this contest, rose with an artful air of affected doubt—hinted at the irregularity of the debate; observed that Mr. Pitt’s proposal of more seamen was unnecessary; do not all estimates come from the crown? The ministers must know what supplies they shall want, and what to demand—invectives were to be slighted—How great the power of eloquence which could dress up the want of 2000 men, in 1751, into the cause of the war! There never was an honester man than the minister who determined upon that reduction—thought he (Mr. Pelham) had died in friendship with that gentleman. Here Mr. Pitt interrupted him, and said, his friendship for Mr. Pelham had been as real as Mr. Murray’s. The latter, as if corrected, continued coolly, that Mr. Pelham wanted to introduce a system of economy—were he alive, perhaps we should have fewer struggles, if all, who supported measures under him, did so

still. He begged to ask one question—it was to clear up something to himself, and for the information of others—he believed those who sat near him understood that Mr. Pitt said he had refused to be secretary of state, had he? Mr. Pitt replied no, he had only refused to come into measures^z.”

CHAP.
IX.
1755.

In consequence of the resolution of the government to make prizes of French vessels, many had been captured. These it was determined should not be sold and divided among the captors, but carefully sequestered, with all their cargoes and effects, in order to be restored to their lawful owners, in the event of the disputes between the two countries being adjusted without an open declaration of war. There were various opinions as to the wisdom and justice of this measure. Whilst many condemned it as rash and undecided, others considered it as maintaining a proper medium between a tame acquiescence in the insidious proceedings of the French, and an unjustifiable appropriation of their property. Mr. Pitt appears to have thought that as we had adopted the violent measure of seizing the vessels of France, it was now weakness and folly to recede. On the 2nd December Lord Pulteney moved for leave to bring in a bill to encourage seamen by a distribution of the prizes among the captors. The motion was opposed by several ministerial members. Mr. Charles Townshend spoke with great ability in its favor. In the course of his speech he thus alluded to Mr. Pitt's dismissal from the paymaster-ship: “If a gentleman, with virtue unparalleled, offered any thing for his country, he was to be removed, as if whoever would strengthen government was obnoxious to it.” Mr. G. Grenville delivered a fine and pathetic speech in favor of the motion. Sir R. Lyttleton made

^z The above sketches, although extremely interesting, are rendered occasionally obscure by the omission of many particulars which arose out of previous debates, and out of some minute circumstances of the times. Had Lord Orford given the speeches of each debater entirely in the first person, instead of varying, and generally adopting the third, a happier effect would, perhaps, have been produced. I have followed his Lordship, almost literally, with the occasional omission of a sneer.—*Lord Orford's Memoires*, pages 424—429.

CHAP. allusions to Sir R. Walpole's administration. Mr. Fox, after ridi-
 IX.
 1755. culing the introduction of pathetic speeches upon such immaterial occasions, observed, that he should be for giving the whole capture to those who made or should attempt to make prizes ; that is, he would reserve a portion for those who sought them without success. The whole dispute turned upon the word *now*. If sailors did not understand the previous question, the more pity it was that the bill should be moved when it was necessary to put that question. The latter part of his speech consisted of a confutation of what had been advanced by Sir R. Lyttleton, and of a defence of, and panegyric upon Sir R. Walpole.

Mr. Pitt said, that it did Mr. Grenville honor to be told ironically and maliciously of his pathetic speech by Mr. Fox, who had spoken logically, not feelingly, and who, he wished, would think farther than that little narrow *now*. For himself, he had always spoken, all that minister's family had heard him speak, with respect of Sir Robert Walpole after the determination of his power. These last words occasioning a laugh in the House, Mr. Pitt angrily and haughtily observed, that it was a blundering laugh. Was it, or was it not, more honorable to respect a man after his power had determined ? He defended Sir R. Lyttleton. He laughed at the more than stoic patience of the administration ; spoke much of the American war, and concluded that the French prizes were reserved as a deposit to recover Hanover : he could account for this unintelligible tenderness in no other way.

It was known that the French were at this time making very active naval and military preparations, and apprehensions were entertained that England itself was menaced by invasion. On the 5th December, the secretary at war made a motion in the House of Commons for an army of 34,263 men, which was an augmentation of 15,000 men to the force already subsisting. The motion was seconded by Mr. Pitt ; and it will be seen from the following animated speech, how warmly he could support the ministry when he deemed their plans conducive to the public welfare.

Mr. Pitt observed, "that last year he had pronounced 18,000 men not sufficient. Our whole force was necessary at this dangerous and critical conjuncture. Other efforts were requisite, than sending two miserable battalions as victims to America. Every step since had tended to provoke a war, not to make it—and at last the crown itself was to be fought for, by an army so ineffective and so raw! He hoped, by alarming the nation to make the danger reach the ears of his Majesty, who was likely, after so gracious a reign, to be attacked in his venerable age! to see such a country exposed by the neglect of his ministers! He could not avoid turning from the venerable age of the King, to his amiable posterity, *born among us*, yet given up by some unskilful minister or ministers! He meant no invectives; he made no accusation; he spoke from his feeling. He then drew a striking and masterly picture of a French invasion reaching London, and of the horrors ensuing, whilst there was a formidable enemy within the capital itself, which was as full of weakness as of multitude; a flagitious rabble, ready for every nefarious action. The consternation that would spread through the City, when the noble, yet artificial and vulnerable fabric of public credit should crumble in their hands! How would the ministers be able to meet the aspect of so many citizens dismayed! How could men, so guilty, meet their countrymen! How could a British Parliament assemble without these considerations! The King's speech of last year had been calculated to lull us into a fallacious dream of repose—or, had his ministers not had understanding, or foresight, or virtue—he repeated the words that he might not be misquoted, had they had none of the qualifications to prompt them to lay the danger before his Majesty? Was it not a proof of his assertions, that *where* his Majesty himself had a foresight even of fancied, not threatened, danger, we knew what provision, what vast provision had been made? Did the subjects of the crown want a feeling which the subjects of the Electorate possessed in so quick a degree? Did he live to see the day, when a British Parliament had felt so inadequately? There were but 10,000 men in this part of the united kingdom—not more than half would be left

CHAP. to defend the royal family and the metropolis. Half security is full
 IX.
 1755. and ample danger. Accursed be the man, and he would have the
 ————— malediction of his country, who did not do all he could to strengthen
 the King's hands ! He, (Mr. Pitt) would have him strengthened by
 laying open the weakness of his councils. He would substitute
 reality for incapacity and futility, and for the frivolous love of power.
 To times of relaxation should be left that fondness for the disposal of
 places. Wisdom ought to meet such rough times as these. It was
 that little spirit of domination that had caused the decay of this
 country, that ambition of being *the only figure among cyphers* :
 when that image was first used, perhaps, it was prophecy, to day it
 was history. 280,000*l.*, the charge of this augmentation, would, last
 year, have given us security. For that sum, our stocks would fall,
 and hurry along with them the ruin of this city—vulnerable in pro-
 portion to its opulence. In other countries, treasures remain where a
 city is not sacked. But paper credit may be invaded even in Kent. It
 is like the sensitive plant, it need not be cropped ; extend but your
 hand, it withers and dies. The danger had been as present last year
 to any eye made for public councils ; for what is the first attribute of
 a wise minister, but to leave as little as possible to contingencies ?
 How do thoughtlessness, folly, and ignorance, differ from wisdom and
 knowledge, but by want of foresight ? He would not, like Lord
 Barrington, recur to the Romans for comparisons ; our own days had
 produced examples as great. In 1746, thirteen regiments, raised by
 noblemen, who, although they did not leave their ploughs, left their
 palaces, had saved this country ; he believed it. With what scorn,
 depression, cruelty, as far as contempt is cruelty, were they treated by
 the hour ! With what calumny ! He wished the government would
 encourage the nobility and gentry to form a militia, as a supplement
 to the army. He wanted to call this country out of that enervated
 state, that 20,000 men from France could shake it. The maxims of
 our government were degenerated, not our natives. He wished to
 see that breed restored, which, under our old principles, had carried
 our glory so high ! What would the age think they deserved, who,

after Washington was defeated, and our forts taken ; who, after con-
 nivance, if not collusion, had advised his Majesty to trust to so
 slender a force ? On cool reflection, what would they deserve ? He
 did not call for the sagacity of a Burleigh or a Richelieu to have fore-
 seen all that must happen—that may happen in two months. He had
 no vindictive purpose, nor wanted to see penal judgments on their
 heads. Our calamities were more owing to the weakness of their
 heads than of their hearts.”

CHAP.
 IX.
 1755.

Mr. Fox replied, that he wished Mr. Pitt had made this
 awakening speech when we were asleep, and before France had
 awakened us. But the Honorable Gentleman had judged by the
 event. If he had foreseen, he would undoubtedly have made this
 noble speech sooner. If he had made it, (continued Mr. Fox,) I am
 sure I should have remembered it. I am not apt to forget his speeches.
 Was it ever reckoned *virtue* to advise the King to ask for more money ?
 It was rather a mark of understanding than of virtue. Let Mr. Pitt
 prescribe a method to quicken recruiting. Let him suggest a militia
 bill. Yet (said Mr. Fox) I have been told by a wise man, that it is
 too nice a line to draw a scheme for a militia in the hands of the
 crown. The House alone could do it. Yet he should think it less to
 be despaired of, since Mr. Pitt thought it practicable. The scheme
 for recruiting must be to enlist for a term of years. The total silence
 of Parliament was an excuse for not having made the augmentation
 sooner. With regard to the thirteen regiments, he would always
 own, if he repented, or persist, if he thought his opinion right. He
 remembered at that time there was a noble Duke^a able and willing,
 (thank God he was able and willing now !) at the closet door, who, as
 soon as it was opened, went in and offered his services, saying, he
 would go with his Lowlanders and see if he could not oppose those
 Highlanders. He remembered another anecdote; he was now forced
 to tell it; it was a scheme for a cheap regiment of dragoons, which
 by another Duke^b was converted into two dear regiments of horse.

^a The Duke of Bedford.

^b The Duke of Montague.

CHAP. But he would ask, did all those noblemen act from public spirit?
 IX. Did they all raise their regiments? There had been a mixture which
 1755. he wished to unmix.

Mr. Pitt replied; why had he not alarmed last year? He had been deluded by the *speech*. Those then in the confidence of the minister, (Mr. Fox then was not of the number,) declared they did not believe we should have a war. Could he believe it in defiance of that speech which smoothed over all the horrors of our situation? Ministers could no longer secrete our danger; they had concealed it for fear of awakening speeches. Could he (Mr. Pitt) pronounce those speeches, till overpowered by the conjuncture? He did in private. While he was suffered to represent in private, he did. Now we must sound the alarum in Parliament, when we have invited into our bowels a war that was the child of ignorance and connivance.—If there is justice under heaven, the ministers must one day answer it^c.

On the 8th December, the Hon. George Townshend moved for a committee of the whole House, in order to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the militia throughout the several counties of England. Mr. Pitt, who opened the measure, now presented himself to the House under a new and unexpected point of view. He had long been known as the most brilliant speaker in Parliament. He now evinced a memory as accurate in detailing, as his mind was capacious in comprehending business. He laid aside all unnecessary ornament of speech, and described the objects of the bill, and the methods proposed of accomplishing them, with the greatest clearness and precision.

He said he should do himself real honor by seconding a gentleman of a family that had preserved so exact a medium between duty to the crown and to their country. Yet, though Mr. Townshend's friend and servant, he should have no hope, unless government, the army, the law, and, (what in this case was most material,) the country gentlemen would give their assistance. He, unfortunately,

^c Horace, Lord Orford's Memoires.

was out of all these descriptions. He knew no secrets of government ; he had too early been driven from the profession of arms ; he had never studied the law ; he was no country gentleman. It was, perhaps, rash in him, (it was dangerous for any man,) to touch our constitution, which had not been the result of chance, but of the wisdom of ages. He only spoke to call government not to sit with their hands across. But, indeed, here the country gentleman would be more first minister than any minister in the land. He would venture, too, to offer some considerations. The heads of his scheme were, that the militia should be reduced to about 50,000 or 60,000 men ; a kind of half-trained army. That the crown, which now was not at liberty to march them out of their several counties, should have that power. That there should be a compulsory call under the civil power. That they should all be foot. He hoped never to see the standing army less than 18,000 : the militia as a supplement, that we may not be looking all round the world for subsidiary troops. It must be a lasting body, paid and clothed—exercised twice a week—reviewed four times a year by the lords lieutenants of counties, and by generals of the king's army—have the same pay as the foot soldiers, but with plain clothing, not pretending to all the lustre of an army. What, if they should be exercised on Sundays, after church ?—unless the clergy or the dissenters disapproved of it. He would retract the proposal if it gave offence. The exercise, comprehending 110 days, if they were to be exercised on Sundays, and one other day in the week, with sixpence a day ; they would receive a shilling for losing one day in the week from their work. He would have no deduction from their pay, but would have their clothes provided for them, which, with being sure of a shilling a week all the year round, might be a compensation. They should wear their clothes three years, and only when exercised. The officers to have no pay, but either possess a certain qualification in land in their own county, or be sons of men of a larger estate ; of, for instance, 1,500*l.* a year. They (the militia) were not to be under military law, but subject to civil punishment, in time of peace. When marched, they were to be subject to military

CHAP.
IX.
1755.

CHAP. discipline; for what is martial law, (growing, as it does, out of the
IX. nature of the service,) but the law of peace? There could not be
1755. too many serjeants to such companies. He would have private soldiers of the army to be serjeants of militia. Not fewer than four serjeants to eighty men. The crown should name an army-adjutant with serjeant's pay. The expense would not rise nearly to what was imagined; it would come under 300,000*l*. What millions had gone out of England for the last thirty years which this expence would have saved! What an inglorious picture for this country, to figure gentlemen driven by an invasion like a flock of sheep, and forced to send their money abroad to buy courage and defence! If this scheme should prove oppressive provincially or parochially, he was willing to give it up. But how preferable was it to waiting to see if the wind would blow you subsidiary troops! You would never want them again—they are an eye-sore! He praised the army and its constitutional inclinations; and pointed out the stability which a militia would give to our system."

It may be well supposed that Mr. Pitt gained general applause for the forcible and able manner in which he thus developed his plan. But however desirable and necessary the establishment of a national militia might be, the execution of it was attended with too many inconveniences and difficulties to render it a favorite with the ministry, the country gentlemen, or the people.

Sir George Lyttleton compared a militia to the longitude; necessary, but hitherto sought in vain. The subject had often heated his imagination, but his judgment had cooled it again. If soldiers assisted the plan, he should hope better from it; they might avoid the errors of civil men. Hints from Mr. Pitt were important advices. A sketch from him was almost a finished picture, but it ought to be finished, the lines should be very correct. The whole people would not betray the whole people, but 60,000 might. The most material part of our affairs was our finances; if this institution would hurt them, it was inadmissible. The smaller the number the more practicable; yet there might be danger of another kind. He never wished

to see foreigners, but when no other force was to be had. With ever
 so great a militia you may want them ; you cannot march militia
 abroad.

CHAP.
 IX.
 1755.

The material parts of Mr. Pitt's speech were incorporated into a bill upon the subject, and considerable time was occupied in considering it.

After receiving several amendments, the bill passed the House of Commons, but was subsequently negatived in the House of Peers.

On the 10th December, the treaties with Hesse and Russia were again discussed in both Houses of Parliament.

In the House of Commons, Lord Barrington moved that the treaties should be referred to the Committee. He was opposed by Mr. Potter, who affirmed that the treaties were unconstitutional acts, and express violations of the act of settlement, &c. &c. The appropriation of the late vote of credit was a violation of that settlement. He proceeded in terms of strong censure, till he checked himself, and said, he could not call it a profligate age, when such men had fallen victims to their integrity^d.

The Honorable Hume Campbell began his speech, by professing his reverence for the act of settlement,—the act of King William, to whom we owed our existence as a Parliament. Yet the sense of the House should be taken in form on the legality or illegality of the measure in discussion. The charge ought to be well made out. If not illegal, *let the House punish the eternal invectives*. He was here called to order by Mr. Pitt, who said he thought Mr. Campbell had been too good a member to describe debates in that manner. The elder Horace Walpole observed that Mr. Pitt ought to be the last man in the house to complain of irregularity. This occasioned much disorder. Mr. Pitt said, he had risen to put Mr. Campbell in mind of words that struck directly at the liberty of debate. He (Mr. Pitt) had him in his power, if he insisted on taking down the words, but should decline doing so till Mr. Campbell had explained. Mr.

^d Alluding to Mr. Pitt's dismissal from office.

CHAP. Campbell then continued : He censured the unlimited reflections that
 IX. were daily thrown on the ministers ; adding, that when people make
 1755. charges against acts of state, they ought to be obliged to substantiate
 them. Hard would it be, if that house might not resent unjust accusations against our *superiors*. He then passed to the objections raised from the act of settlement, to which he should pay no compliment. It had been intended as a censure upon King William. The clause specified was only declaratory, and did not take from the crown the power of making treaties. In 1727, a treaty of mutual guaranty was made with the court of Wolfenbuttle, and was signed by great men and whigs, by the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Trevor, Lord Townshend, and, by the greatest of all, Sir R. Walpole. It was debated, written against, yet was never once thought a violation of the settlement, &c. &c. The present treaties were a great system of preventive measures. What was the most hostile part of them ? That levelled against Prussia ? Yet that Prince could not be sorry that we should have future greatness. His maxim was that no ally was well worth keeping, unless he could do without you. In the present case that king may be glad to plead his fear of the Russians, against admitting the French into Germany. For his own part, he would rather censure the negociators than the treaties themselves, which were calculated for the interests, and navy, and commerce of Great Britain. But if the ministers were so guilty as it was pretended, the times were too dangerous not to remove them. He concluded with a short defence of himself : denied being in the power of any individual ; and said he must plead, as an excuse for his egotism, that rule of Plutarch, never to say any thing in defence of yourself but when mankind could not possibly know it without. Let his warmth be taken as a proof of his honesty ?

Mr. Vyner, and Mr. George Grenville then spoke against the treaties ; in answer to the latter, the Attorney-General observed, that the sense of the house on the legality might be taken collaterally in the committee. But were we engaged, or to be engaged in a war for Hanover ? The first act of settlement, which obliged Privy-council-

lors to sign their opinions, had been repealed by Lord Somers himself. CHAP.
IX.
1755.
 Allowing the present charge, the act would not be infringed till the troops were reclaimed. But these arguments would disable the King from leaving a single clause in a treaty for his electoral defence. If this treaty violated the act of settlement, it had been broken by all defensive treaties; it had been broken by the quadruple alliance. That treaty engaged the contracting powers mutually to defend *all* the dominions of each other; and if the stipulated succours proved insufficient, they were to engage in a war. It was the same in the treaty of Hanover. But the bare conclusion of the treaty had never been charged. In the year 1739, we contracted for Hessians and Danes. It was thought prudent to secure them, though then we were involved only in a war with Spain. No previous application had been made to Parliament. All subsequent subsidiary treaties have been concluded in the same way. We could not enjoy the blessings resulting from the present royal family without the inconveniences. In the year 1740, a vote of credit had been applied in the same manner. But granting that it perverted, would the misapplication spoil the treaty?

It is said that the extreme severity of language in the following speech, chiefly directed against Mr. H. Campbell, was greatly heightened by the contemptuous tone, action, and countenance with which Mr. Pitt pronounced it. He said:

“ Such little matter had been offered on the defensive side, that he did not know where to go. If Mr. H. Campbell had had any thing else to say, he would not have dwelt for half an hour on the treaty of Wolfenbuttle. What had he produced? A list of great Lords who signed it! How were their names to induce the House to refer these treaties to a Committee? Such poor little shifts and evasions might do in a pie-poudre court; they were unworthy of a great House of Parliament. Once Mr. H. Campbell had been his great friend, and they had trod the same paths of invectives together, which now Mr. Campbell wanted to have punished, so ready was he by a side wind to level the laws, and so fond of *superiors*! Nay, he had urged that the act of settlement was not obligatory till the treaties

CHAP. were ratified ! He, (Mr. Pitt) prayed to heaven, that doctrines, dan-
 IX. gerous as *manifestoes*, might not prevail there ! The Gentleman had
 1755. dared to avow such doctrine—but a court would never want *one* servile lawyer for any purpose. In the profligate, prerogative reign of James I., when a *great Duke** was at the head of power, even that House of Commons possessed a member who dared to call him *Stellionatus*†. And there did not want a *servile lawyer* to call for punishment on the honest Burgess. We have a King who disdains to keep peace with such a *servile lawyer*. But,” said Mr. Pitt, turning to, and directly nodding at Mr. Hume Campbell who sat three benches above him, “I will not dress up this image under a third person, I apply it to him. His is the slavish doctrine. He is the slave, and the shame of this doctrine will stick to him as long as his gown sticks to his back—but his trade is words; they were not provoked by me—but they are not objects of terror, but of my ridicule and contempt.

“Then,” said he, turning to Mr. Murray, “I would come to another learned Gentleman, but it is difficult to know where to pull the first thread from a piece so finely spun. Constructions ought never to condemn a great minister, but I think this crime of violating the act of settlement is within the letter. If the dangerous illegality of it is to be inquired into, it should be referred to a Committee of the whole House, not to a Committee of supply. Inquired into it must be. Will I suffer an audacious minister to run before Parliament ? I do not say *superiors*, I hate that miserable, poor word. But if a cabinet have taken upon them to conclude subsidiary treaties without consent of Parliament, shall they not answer it ? I affirm that there is not the smallest similarity between these and the treaties quoted. In 1717 and 1718, the ministers stated dangers from Sweden, and then asked for money. The treaty of Hanover was grounded on the Ostend Company, and on the negociation respecting Gibraltar, &c. Time, the great discoverer of truth, had not yet discovered whether there

* The Duke of Buckingham—alluding to the Duke of Newcastle.

† Spotted like a weasel.

was any truth in the assertion that the Emperor and Spain designed to set the Pretender on the English throne. Would any lawyer plead that when his Majesty speaks in a treaty and says *dominions*, that he can mean any thing but his British dominions? We were not to be explained out of our liberties, nor, by being taught to subtilize, to lose respect for the essential. In the last war, the Hessians did once go into *aliena castra*, and excepting that time, when they were obliged to exert themselves at Munich, never behaved well." Mr. Pitt then said, "he thought there was an equal violation by both the treaties which were before the House, but that the one with Russia was the most dangerous: yet he would not avow that we were so exhausted as to be obliged to declare, that we could not assist Holland. Because this treaty stipulated for succours for England, and Holland, and Hanover, did the legality of the two first prove the third stipulation not illegal? But even the protection of Holland was not mentioned in the address of last year. Where, said the Attorney-general, is the harm of holding my troops ready? The crown reserves it as an operative act. But that was a precision at which we could not arrive! It was all an unmeaning verbiage! You had not the troops, therefore it was no war! But there was levy money, and raising men without firing a gun, was constructive treason. He wished he could hear any more of the shining lights of Westminster! The long robe that was made use of in all arbitrary times. How often had they attacked Magna Charta with explanations of *nisi per mandatum Domini Regis!* Where, (it might have been said in the late rebellion,) was the harm of a few men *ready* to rebel? Dr. Foigard asks 'Where is the harm of being in a closet?' These *vigorous* measures would pull a war out of the closet. He denied that the crown had the power of making subsidiary treaties that lead to war. That Hanover was concerned in all these treaties quoted, he was sorry to hear—then surely it was time to stop it, since we have improved so much in adulation, as to speak out and avow Hanover in all. He wished the circumstances of this country could permit us to extend such care to Hanover—but he

CHAP.
IX.
1755.

CHAP. would not, for any consideration, have set his hand to these trea-
 IX. ties.^k”
 1755.

Lord Barrington's motion was carried by a majority of 318 against 126.

On the 12th December, Lord Barrington opened the treaties in the committee. In the course of his speech, he owned that he wished the royal family had been a younger branch, and that our foreign dominions do take off from our insularity. On the other hand, he said, the connection with England takes away the insularity of Hanover.

Much was said by different members as to the situation of this country with regard to Russia and Prussia. Mr. Hume Campbell's mention of the words *invectives* and *superiors*, and Mr. Pitt's application of the word *servility*, appear to have sunk deep in the memory of those who heard them. Mr. Charles Townshend, and several others, reverted to these terms with effect and severity. Lord George Sackville alluded with much sense to the differences of opinion to which the treaties had given rise, and concluded his speech by saying, they who on this occasion have declined employments, have acted honorably; they who have gone into an unenvied ministry to support it, deserve not reproach. They will deserve support, if their conduct continues upright.

The elder Horace Walpole defended the treaties.

Mr. Pitt appears to have been unwell, and, although he spoke at considerable length, did not express himself with his usual animation. He said he looked with respect upon the King's prejudices; with contempt upon those who encouraged them. Was every thing to be styled *invective*, which had not the smoothness of a court compliment? Must it be called so unless a charge was brought judicially on paper? He complimented Mr. Charles Townshend, who had displayed such abilities as had not appeared since that house was a house. He talked much of the situation of the King of Prussia; if he were well-disposed,

^k Lord Orford's Memoires, p. 459, 460, 461, 462.

this measure¹ was unnecessary: if he were ill-disposed, it was a war. But he would not enter into all the ambages of the *corps diplomatique*, and of the gentleman^m wrapped up in a political cloak. He and others had said, “talk against Hanover! oh! you will raise a rebellion!” Such language was for a boarding-school girl! Lord Townshend and Sir Robert Walpole had withstood Hanover. The latter (said Mr. Pitt) thought well of me; died in peace with me. He was a truly English minister, and kept a strict hand on the closet—as soon as he was removed the door was flung open. His friends and followers transferred themselves to the ministerⁿ who transplanted that English minister—and even his reverend brother, who still adorns this house, is gone over to the Hanoverian party.

The treaties were agreed to in the committee by a large majority.

On the 15th December, this agreement was reported to the house. Lord Egmont, who spoke in favor of the treaties, introduced into his speech several pedantic quotations from the Grecian and Roman histories. The Attorney-general expressed his opinions with his usual ingenuity. He asked, if the treaties should be rejected, how we were engaged in a war? Could the King make it alone? How did the house even know that the money had been advanced? It was usual to advance money out of services voted, which was replaced afterwards, when the new occasions were allowed: but this was always done at the risk of the ministers. In the present case the lords-justices were responsible. It was not preventing a war to abandon the continent; it was only giving it up to France. On the growing power of Russia, he quoted an expression of Sir J. Jekyll, who said, he thought he saw a northern star arising, which, if properly managed, might preserve the liberties of Europe. If no war ensue, we should have displayed our force to our allies—to our enemies. The most dangerous kind of invasion was to be apprehended from Sweden—but would she dare to attack the ally of Russia? In territorial contests, we are not bound to assist Hanover: but in this quarrel Hanover

¹ That of the treaties.

^m The elder Horace Walpole.

ⁿ Lord Granville.

CHAP. has nothing to do; they could suffer only for us. France will not
 IX. fight where we please, nor be so complaisant as to distinguish between
 1755. the King and the Elector. What disgrace had fallen on the nation for abandoning the Catalans! If we should desert our most intimate allies, what ally would stand by us? The King of Prussia would hear of our debates: would be told that many opposed the treaties, as offensive to him; that the rest denied that there was any intention to give offence; therefore he would hear that all England was for him. Mr. Murray then applied with great aptness, and told with great address, the fable of the shepherd treating with the wolf. The beast objected that the shepherd had damned dogs, whom he mentioned like Cossacs and Calmucs—not that he feared them—but their barking disturbed him. The shepherd would not give up his dogs, yet the neutrality was well kept.

To Mr. Murray, Lord Egmont, and to the other champions of the treaties, Mr. Pitt replied in a speech of most admirable and ready wit that flashed from him for the space of an hour and a half; and which was accompanied by action that would have added reputation to Garrick.

He said, “the Attorney-general had spoken so long, not because he had not thought enough to shorten his discourse, but because he was glad to lose the question in the immensity of matter. However, he hoped that the King of Prussia, who, it seems, was so well informed of our debates, would not hear the application of this fable, and that Murray had treated him like a *Fera Naturæ*! But, in fact, these treaties from simple questions had become all things to all men. As a man with slight of hand presents a card to the company, ‘’tis your’s’ now ‘’tis your’s’—and very pleasantly takes the money out of the pockets of all the spectators. But whatever explanations were used to pervert its meaning, the Act of Settlement did intend to divest the crown of the power of declaring war for foreign dominions. He would quote poetry; for truth in verse was as good as if delivered in the dullest prose—

Corruption's gilded hand
May put by justice.

CHAP.
IX.
1755.

“ If to make war eventually was a breach of that act, as a juror he should find these treaties such a violation. The very payment of money to Hesse and levying troops was an overt-act—but a daring ministry had presumed to identify themselves with the Parliament of Great Britain ! He desired to know whether the 12,000 men formerly stipulated for by England from Muscovy, were to be included in the 55,000 now engaged for Hanover. If included, the bargain was still dearer ; and we were to give 500,000*l.* to 30,000 men to invite them to live upon rapine and murder ! But this shifting measure, like a diamond, the more it was brillianted the more it shone. But come, said Mr. Pitt, let us consider this northern star that will not shine with any light of its own—Great Britain must be the sun of all this solar system. Could Russia without our assistance support her own troops ? She will not prove the star of the wise men—they must go with presents. It is a miserable star that you must rub up before you can make it shine. The real wise man,—

Quæ desperat tractata nitescere posse, relinquit.

“ By this measure, is not Prussia thrown into the power of France ? What can he (the King of Prussia) answer, if France proposes to march an army into Germany ? If he refuses to join them, will they not threaten to leave him at the mercy of the Russians ? This is one of the effects of our sage negotiations—not to mention that we have wasted between ten and eleven millions in subsidies ! Were our circumstances equal to the avarice of German courts, our system might last a little longer ; but now we are lost *in limine*, in the first outset of the war. Shall we not set the impossibility of our supporting such an extensive war against the argument that his Majesty's honor is engaged ? or shall we continue to go begging to every beggarly court in Europe ? The ministers foresaw our ill success at sea, and *prudently* laid a nest-egg for a war on the Continent. Indeed,

CHAP. IX. 1755. to induce us, we have been told of antient and modern story, of Greece and Carthage. I have not read those histories these many years; they are very well for declamation. But I think I recollect enough to see how improperly they are quoted in this debate. Suppose Thebes and Sparta, and the other Grecian Commonwealths fallen from their former power; would Athens have gone alone and paid all the rest? would Demosthenes have alarmed Greece, when they would no longer hear him?—But Athens put herself on board her fleet, and recovered her land, because she fought where she could be superior. Not giving succour to Hannibal was indeed wrong, because he was already on land and successful, and might have done like Prince Eugene, in later times, who proposed to march with a torch to Versailles. Another poet, (I recollect a good deal of poetry to day,) says, *Expende Hannibalem*—weigh him, weigh him—I have weighed him—what good did his glory procure his country? It reminds me of what the same poet says,

—— I, demens, curre per Alpes,
Ut pueris placeas, et declamatio fias !”

Mr. Pitt then dwelt on his duty to the King, and how harsh it must be for ministers to be honest. But perhaps the resistance given to these treaties might save the administration from a continental war. Yet himself would never more place confidence in the authors, advisers, adopters of this measure. He ended with a prayer, that conviction might induce perverted ministers to change and save us; that British spirit might exterminate these measures which shake our government; and that British spirit might exercise its influence in British councils.

The Russian treaty was approved by 263 against 69. The Hessian treaty by 259 against 72.

The commencement of the year 1756 witnessed the fears of Great Britain. The most warlike preparations were making on the coast of France. Minorca was the real object of their designs, but

England was ostensibly threatened with invasion°. The ministry, after ineffectually demanding of the Dutch the contingent of troops which they had by treaty stipulated to furnish, made a requisition of a body of Hessian, and soon afterwards of Hanoverian troops, to come over to our assistance. How humiliating is the consideration that our own internal resources were deemed inadequate to our defence, and that we were compelled to summon foreigners to protect us from invasion! In the year 450 the degenerate Britons, harassed by the incursions of the Picts, invoked the assistance of the Saxons; in the year 1756 we had again recourse to Germany for protection. Happily the analogy extends no farther. Nothing could be more inoffensive and exemplary than the conduct of our new defenders.

CHAP.
IX.
1756.

When the estimate of the charge of the Hanoverian troops was laid before the House of Commons it was applauded by Lord Barrington, the Secretary at War, who stated that it was more economical than the former estimate with Hesse. Mr. Pitt, with much ingenuity of sarcasm, commended it also, and condemned the extravagance of the Secretary at War in relation to the Hessian estimate. He said; the one was the bargain of the ministers; the other, the simple measure of his Majesty. There one saw the distinction! Nothing but good flowed from the King: nothing but ruin from his servants. The condemnation of his friends and patrons comes from the noble Lord himself^p. But must we engage, (asked Mr. Pitt,) mercenaries because France does? She has not blood enough in her own veins for the purposes of universal monarchy. This waste on Hessians would have conquered America or saved Minorca, which he now despaired of. Why did not the house enquire wherefore we had been so neglected? If we were indeed so weak, why had means of defence been delayed till now? From what other cause was Minorca now likely to be lost? What poor conduct! They waited till a private man (Lord George

° Ces démonstrations épouvantèrent les Anglois; il y ont des momens où cette nation, qui passe pour si sage, se crut perdue.—*Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans*, p. 74.

^p Lord Barrington.

CHAP. Sackville) dared to ask for foreign troops. Had we been secure at
 IX. home, the fleet might have gone safely to Minorca. The neglect
 1756. — looked wilful—as if they hoped that trade would call out for peace,
 and that Minorca to be regained would be a screen for compounding
 for America. But, (continued Mr. Pitt,) I do not call this an admin-
 istration, it is so unsteady. One is at the head of the treasury;
 one, chancellor; one, head of the navy; one great person, of the
 army—yet is that an administration? They shift and shuffle the
 charge from one to another. Says one, I am not general. The trea-
 sury says, I am not admiral. The admiralty says, I am not minister.
 From such an unaccording assemblage of separate and distinct powers
 with no system, a nullity results. One, two, three, four, five lords
 meet—if they cannot agree—oh! we will meet again on Saturday.
 Oh! but, says one of them, I am to go out of town. Alas! when no
 parties remain, what an aggravation it is of the crimes of the ministry
 that no good can come from such unanimity!

Mr. Fox answered seriously, that nobody could be glad of, or
 receive advantage from the loss of Minorca. Did Mr. Pitt wish to
 see a sole minister? Mr. Pitt replied that he did not. He only
 wished to see a system and decision. The loss of Minorca must be
 caused by infatuation or design, for that miners, for the defence of
 Fort St. Philip, were only raising *then*. Were Mr. Fox, indeed, sole
 minister, there would be decision enough. Lord G. Sackville said,
 that he had moved for the Hanoverian troops from the consideration
 of our unprovided state, to act as a temporary militia; and because,
 if the fleet which was sent into the Mediterranean, and which was not
 superior to the French, were beaten, the French might follow their
 blow and come hither. He was glad the subject had been mentioned,
 because every body was struck that Minorca should be left as in time
 of profound peace. It would become ministers to prove that neglect,
 necessity.

These remarks appear unanswerable. The ministry had received
 undoubted intelligence, several months before, of the designs of France,
 but they were so overwhelmed with the fear that our own shores were

threatened with invasion, that they neglected altogether to provide for the relief of Minorca. The Duke de Richelieu commenced an attack upon the fort of St. Philip's on the 25th April. Admiral Byng was not despatched to the Mediterranean before the 5th April. He then sailed with only ten ships, which, neither in point of men nor condition, were at all adequate to the demands of the service.

CHAP.
IX.
1756.

The militia bill was again discussed in the House of Commons, and recommended by Mr. Pitt in another fine dissertation.

On the 11th May, a copy of the treaty with the King of Prussia, signed at Westminster, January 16, 1756, was laid before the House of Commons, with the copy of a secret and separate article. Mr. Fox also delivered a message from the crown, "hoping that his Majesty would be enabled by his Parliament to concert and take such measures as may be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprizes or designs of his enemies, and such as the exigency of affairs required."

On the following day Sir G. Lyttleton moved that a sum, not exceeding one million, be granted to his Majesty upon account. To the objections of Messrs. Northey and Beckford, Sir G. Lyttleton observed, that the money would be restricted and subject to account. Was government not to be supported, he asked, on the first misfortune that happened? When one happens, would you not prevent a second? If, whilst we guarded Minorca, our own coasts had been neglected, the ministry would indeed be blameable. Nothing had raised the supplies but the security of our coasts. When the foreign troops should arrive, our fleets would be more at liberty. Our spirit and activity had been admired by all Europe; and it was more difficult to defend our spirit than our neglect.

Mr. Pitt in very pathetic terms bewailed the disastrous situation of the country, and very ably exposed the miserable pretensions of the ministry to spirit and activity. He begged them to disclose, if they knew, the purposes for which this vote of credit was intended. Was it to raise more men? We had 40,000 national, and 14,000 foreign troops. Was it to make marine treaties? In such case he

CHAP. would joyfully assent. If Sir George Lyttleton could not say for
 IX.
 1756. what it was designed, would he at least peremptorily say for what it
 was *not* designed? Still he was of so compounding a temper, that he
 would assent, although votes of credit had been so much abused. The
 ministers boasted of their unanimity, activity, spirit—what had all
 this harmony of councils and talents operated?—safety?—were we
 safe? Damage to the enemy?—when and where? With this universal
 aye, all our out-lying parts were exposed. But he, alas! had no
 particular joy on being so strong on this question. He did not want
 to load unhappy men who had undone their country. Men most
 unhappy if they did not feel it. We were told that there was no
 option but between this country and America and the Mediterranean.
 So this great country could neither provide for defence nor offence!
yet our activity was admired! Philosophers, indeed, had a term,
vis inertiae, the activity of inaction; was it by that we were to be
 saved? His (Mr. Pitt's) charge was, *that we had provoked before
 we were able to defend, and had neglected after provocation; that
 we were left inferior to France in every quarter; that the vote of
 credit had been misapplied to secure the Electorate; and that we
 had bought a treaty with Prussia by sacrificing our rights.* He
 would not have signed that treaty for the five great places held by
 those who had signed it. They had left us unprovided, as a gap for
 German troops, and thus German troops at last became an English
 measure! The deceased Mr. Pelham had meant economy, and was
 dragged into foreign measures by one who now had the treasury.

Could he (Mr. Pitt) every day arraign, and yet continue to trust? and whilst fresh foreign treaties were in embryo?—If the present treaty were confined to the defence of the King's dominions, he should not know how to oppose it. He had no resentment; nobody had injured him. Of the measures and incapacity of ministers, indeed, he thought ill. If he saw a child (the Duke of Newcastle) driving a go-cart on a precipice, with that precious freight of an old king and his family, surely he was bound to take the reins from his hands. He prayed to God that his Majesty might not have Minorca, like

Calais, written on his heart! He concluded with proposing to take the very words of the last vote of credit.

CHAP.
IX.
1756.

Whilst the nation was under the most intense anxiety respecting the fate of Minorca, an indirect account was received by the ministry, that the English squadron had been repulsed by the French admiral, and compelled to retire without throwing succours into the garrison. A general feeling of indignation now arose against Mr. Byng, but when the ministry, soon afterwards, published an abstract from his own despatch, which they curtailed and altered, the rage of the people knew no bounds. Every artifice was practised by the ministry to prevent this ferment from subsiding. They knew how culpable their own conduct had been, and they eagerly sought to turn the whole tide of public fury upon the admiral. Agents were employed to exaggerate his miscarriage, to vilify his person, and to goad on the multitude to every species of outrage and indignity against his name. Accounts of the loss of Minorca reached London on the 14th July. The garrison, after displaying acts of the utmost heroism, and after protracting the siege far longer than it was deemed possible, had, at length, been compelled to surrender. From the time the French landed, and made themselves masters of all the defenceless parts of the island, the situation of the garrison of Mahon was most embarrassing and forlorn. Still hope was not excluded from the breasts of these brave men. They could not suppose that England, with all her navies, would abandon one of her most valuable possessions without an effort to relieve them. The siege, mean time, went on, the French pressed them close, their numbers declined, their provisions began to fail. How much longer could they hope to defend themselves? It was now that the English squadron appeared? I need not dwell upon the joy of the garrison. Now the time was come when all their anxiety was to cease; an abundant supply of troops and provisions to pour in upon them, and the French in their turn to suffer all the miseries of a siege! But no! These hopes were soon destroyed and succeeded by the most bitter disappointment. Rejoicings are heard in the camp of the enemy. The anxious garrison are soon

CHAP. IX. 1756. informed that the English squadron has been defeated by the French admiral, and compelled to leave them to their fate. Such tidings, were indeed calculated to depress them. But whatever injury their ramparts had sustained, their hearts were sound, and inaccessible to despair. Every exertion was still made that ingenuity could suggest, or courage enforce, and the siege was protracted till the 27th June. The numbers of the enemy then prevailed, and the town surrendered upon the terms of a most honorable convention. It is not my intention to enter into any minute discussion respecting the conduct of the unfortunate Byng. I shall briefly state my opinion; for the voice of faction upon that subject now no longer prevails, and truth may be heard with impunity.

The misconduct of Byng rests principally upon the three following charges: First, That after sailing from St. Helen's, he unnecessarily delayed his arrival at Minorca. Second, That he neglected to throw reinforcements into the garrison of St. Philip's. Third, That owing to his fear or error of judgment, he neglected to come to a general engagement with La Galissoniere^a; and thus lost a fine opportunity of gaining a victory, and all the happy consequences that must thence have resulted.

After a very careful enquiry, I venture to pronounce the two first charges to be without foundation. The condition of Byng's ships compelled him to remain several days at Gibraltar to undergo some necessary repairs. By the shameful neglect of the English ministry, the garrison of Gibraltar was itself so weak, that General Fowke, the governor, was unable to spare any of his men, and it was not possible for Byng, without extremely crippling his own inadequate force, to reinforce St. Philip's from his own squadron.

The testimony of Admiral West, upon the subsequent court-martial, fully acquitted Mr. Byng of the first two charges. The third charge, I fear, is not to be overcome.

In the critical hour of action, when Admiral West, the second

^a The French Admiral.

in command, impetuously bore down upon the enemy, the conduct of Byng was marked by hesitation. Some apology for this, has indeed, been offered. The English were not then accustomed to consider an enemy, at all equal in force to themselves, as a certain or an easy conquest. The times of Nelson had not then arrived. The fleet of Admiral Byng although numerically stronger than that of La Galissoniere, was not so effective in the complement of his men, the state of his ships, or the weight of his metal. What the result of a general engagement, under such circumstances might have been, is known to the Almighty alone. But it appears certain that the backwardness of Byng lost an opportunity which English sailors have ever so ardently desired, and, in general, so nobly improved.

CHAP.
IX.
1756.

The situation of public affairs was so unfavorable that the ministry, far from being able to spare any one of their defenders, was in the utmost need of additional strength. An event occurred during the summer which proved, in its consequences, most adverse to their interests—the death of Sir Dudley Rider, Chief-Justice of the Court of King's Bench. The Attorney-General desired and, it was universally allowed, deserved the vacant appointment. In vain did the Duke of Newcastle, dreading the loss of his ablest defender in the House of Commons, endeavour to persuade Mr. Murray to receive some other lucrative offices, to forego the Chief-Justiceship, and to postpone, for a time, the acceptance of a peerage. Although Mr. Murray possessed much influence in the senate, his ambition was principally fixed upon his profession. He would hear of no alternative, but plainly affirmed that if the Chief-Justiceship was refused him, he would no longer remain Attorney-General. His claims were too strong to be resisted, and, painful as they were to the Duke of Newcastle, arrangements were made to gratify his wishes.

The national misfortunes were not at an end. In the month of June the East India Company were deprived of Calcutta. In August the fort of Oswego in America was taken by the French. In the latter place more than 1,200 men in our service surrendered themselves prisoners of war; one hundred and twenty-one pieces of artil-

CHAP. lery, fourteen mortars, with a considerable quantity of ammunition,
IX. warlike stores and provisions, besides two sloops and two hundred
1756. batteaux, fell into the enemy's hands.

These disasters and several internal subjects of complaint, arising principally from inattention and want of judgment in the ministry, made a deep impression upon the public mind. But there was another great interest in the state to which the ministry were displeasing. This was the court of Leicester House. The age of the King was so advanced that he could not be expected to survive many years, and the time was evidently not distant when the Prince of Wales would be called to the throne. Under these circumstances the influence which he exercised in the state became every day more considerable. Neither the Duke of Newcastle nor Mr. Fox were agreeable to his Royal Highness. The truth is, the prejudices of his mother and of Lord Bute possessed great influence over his amiable but inexperienced mind. The Duke of Newcastle had treated Lord Bute with neglect and contumely, and Mr. Fox was in the intimate confidence of the Duke of Cumberland, between whom and the Princess Dowager of Wales no cordiality subsisted. Nor was the Lord Chancellor upon better terms at Leicester House. Mr. Pitt had for some time attended the levees of the Prince of Wales. As an old servant of the late Prince's, it was both natural and becoming in him to pay every mark of respect towards his widow and his son. Neither Mr. Doddington nor Lord Orford, those treasurers of the sneers and scandal of the day, have presumed to charge Mr. Pitt with sycophancy. The known lofty temper of the man would have rendered the charge ridiculous. At the same time I acknowledge that the dislike to the existing ministry which prevailed at Leicester House, and the esteem which was there manifested towards Mr. Pitt, concurred, with the other circumstances I have mentioned, to promote his subsequent advancement.

Unwilling as the Duke of Newcastle was to relinquish power, he now saw the precarious tenure by which he possessed it. The nation was indignant at the situation to which they were reduced by the in-

capacity of the ministry. The loss of Minorca, the chief subject of CHAP. IX. 1756. complaint, was now attributed to its proper cause. Addresses upon the occasion, were presented to the throne, by the city of London, and by many counties and corporations. A pamphlet published by the unfortunate Byng exposed the base artifices which had been practised against him, and, although it failed to establish the character of the admiral for intrepidity and conduct, it fully exposed the shameful weakness and neglect of his employers.

Such was the general spirit of disgust and resentment against the government that Mr. Fox, not choosing to be implicated in the disgrace of measures in which he had but little share, suddenly threw up his employment. He was well aware of the distractions which subsisted amongst all parties, and knowing how few men there were who, in point of parliamentary abilities, could be compared to himself, he hoped, at no distant period, to resume his station under happier auspices, and with real power. Both before and subsequent to his resignation, Mr. Fox offered to connect himself with Mr. Pitt. His Majesty was himself desirous that he should do so. On the 27th October the King, finding that it was the intention of the Duke of Newcastle to retire, sent for Mr. Fox, and desired him to endeavour to unite with Mr. Pitt. The next day Mr. Fox went to the Prince's levee, and taking Mr. Pitt aside, the following conversation took place between them. Mr. Fox. "Are you going to Stowe? I ask, because I believe you will have a message of consequence, by persons of consequence." Mr. Pitt. "You surprise me. Are you to be of the number?" Mr. Fox. "I don't know." Mr. Pitt. "One likes to say things to men of sense, and to men of your great sense, rather than to others; and yet it is difficult even to you." Mr. Fox. "What! you mean that you will not act with me as a minister?" Mr. Pitt. "I do." Then to soften the abruptness of this declaration, Mr. Pitt, on leaving Mr. Fox, said, "I hope you will take an active part, which my health will not permit me to do."

In thus rejecting the overtures of Mr. Fox, the conduct of Mr. Pitt

CHAP. appears in rather an ungracious point of view. But there were two
IX. motives by which he was influenced. In the first place, he had not
1756. forgotten the disavowal of all connexion between them made by Mr.
Fox in the preceding year, and he was unwilling now to owe any thing
to his intervention. In the second place, he knew the close attachment of Mr. Fox to the Duke of Cumberland, and as the influence of his Royal Highness was considerable, he conceived that by concurring with the proposed union, he must, in some degree, be subordinate to Mr. Fox.

The eyes of all, who either expected power or dreaded the loss of it, were now fixed upon Mr. Pitt. As the nation reposed the most implicit confidence in his zeal, integrity, and abilities, his popularity was prodigious. In the House of Commons, since Mr. Fox had left the ministry, and Mr. Murray was about to enter the House of Peers, there was no longer an orator who, in the approaching session of Parliament, would have courage to look him in the face. Although no cordiality subsisted between the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Fox, the resignation of the latter proved a serious calamity to his grace, as it obstructed the operations of government, and threw the odium of our late disasters almost wholly upon himself. In this emergency, the Duke made one more effort to unite with Mr. Pitt, but the latter, possessing too much experience of his Grace's irresolution and incapacity, absolutely refused to confer with him. Proposals were then made, and the Seals of Secretary of State offered, first to Lord Egmont, and, secondly, to Lord Granville. They were refused by both. The former was only desirous of an English peerage; and the latter having no wish, in the evening of his days, to run again the race of ambition, was perfectly satisfied with the ease and dignity of his present appointment. Finding it impossible to form an efficient ministry, the Duke of Newcastle formally resigned his situation on the 11th November. On the 19th November, Lord Hardwicke followed his example, and, much to the regret of the nation, retired from his arduous office.

Mr. Pitt was now appointed Secretary of State. The Duke of

Newcastle was succeeded, at the Treasury, by the Duke of Devonshire, CHAP.
and Lord Anson, at the Admiralty, by Earl Temple. Mr. Legge ^{IX.}
became Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the room of Sir George 1756.
Lyttleton, who was now elevated to the peerage; and George Gren-
ville became Treasurer of the Navy in the place of Mr. Doddington.
With the exception of a few other changes that took place in the
Boards of Treasury and Admiralty, no material alterations occurred in
the remaining offices of administration.

CHAPTER X.

1756.

Peculiar embarrassing Situation of Mr. Pitt as Secretary of State—His Plans with regard to North America—Admiral Byng's Sentence and Execution—Reflexions upon the Conduct of Austria—Count Kaunitz—Combination of several European Powers—Views and Conduct of the King of Prussia—He invades Saxony—Money voted for his Assistance by the English Parliament—Duke of Cumberland is appointed to the Command of the Army of Observation in Germany—The King's Dislike to his Ministers—Mr. Pitt is deprived of the Seals—State of the Country at this Time—Ineffectual Negotiations for a new Administration—Mr. Pitt is re-appointed Secretary of State.

CHAP. X. ALTHOUGH the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Fox, the leaders of two great parties, had retired from the administration, they left so many of their adherents in office, that scarcely at the court of Versailles would the new secretary have found himself more destitute of friends. Mr. Pitt, in commencing his administration, had to contend against the most appalling difficulties. He possessed neither the confidence of the crown, nor the friendship of many of its servants. Every measure which he suggested, every word that he uttered, every action in which he was concerned, became the vehicles of malice and reproach against him. From the hour of his appointment he was confined with the gout, which afflicted him during the whole of the winter. The dependants of the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Fox were busy in reviling him, and as they could urge little against his conduct, poured forth torrents of abusive sarcasms upon his bodily infirmities. But these, of course, he despised. His mind was occu-

2

1

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

100
100
Bath Octob^r 12th 1794

Dear Mithall

I can venture to apply to
you as to a person of fidelity and
accuracy on a matter that for the
present is thought proper to be
kept in silence. I have pitch'd on
you to carry into execution some
affairs that require much exactness
and punctuality, and have no doubt
that you will perfectly answer all
expectations. I am to desire then

that you will take a journey into Bucks, as ready to execute. I desire you will
and wait on Mr Grenville at Wotton acknowledge the receipt of this by
the 22^d of this month in order to align the first P.T. I need add no
more his directions with regard to further recommendation of secrecy, as
the transaction I point at and Carey I will leave your discretion and hand
them into execution. With all possible I am with great esteem
dispatch and secrecy. Wotton is about

seven or eight miles from Aylesbury. Be sure not to foul
the day named viz. I propose being in town the first day of 22^d of this month, your most faithful
of November when the Parties will be at home to expect you. Humble servant
J. Pitt

Rath Octob^r 12th 1754

Dear Mithall

I can venture to apply to
you as to a person of fidelity and
may on a matter that for the
present is thought proper to be
kept in silence. I have pitch'd on
you to carry into execution some
affairs that require much exactness
and punctuality, and have no doubt
but you will perfectly answer all
expectations. I am^d to desire then

CHAP. X. 1756.
 pied upon subjects infinitely more important. The posture of public affairs was, in all respects, deplorable. Three quarters of the globe were witness to the losses and calamities which Great Britain had sustained in the course of a single year. In Europe, we had been stripped of Minorca. In America, Oswego was taken from us. In Asia, we lost Calcutta, the principal settlement in Bengal. The ministry had hitherto been so unsteady, and public actions had been so much reduced to the standard of party-feeling, that the officers entrusted with the command of our fleets and armies knew not in what light their most meritorious services might be regarded, and, of course, became languid and dispirited in their operations. Some time must necessarily elapse before confidence, and all the happy consequences that result from confidence, could be restored to the government. Whilst the people were enraged at the discomfiture of our arms abroad, their discontent was still further inflamed by a scarcity of corn at home. This was an evil against which it was almost impossible to contend, in a manner satisfactory to the public. For what wisdom can reconcile a people to the want of food, or induce them to think that their sufferings are not, in a great measure, attributable to their governors? But the high spirit of Mr. Pitt was not to be depressed by the difficulty of his situation. He possessed the fullest confidence in his own abilities. He was determined to spare no effort by which he might restore his country; and the able and vigorous manner in which he commenced his administration, shackled as it was, convinced all judicious minds that if England could be rescued from her disastrous situation by any man's councils, it might be rescued by his.

One of the first objects of Mr. Pitt's administration was to provide for the security of North America, which owing to the divisions which had prevailed in the cabinet, and to the feebleness of our councils, had hitherto been shamefully neglected. Our colonists, although wealthier and more numerous than those of France, were infinitely inferior to the latter in point of military discipline. Almost all the French colonists were expert soldiers. The Indians were generally attached

CHAP. to their interests, and whilst our possessions were defenceless, their
 N. own were guarded by a chain of forts. The defeat of Braddock and
 1756. other losses which we had sustained, were attended by the worst consequences, and had inspired our colonists with the utmost dread of the Indians. It was necessary, therefore, to take some measure which, whilst it recruited their strength, might revive their courage. We have seen how strongly Mr. Pitt condemned the conduct of the late ministry in sending what he termed "two miserable battalions of Irish, who scarce ever saw one another, to be sacrificed in America." The question was, what forces it was now expedient to send? In a paper submitted to the Duke of Cumberland during the previous year, it was suggested, that two battalions of Scotch Highlanders might be extremely effective in the British service in America. This paper, containing many other military plans and proposals, was, by the command of his Royal Highness, laid before Mr. Pitt. The Secretary was at once struck by the suggestion I have mentioned above. He conceived that whilst the Americans would derive the greatest assistance from these hardy Highlanders, Great Britain also would be benefitted by a measure which gave to a considerable body of men, an occupation suited to their bold habits and their ardent dispositions, and that thus their allegiance might be transferred from the Stuarts to the
 1757. House of Hanover. Accordingly, on the 1st of January, 1757, orders were sent to Scotland to raise two battalions. The command of the first battalion was given to the Hon. Archibald Montgomery, brother to the Earl of Eglington; the command of the second, to Simon Fraser, son of the late Lord Lovat. This gentleman, as being the head of the Frasers, and the only man under whom that clan would enlist, was recommended to the appointment by the Duke of Argyle. The battalions were raised in a few weeks, and, (it is an agreeable truth to record it,) no men were ever more distinguished for their own honor and the public advantage.

It was Mr. Pitt's design, (and nothing but the subsequent interval in his administration prevented it from being carried into effect,) to send a powerful fleet under Admiral Hawke to co-operate with Lord

Loudoun in America; Louisburg was to be attacked by sea and land; we were afterwards to proceed to Quebec, take that also, and thus expel the French from the whole continent. This was a bold and comprehensive scheme, desponding politicians then called it a wild one, but the success which attended it two years afterwards, when Mr. Pitt's power enabled him to prosecute it with vigour, fully proved its wisdom. Had it been at first adopted, what an expense of men and treasure had been spared! With what effect might the forces, subsequently sent to America, have been employed elsewhere! But this was a portion only of that vigorous system of policy which it was Mr. Pitt's determination to pursue. He was resolved to be indefatigable himself, and to allow no idleness in others. It was his wish to employ every ship, every seaman, and every soldier in the manner best adapted to the exigencies of the country.

CHAP.
X.
1757.

The following extracts from Mr. Pitt's letters to the commanders of the Northern provinces in America forcibly display his energy as minister.

Whitehall, February 4th, 1757.

“The King, having nothing more at heart than the preservation of his good subjects and colonies of North America, has come to a resolution of acting with the greatest vigour in those parts throughout the ensuing campaign, and all necessary preparations are making for sending a considerable reinforcement of troops, together with a strong squadron of ships for that purpose, and in order to act offensively against the French in Canada.

“It is his Majesty's pleasure that you should forthwith call togethery our Council and Assembly, and press them in the strongest manner to raise, with the utmost expedition, a number of provincial troops, at least equal to those raised the last year, for the service of the ensuing campaign, over and above what they shall judge necessary for the immediate defence of their own province; and that the troops so raised, do act in such parts, as the Earl of Loudoun, or the Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's forces for the time being, shall judge most conducive to the service in general: and the King doubts not,

CHAP. but that the several provinces, truly sensible of his paternal care in
X. sending so large a force for their security, will exert their utmost en-
1757. deavours to second and strengthen such operations against the French,
as the Earl of Loudoun, or the Commander-in-Chief for the time
being, shall judge expedient, and will not clog the enlistments of the
men, or the raising of the money for their pay, &c., with such limitations
as have been hitherto found to render their service difficult and inef-
fectual. And as a proper encouragement, I am to acquaint you, that
the raising of the men, their pay, arms, and clothing, will be all that
will be required on the part of the several provinces, measures having
been already taken for laying up magazines of stores and provisions of
all kinds at the expense of the crown."

Whitehall, February 19th, 1757.

" Having in my letter of the 4th instant informed you that it was the King's intention to send a strong squadron of ships of war to North America. I am now to acquaint you, that his Majesty has been pleased to appoint Rear Admiral Holburne to command the said squadron, and it is the King's pleasure that in case any naval assistance shall be wanted for the protection of your government, you should apply for the same to the said Rear Admiral, or to the Commander-in-Chief for the time being, of his Majesty's ships in those seas, who will send you such assistance as he may be able to do, consistently with the service, with which he is charged by his Majesty's instructions; and you will regularly communicate to the said Commander all such intelligence as shall come to your knowledge, concerning the arrival of any ships of war, or vessels having warlike stores on board; and likewise all such advices as may concern their motions and destination, or may in any manner relate to that part of his Majesty's service, with which the commanders of the King's ships should be acquainted. And for the better execution of the orders sent you in this letter, you will be diligent in employing proper persons and vessels, not only to procure you the earliest intelligence, but likewise to be dispatched from time to time, to the said Com-

mander of his Majesty's ships with such accounts as you shall have occasion to communicate to him.

CHAP.
X.
1757.

“ It is also his Majesty's further pleasure that you should use all legal methods, whenever the Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's ships shall apply to you, to raise such a number of seamen from time to time, as shall be wanted to recruit the ships in North America.”

As the enemy had hitherto maintained a superior naval force in the West Indies, Rear Admiral Cotes was sent, with large reinforcements, to convoy our merchantmen to Jamaica; and Commodore Moore, upon the same service, to the Leeward Islands. Admiral Osborn was appointed to command the fleet in the Mediterranean; and Commodore Stevens was dispatched to the East Indies, with a squadron to join Admiral Watson. Such was the energy, which, notwithstanding the dulness and jealousy of many of his colleagues, characterized the first measures of Mr. Pitt. Already the nation felt confidence under his administration, and the dread of invasion, which had so lately prevailed, was now regarded as an empty dream.

I have already mentioned the error, I shall now revert to the fate, of the unfortunate Byng. The part which Mr. Pitt took upon this occasion was consistent with his general conduct; it was honorable, manly, and humane. After a delay of several months, Admiral Byng was tried by a court martial, and on the 28th January, 1757, sentence of death was pronounced against him. This sentence was, however, accompanied by an earnest recommendation of mercy to the throne. That mercy was arrested by the malice of his enemies. In the mean time Mr. Pitt stood forward to save, if possible, the friendless and sentenced man. But the agents of the Duke of Newcastle and of Mr. Fox were too numerous and too active to allow of a successful interposition on the part of Mr. Pitt. The humanity of this great man was calumniated and misrepresented in the blackest colours. As the day appointed for the execution of Byng drew near, many members of the court martial felt great compunction for the

CHAP. sentence they had pronounced. Captain Keppel was particularly
 X.
 1757. shocked that the accompanying recommendation to mercy had proved unsuccessful. On the 23rd February he, in company with More and Dennis, two other members of the late court martial, waited on Lord Temple, and besought him to renew their application to the throne for mercy. On the same day a discussion upon the twelfth article of war^a, for the violation of which the Admiral was condemned, arose in the House of Commons. Mr. Beckford upon this occasion scrupled not to say that the late sentence was considered a cruel one. Mr. Pitt, though owning how sensibly he felt the difficulty of speaking on that melancholy occasion, with true spirit avowed himself on the favorable side. The sentence, he said, had undergone discussion : for himself, he never could have agreed to it ; but he thought the legislature had nothing to do to advise the King on that his peculiar prerogative, mercy. He did wish it might be extended to the prisoner ; and owned that he thought *more good would come from mercy than rigour*. That it was more likely to flow from his Majesty if he was left entirely free. As to the article, he did not wish to see discipline relaxed : but no article could be enforced but when it was intelligible. And this being proved so obscure, it was not for the honor of national justice that a sentence, issuing from its obscurity, should be carried into execution. Were Mr. Byng condemned of cowardice or disaffection, he himself, though single, would petition for his execution. Of all men the commissioners of the Admiralty ought the least to interpose. But what indeed could add weight in the prisoner's favor to the recommendation of his judges ?

Mr. Fox, who chose to wear, like the day, an aspect of compassion, and at the same time to fasten difficulty and unpopularity on

^a Article XII. " Every person in the fleet, who through cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, shall, in time of action, withdraw or keep back, or not come into the fight or engagement, or shall not do his utmost to take or destroy every ship which it shall be his duty to engage, and to assist and relieve all and every of his Majesty's ships, or those of his allies, which it shall be his duty to assist and relieve, every such person so offending, and being convicted thereof by the sentence of a court martial, shall suffer death."

the new minister and his friends, rose to say, that "he could not comprehend the delicacy of the Admiralty in not laying their scruples before the King. That during the nine years that himself had been the Secretary at War, it had been his constant practice on all courts martial to acquaint the King with any favorable circumstances that appeared. That he had always found his Majesty disposed to lenity, and when he (Mr. Fox) said nothing, the King would ask, 'Have you nothing favorable to tell me?' Silence always implied that there was nothing. If the Lords of the Admiralty thought the court martial meant *error of judgment*, they ought to tell the King so. Any one Lord of the Admiralty might; Admiral Forbes^a might. That in signing the warrant, never till now had been used the words, 'It is his Majesty's pleasure.' He recommended it to them to consider the circumstances, and inform the King of them^b."

Mr. Pitt, in reply, bade him consider all that had passed for the last six months, and then judge if the Lords of the Admiralty were the proper persons to make representations on this case. He had no reason to expect any tenderness to himself or to his friends; and indeed he supposed Mr. Fox's speech was calculated to throw them under difficulties *in another place*. For himself, he had too much awe on his mind to make so free with descriptions as Mr. Fox had of personal colloquies. On the following day Mr. Pitt *did* move the King for mercy, but was cut very short, nor did his Majesty remember to ask his *usual* question, *whether there were any favorable circumstances?*

The 28th February was appointed for the execution of Admiral Byng. The 25th arrived. Captain Keppel was now most anxious to communicate to the House of Commons certain doubts and scruples respecting the late sentence, which oppressed his mind. But he was a diffident man, and wholly unaccustomed to public speaking. His anxiety and embarrassment were observed by the younger Horace

^a Admiral Forbes had refused to sign the warrant for Mr. Byng's execution.

^b Lord Orford's Memoires.

CHAP. Walpole, whose conduct was now most benevolent and kind. Find-
X.
1757. ing it in vain to press Mr. Keppel to make his own application to the
House, he eagerly besought Mr. Fox to do so. Mr. Fox was surprised, knew not what to determine, said he was uncertain, and left the House. Sir Francis Dashwood, with the most prompt humanity, then informed the House of Mr. Keppel's desire that some method might be found of empowering him, and the other members of the court martial, to declare what had been their intention in pronouncing Mr. Byng guilty.

Sir J. Phillips expressed himself against the interference of the House upon the subject.

Mr. Pitt rose, and requested the House to consider seriously before they proceeded on so nice a matter; he wished first to see a direct application to the House. For himself, he should probably smart for it; he had received a menacing letter that very morning. He then addressed himself to Mr. Keppel; wished he would break through his bashfulness and rise: it would be a foundation for him (Mr. Pitt) to vote for the bill demanded, and then he should despise threats.

Mr. Keppel then rose, and, speaking with much sense and seriousness, declared that he did desire to be absolved from his oath. He had, he said, something on his mind which he wished to express. Many others of the court martial had been with him that morning, and exhorted him to make the demand.

Mr. G. Grenville and Lord G. Sackville then gave their opinion that the members of the court martial might speak without a bill being passed on the subject. Mr. Keppel still professed that he had doubts whether he could speak without a dispensing act.

Mr. Pitt said, he honored Mr. Keppel for his doubt; wished him to consult his friends that night; and told him that in regard to them, the House would sit the next day. For himself, he should, in their case, have no hesitation in speaking without the act, as they only desired to tell what was most proper to be told: he hoped they would lay their sentiments at his Majesty's feet the next morning.

On the 26th February a cabinet council was held to consider the propriety of Mr. Keppel's demand. Mr. Pitt told the King, that the House of Commons wished to have the Admiral pardoned. His Majesty shrewdly and severely replied, "Sir, you have taught me to look for the sense of my subjects in another place than in the House of Commons."

CHAP.
X.
1757.

On the same day, however, the following message was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Pitt.

"GEORGE R.

"His Majesty, agreeably to his royal word, for the sake of justice, and of example to the discipline of the navy, and for the safety and honor of the nation, was determined to have let the law take its course with relation to Admiral Byng, upon Monday next, and resisted all solicitations to the contrary.

"But being informed that a member of the House of Commons, who was a member of the court martial which tried the said Admiral, has, in his place, applied to the House, in behalf of himself, and several other members of the said court, praying the aid of Parliament to be released from the oath of secrecy imposed on courts martial, in order to disclose the grounds whereon sentence of death passed on the said Admiral, the result of which discovery may shew the sentence to be improper; his Majesty has thought fit to respite the execution of the same, in order that there may be an opportunity of knowing, by the separate examination of the members of the said court, upon oath, what ground there is for the above suggestion.

"His Majesty is determined to let this sentence be carried into execution, unless it shall appear from the said examination that Admiral Byng was unjustly condemned."

Mr. Pitt had no sooner delivered this message, than Mr. Fox rose and desired that it might again be read to the House. There were words in the message, he said, that struck his ear in a very extraordinary manner. *The King having been informed that a member*

CHAP. *in his place!* Who informed him? Who betrayed to the crown
 X.
 1757. what was said in parliament? What minister was so ignorant as to
 advise the crown to take notice of having had such intelligence? Did ministers dare to avow that they made representations of the speeches of particular men? It had, indeed, now been done for a laudable purpose; but, by the same rule, it might be practised for a bad one; and, on no account, must it be suffered to strengthen into a precedent. He desired to be shewn one instance, since the reign of James I., where the privileges of Parliament had been so sported with.

Mr. Pitt replied, with great indignation, that the time had been too pressing to consult precedents. He had not thought that the life of a man was to be trifled with whilst clerks were searching records. He founded his conduct on the peculiarity of a case, which was its own precedent, and could be so to no other—a precedent that could never be extended but by a wicked parliament. He had been doing his duty in Parliament the day before; he had heard the momentous doubts of Mr. Keppel, and had represented them. *He should have been ashamed to run away basely and timidly, and hide his head, as if he had murdered somebody under a hedge.* It had been the sense of the House, that what had passed should be laid before his Majesty; and he had accordingly thought it his duty to represent it. What would Mr. Fox have done?—not have represented it?

However we must admire the warmth of humanity by which Mr. Pitt was actuated upon this occasion, yet as Mr. Fox's objection to the message was well-founded, and as the same information might have been *regularly* conveyed to the House, it is to be regretted that any breach of parliamentary privilege should thus unnecessarily have been committed.

Several members took part in the debate which followed.

Mr. Fox distinguished himself by the extreme subtlety of his remarks. Mr. Potter and Sir Francis Dashwood were ordered by the

^c Alluding to the abrupt manner in which Mr. Fox had left the House when applied to by Horace Walpole.

House to prepare a bill to release from the obligation of the oath of secrecy, the members of the court-martial appointed for the trial of Admiral Byng, pursuant to the exception contained in the same oath. A bill was accordingly prepared, presented, read, amended, and ordered to be engrossed on the same day.

CHAP.
X.
1757.

On the adjournment of the House, an order was despatched to Portsmouth to respite the execution of Admiral Byng till the 14th March. On the 28th February, the bill was reported to the House of Commons, and Mr. Potter moved to have it read the third time.

It was advanced by Mr. Fox and others, as a reason for not passing the bill, that two of the four members of the court-martial, described by Mr. Keppel as equally desirous with himself of being absolved from their oath of secrecy, had asserted that he (Mr. Keppel) had mistaken their meaning.

It was in consequence of some remarks which fell from Mr. Charles Townshend, that Mr. Pitt uttered the following impassioned sentences: "May I fall when I refuse pity to such a suit as Mr. Keppel's, justifying a man who lies under captivity and the shadow of death! I thank God I feel something more than popularity—I feel justice!"

Mr. Velters Cornwall divided the house upon the question, and the bill passed by 153 against 23.

It met with a different fate in the House of Lords.

Men, strangers to bodily fear, are sometimes awed and embarrassed by the pomp and circumstance of power. Such appears to have been the case with several members of the court martial when summoned to appear before the House of Lords. Discrepancies appeared in their opinions, and different answers were given by them to the questions which arose, respecting the necessity of the bill proposed. The bill was, almost unanimously, rejected. But, as Mr. Pitt had observed in the House of Commons, the strongest recommendation in favor of the prisoner was that of his judges; when *that* was rejected, it was not to be expected that any other would have weight. One more effort was however made in favor of the sentenced Admiral. "On the 9th, at eleven at night, four Tory Aldermen went to Dicken-

CHAP. son, the Lord Mayor, to desire he would summon a Common Council,
 X.
 1757. intending to promote a petition to the King to spare the Admiral.

The motion was imputed to Mr. Pitt. The magistrate, as unfeelingly formal as if he had been the first magistrate in the kingdom, replied, that it was too late; he would be at home till noon of the next day. On the morrow they sent to him not to dismiss his officers—but he heard no more. Thus the last chance was lost. Had the first midnight emotion been seized, it might have spread happily—at least the King could not have pleaded his promise of severity pledged to the city^d.”

The last scene of this tragedy was performed on the 14th March. Through the inveterate malice of his enemies, and the mistaken^e sentence of his judges, an Admiral of the British Navy, a Member of the British Parliament, the son of a noble and heroic father, then underwent the horrors of an ignominious death. Whatever might have been the error of Admiral Byng on the day of battle, it certainly was not proportioned to the severity of his fate. That fate will ever remain an example, that weakness of counsels and cruelty of purpose proceed from the same source.

The period to which my history is now arrived renders it necessary to consider a change in the policy of Great Britain with regard to her German connexions, which is almost without parallel. To support the House of Austria against the preponderating influence of France, had for ages been received as an incontrovertible axiom of English policy. To this interested attachment to Austria had been added a generous and enthusiastic feeling in favor of its sovereign. The zeal we had evinced, the sums we had expended, and the blood we had shed in support of Maria Theresa had been sufficient, it might have been supposed, to warm with gratitude even the cold heart of self-interest. England had preserved Austria from destruction. But

^d Lord Orford's Memoires.

^e I say mistaken, for it was passed under the impression that the accompanying recommendation to mercy would prevent its being carried into execution. It was pronounced legal by the twelve Judges.

ambition filled the breast of Maria Theresa, and left little room for kinder feelings. Far from thinking herself oppressed with any load of obligation, she regarded the efforts which the English had made in her favor as prompted, solely, by the consideration of their own advantage.

CHAP.
X.
1757.

The proud heiress of Charles the VIth, although she had condescended to receive and to solicit the bounty of England, resented deeply the high tone of remonstrance which that country, in its communications with Vienna, thought necessary, on some occasions, to adopt. A few uncourtly expressions from the British government were sufficient to expel from her heart all sense of gratitude to the British people. But the great cause of her alienation from England arose, not so much from a sense of offended dignity, as from that of self-interest. Maria Theresa considered that her claims and rights had been sacrificed by the English at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The loss of Silesia rankled in her breast. No parent ever more acutely deplored the loss of a child stolen from her by banditti, than she did the loss of that country. No parent ever more intensely desired or projected the recovery of her child than Maria Theresa did that of Silesia. It was this feeling which softened and subdued in her breast the hereditary hatred of Austria to France. Even before the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle she had made advances to Louis the XVth, and proffered the cession of part of the Low Countries, provided he would assist her in the recovery of Silesia. But Louis, then eagerly desirous of peace, was unwilling to contract engagements which might impede its negociation. The first efforts of the Empress-Queen to effect a close connexion with France were, from this cause, ineffectual. Still her confidential ministers at Paris kept this object constantly in view, and Kaunitz, at length, accomplished it.

Antony Wenceslaus, Count of Kaunitz, was born in 1711. He was early distinguished for his diplomatic abilities. Being empowered to act as plenipotentiary by the court of Vienna at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle he supported the interests of his mistress with the most determined zeal. He was subsequently appointed ambassador

CHAP. to Paris, where the frivolity of his taste was as agreeable to the habits
X.
1757. of the French people, as his known penetration and capacity for business were satisfactory to his own government. Whilst at Paris, he laboured with incessant assiduity and address to remove that inveterate hatred which, ever since the reign of Francis the 1st, had prevailed between the houses of Hapsburg and Bourbon. His great object was to detach France from Prussia. With this view he dwelt upon the high tone of superiority which it became France to adopt towards those Princes of Germany whom she had assisted with money or with troops. He represented Frederick as the pensioner of Louis, and, in the most artful manner, asserted that it was highly derogatory to the honor of the latter to allow the King of Prussia to put himself upon an equal footing with the Monarch of France. These repeated insinuations were not without effect. The court of Versailles in its communications with Berlin became much more haughty, and employed a language very offensive to the quick feelings of Frederick.

But it was not France alone that the Empress-Queen endeavoured to engage in hostilities with Prussia. Saxony was secretly associated in her cause, and every effort was made to procure the co-operation of Sweden and of Russia. By representations from the courts of Vienna and Dresden, the Czarina Elizabeth became exceedingly prejudiced and incensed against the King of Prussia. She was induced to believe that he harboured designs against her life, in order to place upon her throne Ivan, the nephew of his Queen. She gave, therefore, a willing ear to the proposals of the Empress-Queen, and determined to espouse her cause.

What an unexampled combination was now preparing! We first behold two gigantic powers of Europe agreeing to cancel all mutual animosities, uniting their councils and their armies, and then adding to the compact the alliance of Sweden, and that of the most extensive kingdom in the world. France, Austria, Sweden, and Russia, putting forth their strength in one common cause! Could the remaining nations of the world, it may be asked, oppose any adequate opposition to such an union as this? Yes! In one corner of Ger-

many a hero reigned, lord of an inconsiderable territory, whose genius was able to confound this multitude of enemies, and excite him to actions surpassing the achievements of Greece or Rome. Perhaps the annals of the world afford no stronger instance of what the talents of one man can effect than the actions of Frederick, during the seven years' war. His campaigns and victories form a new æra in military history. But whilst we admire the hero, we must condemn the man. When our astonishment at that courage and those abilities which could encounter and surmount such dangers, has abated, we must ask, (if the stern language of patriotism may be heard,) what right he had to involve his country, in all the horrors of so hopeless a war? The only apology that can be offered for his conduct is, that he knew not the strength of the confederacy against him till it was too late to avert it. Let us consider the motives upon which Frederick acted, and the circumstances in which he was placed with regard to the great powers of Europe during the year previous to the war.

CHAP.
X.
1757.

The Empress-Queen was, at that time, the only sovereign whose enmity he had reason to regard as certain, and against whose exertions it was a point of necessity to be on his guard. As to France, although he felt indignant at the dictatorial tone which she latterly had assumed, and although he suspected that an alliance was forming between the courts of Versailles and Vienna, still, as he was himself in treaty with Louis, he had no reason to dread immediate hostilities from that quarter.

The sentiments of the Czarina, he knew to be most unfavorable to himself, but he also knew that without large subsidies of money she could send no powerful armies against him.

When he looked towards England, he saw a wealthy people, whose liberal hand had extricated his implacable enemy from the lowest depths of misfortune. He knew that they had met with an ungrateful return for their generosity, and were disgusted at the selfish conduct of the Empress-Queen.

Although it was highly probable that France would attack Hanover, yet, from his own vicinity, Frederick felt himself to be the great-

CHAP. est object of fear to the King of England. He was well aware of
 X. the extreme anxiety of that monarch on account of his electorate, and
 1757. therefore saw the probability that overtures of alliance would be made to him from Great Britain. How then was Frederick II. to act in a system so complicated and involved? Since the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, he had been forming a very powerful army, which was prepared by the severest discipline to meet, on the instant, every variety of war. His forces were so numerous and so admirably trained, that he knew it would require a very extraordinary association of powers to prevail against him. But his confidence was scarcely warranted even by the wonderful extent of his abilities. It became apparent that his desire of enterprize was greater even than his political foresight, and that his judgment was blinded by his ambition.

He was at this time informed, that the King of England had concluded a treaty with the Czarina Elizabeth, and had stipulated for a large body of troops to defend his electorate in the event of invasion. Upon this, Frederick at once formed his resolution. He caused it to be declared in every court of Europe, that he would resist, with his utmost might, the admission of foreign forces into the empire, whether they came as principals or as auxiliaries. Although this declaration was professedly directed against Russia, he foresaw that it would be equally offensive to France, whose troops were already marching in considerable numbers towards the frontiers of the empire. But he concluded that it would be the means of securing the alliance of Great Britain, which country he hoped would prove a common bond of union between Russia and himself. The subsequent conduct of England justified in part his policy. His conclusions with regard to Russia were erroneous. George II. sought, and obtained his alliance, but the enmity of Elizabeth was not to be subdued.

The hatred of the Czarina towards Prussia was greater than her thirst for the subsidies of Great Britain. When she found that George II. had concluded a treaty with Frederick, she dissolved the alliance which she had contracted with the former, and united with Austria and France. But although the Empress-Queen had long

been secretly negotiating these alliances, she had still preserved the appearance of friendship to Great Britain, and therefore assumed a tone of extreme indignation when informed of the treaty between that country and Prussia. She accused George II. of deserting his former connexions, of combining with her inveterate enemy, and thereby compelling her, as a measure of self-defence, to unite with France. Under such pretences she endeavoured to mask her ingratitude.

CHAP.
X.
1757.

When we consider the affairs of Great Britain, it must be admitted that nothing could be more contradictory and impolitic than our past conduct and our present engagements. We had precipitated a war before we had made preparations to support it, and by so doing had left Hanover exposed to the attacks of France and Prussia. To guard against such incursions, we first entered into a treaty with Russia. That treaty becoming virtually annulled by the declaration of Frederick, the King of England at once forgets his former antipathies, and secures the solitary alliance of Prussia, at the risk of losing every other connexion, and at the expense of immense supplies^f.

In the summer of 1756, the King of Prussia, knowing the vast confederacy that was forming against him, determined to try whether his own promptitude and abilities might not turn the scale against the numbers of his enemies. His great hope was to defeat their designs by anticipating them. He knew that the Saxon army, at that time consisting of not more than 18,000 men, might, during the succeeding winter, be increased to 40,000; he also knew that it would require another year, before Russia could put her unwieldy forces in motion^g. Under all these circumstances, he determined to strike a sudden and effective blow before the preparations of his enemies were completed. Desirous, however, of preserving the appearance of moderation to the last, he demanded of the Empress-Queen with what intention she was forming two formidable armies in the neighbourhood of Königsgratz

^f The treaty between Great Britain and Prussia was signed on the 1st January, 1756. See Appendix, No iv. paper 6.

^g He learned this through a Commis at Dresden, who was in his interests, and who communicated to him the despatches of that court to and from Vienna and Petersburg.

CHAP. and Prague; requiring from her Majesty a positive assurance that
 X.
 1757. she would not attack him either during that or the following year.

Receiving no satisfactory answer to this and another similar interrogation, the execution of his purpose was no longer delayed. At the conclusion of a great supper in August, 1756, Frederick took the British resident, Mr. Mitchell, aside, and desired that gentleman to come to him at three o'clock in the morning. At that hour, he led Mr. Mitchell to his camp and said, "a hundred thousand men are now departing they know not whither." It was upon a somewhat similar occasion that Xerxes pathetically observed to his attendant, that out of the vast multitude then in military array before them, not one in the course of a century would be found alive. Had Frederick been inclined to moralize, he might have added infinite strength to the observation of the Persian monarch, by limiting it, in the case of his own army, to the brief space of seven years. Within that period, almost every one of those brave men, then going forth in the buoyancy of hope, in the pride of health and strength, sacrificed their lives, the victims of his ambition.

Saxony, which in the former war had been subjected to the King of Prussia, was now the first scene of his invasion. On the 10th September he took possession of Dresden. The King of Poland^b with the Saxon army had previously withdrawn to the celebrated camp of Pirna. Frederick demanded that this army should quit their position and be immediately dispersed. This demand being refused, the King of Prussia formed a blockade around the Saxon camp, in order to reduce it by famine. The Austrian general, Brown, soon afterwards advanced to relieve the Saxons, and Frederick, never backward in engaging an enemy, gave him battle at Lowositz. The Austrians, although much more numerous than the Prussians, were defeated, and compelled to retire. They subsequently renewed their purpose, and the Saxons, endeavouring to join them, were surprised by the extreme vigilance of Frederick, and obliged to surrender

^b Augustus, Elector of Saxony.

themselves prisoners of war. The King of Prussia now treated Saxony as a conquered province ; he appropriated the revenues of the country, and by a mode of usage practised against slaves or beasts of burden, he compelled the troops to enter into his service, and fight in opposition to their own cause.

CHAP.
X.
1757.

The winter season, which prevented his farther operations in the field, was occupied by Frederick in the most vigorous preparations for the ensuing campaign. Nor was his illustrious adversary less assiduous. Every method of engaging the various powers of Europe to act heartily in her cause was now practised by Maria-Theresa. Europe resounded with the charges of violence and injustice which were urged against the King of Prussia. Process had before been commenced against him in the Emperor's Aulic council, and in the diet of the empire. He had there been condemned for contumacy, and the Fiscal had orders to announce to him that he was put under the ban of the empire, and adjudged fallen from all his dignities and possessions.

Early in the year 1757 the King of Prussia made a proposition to George II. to assemble an army in a convenient position between Wesel and Lippstadt, in order to cover Westphalia, and protect the electorate of Hanover. However desirous the King of England might himself be of adopting this measure, he knew that it would be considered too extensive by his administration. The plan was therefore circumscribed, and an army of observation, consisting only of the Hanoverian and auxiliary troops, was proposed to act defensively on the Wesel. Had Mr. Pitt then possessed sufficient influence with the crown, there is little doubt that he would have resisted even this limited assistance in a continental quarrel. But he judged it vain to oppose measures which he could not prevent¹. Perhaps the admiration which he always had expressed of the King of Prussia, in some degree influenced his conduct, and induced him to acquiesce in,

¹ " Mr. Pitt seems to me to have almost as many enemies to encounter as his Prussian majesty. The late ministry and the Duke's party will, I presume, unite against him and his Tory friends." *Lord Chesterfield to his son, January, 1757.*

CHAP. as it afterwards did so warmly to espouse, the cause of that sove-
 X.
 1757. reign.

On Thursday the 17th February, the very day on which he took his seat in the House of Commons, and attended for the first time since his promotion, Mr. Pitt presented the following message from the King^k.

“ GEORGE R.

“ It is always with reluctance that his Majesty asks any extraordinary supply of his people ; but as the united counsels and formidable preparations of France and her allies threaten, with the most alarming consequences, Europe in general ; and as these most unjust and vindictive designs are particularly and immediately bent against his Majesty’s electoral dominions, and those of his good ally the King of Prussia, his Majesty confides in the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful Commons, that they will cheerfully assist him in forming and maintaining an army of observation for the just and necessary defence and preservation thereof, and to enable his Majesty to fulfil his engagements with the King of Prussia, for the security of the empire against the irruption of foreign armies, and for the support of the common cause.”

Amongst the few observations made by Mr. Pitt in opening this message to the House, the following one, regarding the conduct of Maria-Theresa towards England, was marked by his characteristic strength. “ If it had not been for the blood and treasure of Britain, the Empress-Queen would not have had it in her power to be ungrateful now.”

Lord G. Sackville said, that at this time he saw a prospect of carrying on the war with success, as great part of the money was to be given to the King of Prussia—a better method than that of subsidiary treaties.

^k This occasion of sneering at his inconsistency was not lost by his opponents.

Mr. Fox said, that he should neither provoke nor avoid alterca- CHAP.
tions : it was sufficient for him that his own part had been a *consistent* ^{X.}
one. He had, indeed, been told that the *German* measures of last ^{1757.}
year would be a mill-stone about the neck of the minister :—he hoped
this German measure would be an ornament about the present mi-
nister's neck ! It was in truth the greatest instance of courage and
capacity, and promised stability to Mr. Pitt's administration.

Mr. Pitt replied, that he only rose again to show that he would
keep his temper and his word ; although Mr. Fox's reflections were
but an ugly presage of his kind wishes to the new administration.
For minister—the word never belonged so little to any body as to
himself : he had neither ministerial power nor influence. All he had
done was, having had an opportunity of saying, “ This I will do—
that I will never do.”

The sum of 200,000*l.* was unanimously voted to his Majesty for
the purposes specified in the message.

The Duke of Cumberland was appointed to the command of the
army of observation in Germany. He accepted this difficult employ-
ment with reluctance. He had been unsuccessful against the French
when the situation of affairs was far more promising than at present,
and he was unwilling to act in concert with Mr. Pitt. The favor
with which Mr. Pitt was received at Leicester House was not likely
to recommend him to the Duke, whose dislike to this gentleman was
increased by his own attachment to Mr. Fox. His Royal Highness
was urgent with his Majesty to change his ministers, and, indeed,
almost stipulated for the dismissal of Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple,
before his departure to Germany. His suggestions were by no means
disagreeable to the King. Neither the respect and veneration which
Mr. Pitt thought it his duty to observe to the sovereign¹, nor the

¹ “ No infirmity, occasioned by disease, nor even the solicitation of the sovereign, could prevail on him (Mr. Pitt) to be seated in his presence. When he was not able to stand, he received his commands kneeling upon a stool ; and with this elegant and flattering mark of respect the King expressed himself highly pleased to one of his attendants, after the first audience he ever afforded to the minister, not chosen by himself.” *Seward's Anecdotes.—Lord Chatham.*

CHAP. great talents he had evinced for active business had yet been able to
 X.
 1757. overcome the prejudices of his master. Lord Temple was infinitely
 more disagreeable to his Majesty than Mr. Pitt. However open and
 however pleasing to the world in general, the manners of this noble-
 man were too familiar to please at St. James's. In addition to this,
 Lord Temple had used expressions, during the consideration of Ad-
 miral Byng's sentence, which were extremely offensive to the King.
 But although most desirous of removing Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt,
 his Majesty was aware of the difficulties which would arise from their
 dismissal. The previous events of his reign had shewn upon how few
 of his servants he could rely, when their own interests and their poli-
 tical connections were opposed to their loyalty.

The Duke of Newcastle, although not actually in office, still pos-
 sessed immense influence in both Houses of Parliament. The weak-
 ness and irresolution of his character were well known, but his eager-
 ness for power was equally notorious. He appeared therefore to his
 Majesty the most proper person to treat with respecting a change in
 the administration, and the Earl of Waldegrave was accordingly di-
 rected to confer with him on the subject. Lord Waldegrave, also, by
 his Majesty's command, had frequent consultations with the Duke of
 Cumberland and Mr. Fox. The Duke of Newcastle's conduct was
 now marked by even more than his usual vacillation. He entered
 into arrangements on one day, from which he departed on the next.
 Eager to come into office, yet fearful of consequences, and jealous of
 all whose abilities pointed them out as fit persons for employment, it
 was found impossible to rely upon him firmly in any arrangement
 that was proposed. Several weeks passed in this vain system of con-
 sultations. Before any regular scheme of administration was adopted,
 Lord Temple was dismissed from the Admiralty, and Lord Winchelsea
 appointed in his stead. Some days afterwards Mr. Pitt, by his Ma-
 April 5. jesty's command, resigned the seals of Secretary of State, and Mr.
 Legge those of the Exchequer.

The place which Mr. Pitt now occupied in the affections of the
 public was in one respect more extraordinary and more honorable

than that which he subsequently acquired by all the glories of the war. Few opportunities had yet been offered him of proving his abilities as a minister. Attracted only by the ardour of his eloquence, the integrity of his character, and the supposed purity of his intentions, the nation, with one voice, hailed him as the only man who could save his country. No conqueror upon his return from the field of victory was ever crowned with more enthusiastic applause than was Mr. Pitt upon his dismissal from power. CHAP.
X.
1757.

As it was judged unconstitutional to address the throne upon the recent changes in the administration, another method was adopted of conveying to his Majesty the sentiments of the people. Addresses of thanks, expressed in the warmest language, and the freedom of the principal corporations throughout the kingdom, contained in boxes of high value and curious workmanship, were therefore presented to Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Legge.

In the meantime the Duke of Cumberland departed for the Continent, whilst anarchy prevailed in the cabinet. Applications were next ineffectually made from the crown to secure the services of Lord Egmont, Lord Halifax, Charles Townshend, Lord Duplin, and Sir T. Robinson, but these persons severally declined undertaking the responsible situation of minister of state. Another negotiation was consequently opened with the Duke of Newcastle. It is humiliating to reflect upon the influence which that nobleman is said to have still possessed. "At the period of detected misgovernment with regard to his country, of ingratitude and disobedience to his master, of caprice, duplicity, and irresolution towards all factions; when under prosecution by Parliament and frowned on by his Sovereign, at this instant were the hopes, the vows of all men, addressed to him! The outcast of the ministry, the scorn of the court, the jest of the people, was the arbiter of Britain: her King, her patriots, her factions, waited to see into what scale he would fling his influence^m."

On the 19th April the enquiry into the loss of Minorca com-

^m Lord Orford's Memoires, vol. ii. p. 204. But this description is somewhat exaggerated by the dislike of the writer to the Duke of Newcastle.

CHAP. menced in the House of Commons. The greatest number of papers
 X.
 1757. ever produced upon one subject were now laid before the members,
 and referred to a committee of the whole House. The proceedings of
 the committee were not marked by much judgment or vigour. After
 sitting many weeks they passed several resolutions which ill agreed
 with the evidence upon which they were alleged to be founded. It
 was expected that the result of the enquiry would be decisive as to a
 new administration. But no such consequence followed. As the
 conduct of no ministers and of no individual were denounced by the
 resolutions of the committee, none were proscribed as unworthy of
 power ; but as approbation was equally withheld from all, none impli-
 cated in these resolutions could thence advance a claim to be em-
 ployed in future.

To what a fearful and disgraceful condition was the country
 now reduced ! Precipitated as we had been into a war without any
 adequate provision, we had now to prosecute that war without an ad-
 ministration. I know not whether the situation of the King indi-
 vidually, or of the nation collectively, was then most deeply to be
 deplored. Upon the earnest recommendation of Lord Chesterfield,
 an administration founded upon the union of the Duke of Newcastle,
 Mr. Pitt, and the friends of Leicester House, was next proposed and
 submitted to his Majesty. But when the King found that all his
 favorite points were to be abandoned ; that Lord Winchelsea was to
 be displaced, and the Admiralty to undergo a total change ; that
 Mr. Fox was not to be paymaster ; and that Lord Temple was to
 have a cabinet councillor's employment, he at once rejected the pro-
 posals. Again the Duke of Newcastle was applied to and again he
 disappointed and deceived his master. It was now that the virtue
 and the loyalty of Lord Waldegrave proved him to be, even to a
 mighty monarch, a friend in need. Although unused and averse to
 official employment, he consented, at this arduous crisis, to become
 first Commissioner of the Treasury. Mr. Fox was to be Chancellor
 of the Exchequer, and the Earl of Egremont Secretary of State.
 Upon the first meeting of this designated administration, at which

they were joined by the president of the council, and the first Lord of the Admiralty, it was soon found how incompetent they were to the task which they had undertaken. The sanguine temper of Lord Granville, indeed, induced him to assure them of success; and the courage and integrity of Lord Winchelsea kept him firm to his post; but the good sense of Lord Waldegrave, and the shrewdness of Mr. Fox, easily taught them the real weakness of their condition. After a second and third meeting of the same persons, his Majesty was compelled to resort to other measures.

CHAP.
X.
1757.

On the 11th June, Lord Chief Justice Mansfield was summoned to attend at Kensington, in order, as it was stated, to deliver back the Exchequer seals which had been in his possession from the time of Mr. Legge's resignation. The King conversed, for a considerable time, in the most confidential manner with his Lordship, and finally empowered him fully to negotiate with Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle. It was some time before the demands of all parties could be satisfactorily adjusted. The negotiation between Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle, which was commenced by Lord Mansfield, was concluded by Lord Hardwicke, and a ministry at length satisfactorily arranged.

The following appointments were thus announced in the London Gazette.

Kensington, June 29.—The King was pleased to re-deliver the Seals to the Right Hon. William Pitt, Esq. one of the Secretaries of State.

Whitehall, July 2.—The King has been pleased to appoint the Duke of Newcastle, Henry Billson Legge, and Robert Nugent, Esqrs. Lord Viscount Duncannon, and James Grenville Esq. Commissioners for executing the Office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Exchequer.

————— to appoint the Right Hon. H. B. Legge, Esq. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

————— to appoint Lord Anson, Edward Boscawen, and Temple West, Esqrs. Dr. George Hay, Thomas Orby Hunter, Gilbert Elliott, and John Forbes, Esqrs. to be Commissioners of the Admiralty.

CHAP. ————— to appoint Earl Gower Master of the Horse, in the
 X. room of the Duke of Dorset.
 1757.

Whitehall, July 5.—The King has been pleased to appoint the Duke of Dorset Constable of Dover Castle, and Warden of the Cinque Ports, during his life.

————— to appoint the Right Hon. Henry Fox, Esq. Paymaster of all the Land Forces.

The custody of the Privy Seal was given to Lord Temple.

At Mr. Pitt's desire, Mr. Pratt, then a favorite pleader at the bar of the House of Commons, was made Attorney-general in the room of Sir Robert Henley, who was appointed Lord Keeper, with a pension, and a profitable reversion for his son. Mr. Potter became one of the Vice Treasurers of Ireland, in the room of the Earl of Cholmondeley, to whom was assigned a very considerable pension on the Irish establishment.

Thus, after an interval of more than eleven weeks, the three great parties, into which the state was divided, were brought to act together for the welfare of their country.

Mr. Pitt's administration is, properly speaking, to be dated from this period. During the short time in which he was before Secretary of State, his influence in the Cabinet was so inconsiderable, that the measures which originated with him were not supported with the full strength of the government, and consequently had not a fair chance of succeeding. The estimation in which he was held by the nation, not the favor of the sovereign, now placed him in that pre-eminent station, which Lord Carteret formerly occupied under more hostile auspices with a less happy exercise of power.

The above coalition of parties, although displeasing to the Townshends, and to some others of narrow and exclusive sentiments, gave general satisfaction to the nation. Men of sense considered it the best, because it was the most healing measure. They saw that it was little less than impossible for any one party to support the weight of public business by its own individual strength. The most sanguine expectations of the country were, on this occasion, surpassed. Unlike

many anterior and subsequent coalitions, the present was productive of the happiest consequences. It tied up the hands of opposition, and gave scope to the mighty genius of Mr. Pitt. CHAP.
X.
1757.

Lord Waldegrave, (from whose account I have principally derived my statements,) was present at Kensington when the new ministry appeared before his Majesty, and narrowly watched the countenance and demeanour of those before him. He says: "The behaviour of Mr. Pitt and his party was decent and sensible: they had neither the insolence of men who had gained a victory, nor were they awkward and disconcerted, like those who come to a place where they know they are not welcome.

"But as to the Duke of Newcastle and his friends, the resigners, there was a mixture of fear and of shame in their countenances: they were real objects of compassion".

When Lord Anson was proposed for the Admiralty by the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Pitt declared that his Lordship should not possess the correspondence. The Duke replied, that this would be an alteration in the usual business of the board, which could not be settled without the consent of his Majesty. In consequence of this, Mr. Pitt had an audience of the King, who then consented that the correspondence with the naval officers, which is usually vested in the Board of Admiralty should be given to Mr. Pitt, and that the Board should only sign the despatches without being privy to their contents°. It was at this audience that the following remarkable sentences, (repeated by Lord Nugent, many years afterwards in the House of Commons,) were uttered by his Majesty and his minister. Mr. Pitt—"Sire,

° Lord Waldegrave's Memoires, page 138.

° The usual practice is for the Secretary of State to send all the orders respecting the navy, which have been agreed to in the Cabinet, to the Admiralty, the Secretary of which Board writes those orders again, in the form of instructions from the Admiralty to the Commanding Officer for whom they are designed. These instructions must be signed by three of the Board. During Mr. Pitt's administration, he wrote the instructions himself, and sent them to their Lordships to be signed; always ordering his Secretary to put a sheet of white paper over the writing. Thus they were kept in perfect ignorance of what they signed.—*Anecdotes of the Life of Lord Chatham, by Almon*.—I believe Almon received this information from Lord Temple.

CHAP. give me your confidence, and I will deserve it." The King—"De-
X.
1757. serve my confidence, and you shall have it." Lord Nugent added,
that Mr. Pitt, at length, won so upon the King, that he was able to
turn his very partialities in favor of Germany to the benefit of his
country.

CHAPTER XI.

1757.

Operations of the army of observation—The Duke of Cumberland is defeated at Hastenbeck—His Royal Highness adopts an injudicious line of retreat—Disastrous state of public affairs—The energy and application of the Secretary of State—Projects a descent upon the coast of France—An expedition is prepared—Military force employed—Character of the officers—Naval force—Operations of the fleet—Failure and return of the expedition—Hawke and Boscawen despatched to intercept the French squadron returning from Louisburg—Convention of Closter-seven—The Duke of Cumberland arrives at Kensington—Manly conduct of Mr. Pitt—Wonderful exertions of the King of Prussia—Victory of Rosbach—Bold system of operations recommended by Mr. Pitt—Parliament meets—King's Speech—Celebrated Speech of Mr. Pitt—Astonishing success of the King of Prussia.

THE Duke of Cumberland, upon his arrival in Germany, found himself placed in a very difficult and perplexing situation. Early in the spring, the French had assembled two considerable armies on the Rhine. The Duke of Cumberland was opposed to the one under Marshal d'Etrées, and was not only inferior to the enemy in number, but at the head of a body of Germans, less under his own command than that of the Hanoverian ministers. His Royal Highness, however, displayed considerable abilities in obstructing, as much as possible, the progress of D'Etrées. But the superior numbers of the enemy soon compelled the Hanoverian army to give way, and to allow the French to cross the Weser without opposition. Germany now presented a most gloomy prospect both to Hanover and to England. The King of Prussia, who on the 6th of May had been victorious at Prague, was, on the 18th of June, completely defeated

CHAP.
XI.
1757.

CHAP. at Kolin by the Austrian General Daun. The Duke of Cumberland
 XI. had continued to retire before d'Etrées, but conceiving that Hastenbeck
 1757. afforded a position admirably suited to the purpose, determined to make a stand in that place. On the 26th of July he was attacked by the French troops who possessed themselves of a very important battery in the centre of his army. The admirable conduct of the hereditary Prince of Brunswick soon retrieved this disaster, and a charge made by the Hanoverian Colonel Breitenbach produced such an impression upon the enemy, that D'Etrées, conceiving the battle lost, had ordered a retreat. This was opposed by the Duke of Orleans, and, soon afterwards, the French army learned, with astonishment, that the Duke of Cumberland himself was in full retreat towards Hamelen. It is difficult to say, what induced his Royal Highness, whose courage was undoubted, to abandon a field where victory seemed to await him. He had evinced great discernment in the early part of the battle, his judgment then appears to have become confused, and induced him not only to retire, but to adopt the worst line of retreat which he could possibly have taken. Supposing that the superiority of the enemy had rendered a retreat unavoidable, he should, instead of falling back to Hamelen and the Lower Weser, and thence proceeding to Stade, have retreated behind the Seine, and thence successively to Wolfenbüttele, Halberstadt, and Magdebourg, under the cannon of which last place he might have waited in an entrenched camp, till he could effect a junction with the Prussians. Such was the disastrous state of affairs in Germany, when Mr. Pitt was again appointed Secretary of State. Our only ally had sustained a most signal defeat by the Austrians. The Hanoverian army after the loss of a battle was pursued by the French to Stade, and information was every day expected in England, that they had been compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

The prospect in America^a, was not more inviting. Mr. Pitt's great plans with regard to that country, had either been neglected, or

^a See letters of Governor Dinwiddie and of Governor Fitch to Lord Holderness and Mr. Pitt in Appendix, No. xi.

rendered abortive by the miserable manner in which it was attempted to carry them into effect.

CHAP.
XI.
1757.

Lord Loudoun had been compelled to abandon his expedition against Louisburg; and Holburne, one of the severest condemners of Byng, with a fleet of seventeen ships, had declined engaging the French admiral, whose force amounted to nineteen. Whilst such were our reverses abroad, the internal condition of England was by no means prosperous. The distress of the people, arising from the scarcity of corn, had not yet been removed. Disorders, occasioned by the Militia Bill, were general throughout the country, and the knowledge that Mr. Pitt was one great promoter of the measure was not calculated to give popularity to his administration. But the mind of Mr. Pitt was well formed to meet the difficulties of his situation. From his youth he had been no stranger to severe application. He did not resemble those, who accept employment allured by the power or emoluments which attend it, but he accepted it, as a sacred trust which he was determined most rigidly to discharge. He was accordingly unwearied in his application to business^b. The parade of levees he abjured. The distribution of places and pensions he resigned to his colleagues in office. His capacious mind was entirely occupied in plans for the benefit of his country.

It required, indeed, some time before the great qualities of Mr. Pitt, as a practical man of business, were understood by his colleagues, and before he could infuse a portion of his own vigour into the different departments of government; but it is most curious and interesting to trace the effects which these produced when developed in the subsequent course of his administration.

From the time Mr. Pitt undertook a principal share in the administration, he was continually reflecting upon those measures which might most effectually revive the drooping spirits of the nation, and cripple the hostile exertions of France. Under this idea, he conceived

^b See extracts from Mr. Pitt's despatches in the Appendix, No. I. These shew how promptly his measures were taken upon his reappointment to the ministry.

CHAP. that a descent upon the French coasts, in order to surprise one of
 XI.
 1757. their important maritime towns, might be eminently useful. Should
 such an expedition be fortunately conducted, we might hope to inflict
 a lasting injury upon the French navy by destroying numbers of their
 ships ; and, even should we be disappointed in the full accomplishment
 of our purpose, we must excite such an alarm throughout France as
 would prevent Louis XV. from reinforcing his armies in Germany and
 America, and, perhaps, compel him to recall a large portion of his
 troops for the defence of his own dominions.

Mr. Pitt reasoned with great probability, that the French, having
 seen the imbecility of our late administration, would not be under
 the smallest apprehension of an invasion on the part of England.
 From this cause, their vigilance would be relaxed. He moreover
 concluded, that, as the French had made such great exertions, and
 sent forth such large bodies of men in prosecution of the war in Ger-
 many and America, their resources must be impaired, and their own
 coasts left without an adequate defence. Whilst intently occupied in
 such considerations Mr. Pitt was informed, by the Commander-in-
 Chief of the Army^c, that he had received a letter from Captain Clark^d,
 an enterprising and scientific officer of engineers, stating that the im-
 portant town of Rochfort, (whose harbour always contained a number
 of most valuable ships,) might, at this time, be attacked with the
 happiest prospect of success. Captain Clark alleged that his opinion
 was founded upon the following facts. In the year 1754 he had, by
 the politeness of the governor, an opportunity of taking a deliberate
 survey of Rochfort. He then saw several ships upon the stocks, and
 a considerable quantity of naval stores. He observed that the fortifi-
 cations of the town were so weak, and, in some places, so unfinished,
 that it might easily be taken by assault, and the stores and shipping
 as easily destroyed.

So daring an enterprise was well adapted to the ardent spirit of

^c Sir John Ligonier, soon afterwards created an Irish Viscount and a Field Marshal.

^d Soon afterwards promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

Mr. Pitt. There were, however, several important questions to be considered before any resolution could be adopted upon the subject. It was necessary, in the first place, to be assured of the correctness of the information. What was the character of Captain Clark as an engineer, and a man of veracity? In the second place, allowing the state of Rochfort, in the year 1754, to be as described by Captain Clark, had no subsequent alterations taken place, and was not the town, at the present time, in a complete posture of defence? In the third place, was the landing of a body of English troops, sufficient to assault Rochfort, practicable, and, if practicable, was not the number of French troops, which could be drawn together to resist them, sufficient to overwhelm the invaders?

It appears that all these questions were carefully examined by Sir John Ligonier, Sir John Mordaunt, General Conway, Lieutenant Colonel Wolfe, and other members of a council assembled for the purpose. The depositions of Thierry, a pilot by profession, and who had been twenty years in the French service, were taken, and nothing transpired to shew that an attempt might not be made upon Rochfort, and attended with the most complete success^e. An expedition was accordingly resolved on, and the most active preparations made to provide every thing necessary for its equipment. The despatch with which these arrangements were carried into effect, was only equalled by the profound secrecy observed as to the destination of the armament.

^e According to intelligence received by the Administration, the amount and disposition of the French Army were as follows :

In Germany.....	119,000
In America and their Islands	25,000
In the East Indies	4,000
On the sea coast of France, from St. Valery to Bayonne, an extent of 400 miles	10,000
In Garrisons and interior parts of France next the Empire, and from Calais down to Provence.....	29,000
	<hr/>
	Total 187,000

CHAP. The following is a list of the general and staff officers, with the
 XI. military force employed upon this occasion.
 1757.

Commander-in-Chief, Lieutenant General Sir John Mordaunt, K.B.
 Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, } Major Generals.
 Hon. Edward Cornwallis, }
 Quarter-master General, Colonel James Wolfe.

First Brigade.	Commanding Officers of Regiments.	Second Brigade.	Commanding Officers of Regiments.
3d Regt. of Foot,	Col G. Howard.	5th Regt.	Col. Lord G. Bentinck.
8th —————	Lt. Col. Lafausille.	15th ———	Lt. Col. Hon. James Murray.
20th —————	Col. W. Kingsby.	24th ———	Lt. Col. William Rufane.
25th —————	Lt. Col. Scott.	30th ———	Lt. Col. Sir William Boothby.
50th —————	Col. S. Hodgson.	51st ———	Colonel Thomas Brudenell.
Each Regiment was completed to 700 men		- - - -	7,000
Light Horse - - - - -		- - - -	100
Artillery - - - - -		- - - -	200
			<hr/> Total 7,300 <hr/>

The military command of this formidable expedition was, in the first instance, offered to Lord George Sackville, who having declined it, Major General Conway was recommended to the appointment, but the King, thinking the service required an officer of greater experience, thought proper to entrust it to Sir J. Mordaunt.

This gentleman had formerly given proofs of courage and capacity, but his health had latterly become impaired, and a nervous disorder, under which he laboured, in a great measure disqualified him from exerting that alacrity of spirit so necessary to the success of every hazardous undertaking. General Conway was next in command. But although this officer was universally esteemed and respected, and possessed undoubted courage, his warmest friend^f allows that he was deficient in decision, and in quickness of determination.

The most enterprising military officer on this expedition, and, in every respect, most calculated to ensure its success, was the Quarter Master General. But his youth and inferior rank in the service would have rendered his appointment to the chief command, at that time, an

^f Horace, Earl of Orford.

invidious measure. Colonel Wolfe was then only thirty-one years of age; but he had already given signal proofs of that extraordinary ardour in the pursuit of his profession which has immortalized his name. The exact state of discipline to which he had brought his regiment, and the spirit with which he performed every military duty, were subjects of admiration to the whole army.

Captain Clark, who furnished the information which I have mentioned, was appointed to act as chief engineer upon the expedition.

The Naval Force was as follows :

Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.
Ramillies	90	815	{ Sir Edward Hawke, K. B. Admiral of the Blue, Commander in Chief. Capt. James Hobbs.
Neptune	90	805	{ Ch. Knowles, Vice Admiral of the Red. Capt. J. Galbraith.
Princess Amelia	80	681	{ Tho. Broderick, Rear Admiral of the White. Capt. Stephen Colby.
Royal George	100	870	Matthew Buckle.
Namur	90	780	Peter Denis.
Barfleur	90	780	Samuel Graves.
Royal William	84	770	Whittwrong Taylor.
Magnanime	74	700	Hon. Rich. Howe.
Torbay	74	700	Hon. Aug. Keppel.
Dublin	74	600	Geo. Bridges Rodney.
Burford	70	520	J. Young.
Alcide	64	500	J. Douglas.
America	60	420	Hon. John Byron.
Achilles	60	420	Hon. Sam. Barrington.
Medway	60	420	Charles Proby.
Dunkirk	60	420	Robert Digby.
Frigates.			
Jason	50	250	William Paston.
Southampton	32	220	J. Gilchrist.
Coventry	28	200	Carr, Scroope.
Sloops.			
Cormorant	18	120	Ben. Clive.
Postillion	18	120	W. Cooper.
Beaver	16	150	E. Gascoigne.

CHAP.	Sloops.	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.
XI.	Pelican	14	80	Capt. J. O'Hara
1757.	Escort	14	80	Cha. Inglis.
<hr/>				
	Bomb-Ketches.			
	Firedrake	8	60	Owen Edwards.
	Infernal	8	68	J. Mackenzie.
	Fire Ships.			
	Pluto	8	45	John Lindsay.
	Proserpine	8	45	Francis Banks.
	Busses.			
	Canterbury	6	40	Thomas Lempriere
	Medway	6	40	Cha. Lucas.
	Hospital Ship.			
	Thetis	18	100	John Moutray.
	Total,	<hr/> 1476 <hr/>	<hr/> 11779 <hr/>	

From the above list it will be seen, that the naval command of this mighty armament was entrusted to Sir Edward Hawke, one of the most distinguished admirals in the British navy ; and that the officers under him were all men of established character. Amongst them we find the illustrious names of Howe, Keppel, Rodney, and Byron.

It is worthy of observation, that, when Mr. Pitt ordered this fleet to be equipped, and appointed the time and place of its meeting, Lord Anson declared that it was impossible to comply with his orders : the ships, he said, could not be prepared within the time specified ; he, moreover, desired to know their destination, that they might be victualled accordingly. Mr. Pitt replied, that if the ships were not ready at the time required, he should lay the matter before the King and impeach his Lordship in the House of Commons. This spirited menace produced its effect, and the men of war were all equipped and prepared according to the time and manner appointed. All Europe beheld these mighty preparations with astonishment, and France with the greatest alarm. She saw the black clouds gather, but she knew not where the thunder was to fall. The embarkation of the troops

was obstructed for some time by the mismanagement of those who had contracted to furnish several transports for the service. Mr. Pitt expressed the greatest uneasiness at this delay, and repeatedly urged the commanders to expedite their operations. At length the expected transports arrived; the wind, which had blown adversely from the westward, changed; the troops were embarked, and the expedition sailed from Spithead on the 8th September. It was not known until the 14th September, even to those on board the fleet⁵, that a descent was intended upon the coast of France, near Rochfort or Rochelle. His Majesty's instructions to the commander-in-chief were: "To attempt, as far as should be found practicable, a descent on the coast of France, at or near Rochfort, in order to attack, and, by vigorous impression, force that place; and to burn and destroy to the utmost of his power, all such docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping, as shall be found there."

CHAP.
XI.
1757.

On the 15th September directions were issued by Sir J. Mor-daunt to the troops relative to their landing, and to the subsequent conduct to be observed by them on shore. These were extremely to the purpose, and were highly satisfactory to the troops. They were, however, unnecessary, at the time, for no landing was as yet intended. On the 20th the fleet made the isle of Oleron, and now it was that time, so valuable upon these occasions, was first unprofitably consumed. It was not till after much deliberation that any plan of executing the object of the enterprise was undertaken. At length it was determined to attack the small island of Aix which lies in the mouth of the river Charente, and Sir E. Hawke gave directions for the purpose. But this enterprize was delayed by a singular occurrence. Admiral Knowles, when about to obey the orders of his superior, was informed that a French ship of war, whether by accident or design, was standing in to the very middle of our fleet. Perplexed by so unexpected

⁵ Lord Chesterfield, writing to his son from the neighbourhood of London, says, "We think and talk of nothing here but Brest, which is universally supposed to be the object of our great expedition. A great and important object it is. I suppose the affair must be *brus-qué*, or it will not do. If we succeed, it will make France put some water to its wine."

CHAP. an event, it was some time before Admiral Knowles gave the neces-
 XI. sary orders to chase the intruder. Even then he committed an error.
 1757. For in company with the Torbay, he despatched, upon this service, the
 Magnanime, the ship which contained Thierry, the only pilot in the
 fleet who was acquainted with the coast of France. The enemy's ship
 escaped her pursuers, and reached the Garonne in safety. The French
 had now had three days' notice of the approach of our armament, and
 of course were not idle in collecting a force to resist us. Sir E. Hawke
 determined to lose not another moment in attacking Aix. That
 island is about five miles in circumference. Its fortifications, then in-
 complete, were mounted with thirty cannon and mortars, and garri-
 soned by about 600 men. Early in the morning of the 23d, the Vice-
 Admiral and his division, attended by two bomb-ketches moved on
 towards the island. They proceeded in the following order: the
 Magnanime, Barfleur, Neptune, Torbay, and Royal William. As the
 Magnanime approached, the enemy fired briskly upon her; but Cap-
 tain Howe, with that stern courage peculiar to his race, pursued his
 course unmoved, dropped his anchors close to the walls, and poured
 in a fire so hot and so incessant that the fort, within two hours, was
 compelled to surrender. This success, however inconsiderable, in-
 spired the troops with great animation, and was hailed by them as a
 prelude to greater achievements. It is most extraordinary that the
 commanders neglected to avail themselves of this spirit, and did not
 immediately attempt to execute the main object of the enterprise^b.

^b In giving his opinion as to this neglect, in a letter to his son, dated October 26, 1757, Lord Chesterfield says, "I have seen an officer who was there, a very sensible and observing man; who told me that had we attempted Rochfort, the day after we took the island of Aix, our success had been infallible; but that after we had sauntered, (God knows why,) eight or ten days in the island, he thinks the attempt would have been impracticable; because the French had in that time got together all the troops in that neighbourhood to a very considerable number. In short, there must have been some secret in that whole affair which has not yet transpired; and I cannot help thinking that it came from Stade. We had not been successful there; perhaps *we* were not desirous that an expedition, in which *we* had neither been concerned nor consulted, should prove so. M——t was *our* creature; and a word to the wise will sometimes go a great way." The allusion to the Duke of Cumberland in this note is, I think, utterly without foundation. The other statements of Lord Chesterfield I believe to be facts.

General Conway urged the necessity of doing so, but Admiral Knowles was, at that time, too much fatigued to proceed on a farther attempt, and the next day Sir J. Mordaunt appeared incapable of giving or forming an opinion on the subject. Some difficulties of course presented themselves. But these would necessarily arise in the execution of a project of this bold description. The only question to be asked was, if these difficulties were not to be overcome? In considering them, a despondency prevailed which was fatal to the enterprise.

CHAP.
XI.
1757.

Early in the morning of the 25th, a council of war, consisting of the four senior officers of each service, was held on board the Neptune. Their resolutions were influenced by too much diffidence in our own strength, and by a magnified idea of the force collected to oppose our landing. It was the first expedition, which, almost for centuries, had been attempted on the coasts of France; we had been too much accustomed to dread invasion ourselves; and we were awed by the boasted character and courage of the enemy. The council decided that it was neither advisable nor practicable to proceed against Rochfort. This decision appeared to be final. Will it be believed, that after the lapse of three days, the greater part of which was idly consumedⁱ, and in which the French had time to recover their courage and collect their forces, an opposite opinion prevailed? So, however, it was. Another council of war was held on the 28th September. The question being then put, whether it was advisable to land the troops, and attack the forts leading to, and upon the mouth of the river Charente, it was resolved, with the single dissent of the Hon. General Cornwallis, that a descent ought to be made at Chatellailon, with all possible despatch. Thus what was deemed unadvisable and impracticable whilst the enemy was unprepared, was pronounced expedient after the alarm of invasion had, during several days, been sounded through France! Although the difficulties which attended the attempt to land on the night of the 28th were considerable, they

ⁱ Lord Orford says, "time was lost even in dining."

CHAP. arose from temporary causes, which might not previously have ex-
XI. isted, and which might not again occur. A strong gale of wind blew
1757. from the shore and impeded the progress of the boats. It was then
found that although one body of troops might be landed, five or six
hours must elapse before the debarkation of a second could be ef-
fected. Under these circumstances the general officers were induced
to relinquish the attempt for that night, and to order the return of the
troops to their ships. On the 29th many of the difficulties, which
before were either magnified or ideal, actually existed. The French
coast was alarmed, and lined with troops to oppose our landing. The
hopes of the most sanguine person in the fleet were by this time at
an end. Even Wolfe and Howe, who had borne with indignation the
previous indecision of their commanders, objected not now to the return
of the expedition. The whole fleet accordingly sailed, and reached
Spithead on the 6th October.

It may easily be imagined that the disappointment of the nation, upon the inglorious return of the expedition, was fully proportioned to the previous ardour of its hopes. This was a critical period for the reputation of Mr. Pitt! Popular applause is extremely fleeting, and many idols of the people, after the occurrence of events less mortifying than the failure of the Rochfort expedition, have subsequently become the objects of scorn or hatred. It is gratifying to record that, in the present instance, the esteem of Englishmen was more deeply rooted. In Mr. Pitt they saw an actual verification of that which the word *minister* originally imported. In him they saw a most zealous *servant* of the state, as honest as he was intelligent, and they would not impute to his obstinacy or ignorance any failure which might have arisen from the mismanagement of others. The general sense of the country was strongly evinced in favor of Mr. Pitt. He, of course, participated most largely in the public disappointment: but his conduct was dignified and manly. "He pressed no violent resolutions against the officers; he prevented the city from addressing against them; and only took the more sensible, though not less severe style of punishing the miscarriage, by raising Wolfe at

once over the heads of a great number of officers¹." The military commander of the expedition was so loudly censured by the public, that he himself was desirous that a regular enquiry into his conduct should take place. A board of general officers, consisting of the Duke of Marlborough, Lord George Sackville, and General Waldegrave, was accordingly appointed, to enquire why the forces had returned without executing his Majesty's orders. This board bore the same relation to a court martial, that, by the laws of England, a grand jury bears to a petty jury. In consequence of the report of these general officers, a court martial upon General Mordaunt was appointed. The charge brought against him was that of disobedience, in not executing the orders and instructions of his Majesty. Of this charge Sir J. Mordaunt was unanimously found not guilty, and was therefore acquitted. The decision of a court martial is of too lofty a character to be affected by the opinion of an individual. I must however observe, that, although the general was acquitted of disobedience, there were other charges against him of an indefinite, and perhaps an indefinable character, which have never been removed. Lord Chesterfield asserts that Sir J. Mordaunt was a creature of the Duke of Cumberland's, and received intimations that the failure of the expedition would be agreeable to his Royal Highness. Whilst I reject as utterly incredible insinuations so injurious to the character of a British Prince, and to that of a British officer, I must still think that the miscarriage of the enterprise was principally occasioned by the want of energy and ability which appeared in the general. Had Wolfe been entrusted with the command, I believe the state of Rochfort at this day would have borne testimony to his visitation.

One of the strongest features of Mr. Pitt's character, was the energy which accompanied his measures. Owing to the irresolution of the military commander, the late expedition had failed; but not a moment was lost by Mr. Pitt in again employing the ships upon their return from Rochfort. On the 6th of October they returned to

¹ Lord Orford's Memoires.

CHAP. Spithead ; on the 22nd of that very month almost all those ships, with
 XI.
 1757. several others, had sailed upon another most important commission.

Fifteen sail of the line with several frigates, under the Admirals Hawke and Boscawen were the fleet now despatched to intercept the French squadron on its return from Louisburg. Soon after its arrival at the station, the English fleet was dispersed by a violent gale of wind, and before they could reunite, the French squadron was enabled to reach Brest in safety. He is the truly great minister, who leaves as little as possible to chance, who does all that human prudence and energy can accomplish. If he then fails, it is because a power superior to man is pleased to interpose. Under such circumstances to blame the failure is to arraign Providence.

I have said, that the Duke of Cumberland after his defeat at Hastenbeck had retreated to Stade. He there found himself surrounded on all sides by the French. Unable to continue his retreat, and too weak to offer resistance, he was now entirely at the mercy of the enemy, and was compelled to sign the convention of Closter-seven. Much as the Duke of Cumberland was stigmatized for adopting that measure, the terms of the convention appear less rigid than one would suppose the French General would have exacted. The Duke de Richelieu had come, after the battle of Hastenbeck, to wear the laurels which d'Etrées had won. The superiority of his army enabled him to drive the Hanoverian army to Stade, and it is singular that he then should have consented to any thing less than their surrendering themselves prisoners of war. Richelieu was ignorant whether the convention would be approved of by his own court, or acknowledged as binding by that of Great Britain. The measure, in fact, proved odious to all parties, and excited the most vehement indignation in England. George II. was deeply incensed against his son, who was accused of having acted without authority. This the Hanoverian minister, Munchausen, attempted to prove by producing copies of his own letters to the Duke. Mr. Pitt now evinced that noble candour and manly spirit which ever marked his conduct towards friend or foe. Although it was in a great measure owing to the enmity of the Duke

that he had been dispossessed of the seals of state, he would not suffer his Royal Highness to be the victim of an unjust aspersion. He contradicted Munchausen, and observed that his letters were directly at variance with his assertions. When the King told him that he had given his son no *orders* for the treaty, Mr. Pitt replied with firmness, "But full *powers*, Sir, very full *powers*."

CHAP.
XI.
1757.

The Duke of Cumberland arrived at Kensington on the 12th October. Having experienced the most galling reception from his father, who disowned the convention, he at once determined to resign his military appointments. The King was not prepared for this, and, wishing to soften the resolution of his son, desired the Cabinet Council to wait on his Royal Highness. Lord Holderness first had audience, but was not spoken to by the Duke. Mr. Pitt followed, and was most kindly received by his Royal Highness, who wished to evince his satisfaction at the late manly behaviour of the Secretary.

On the 15th October the Duke resigned every employment which he held in the army, and a few days afterwards Sir J. Ligonier succeeded him in the highest military command.

The situation of the King of Prussia had now become so desperate, that his ruin was regarded as certain. As scarcely any other man would originally have encountered the dangers which threatened him, so, perhaps, no other man could have extricated himself from those calamities in which he was actually involved. The Russian army under Apraxin had entered Ducal Prussia. One large body of Austrians had penetrated into Silesia as far as Breslau. Another body in Lusatia had made themselves masters of Zittau. Twenty-two thousand Swedes had overrun Prussian Pomerania, taken the towns of Anclam and Demmein, and laid the whole country under contribution. On the side of Hanover there was now nothing to oppose the progress of Richelieu. The army of the Empire, reinforced by that under Soubise, was in full march to Saxony. The very capital of Prussia was under contribution: for the Austrian General Haddick had penetrated through Lusatia, passed the Prussian armies, and suddenly presented himself before the gates of Berlin. To all

CHAP. human appearance the fate of Frederick was inevitable ; but he was
 XI.
 1757. not of a disposition to despair. With an army not amounting to
 25,000 men he attacked, at Rosbach, the united forces of the Prince
 of Saxe Hilburghausen and the Prince of Soubise, consisting of
 50,000 men. By one of the most brilliant manœuvres recorded
 in history, he rendered the superiority of the enemy's numbers com-
 pletely ineffectual, and drove them from the field. His own loss did
 not exceed 300 men ; whilst on the side of the allies, 4,000 were
 killed and wounded, 7,000, with eleven Generals taken prisoners, and
 63 cannon and 22 standards seized by the victorious Frederick.

No event during the war was attended with such important con-
 sequences as the battle of Rosbach. It changed at once the scene
 and the principle of the war. Besides the emancipation which it
 immediately gave to the King of Prussia, its effects on the councils of
 Great Britain were no less instant and powerful. Mr. Pitt saw that
 so great an opportunity was immediately to be improved. Intelli-
 gence of the victory arrived at St. James's on the morning of the
 9th of November. As soon as Mr. Pitt had read the despatches he
 determined to advise his Majesty to postpone the meeting of Parlia-
 ment for another fortnight, although every arrangement had been
 made for opening the session on the 15th of November. His motive
 for this sudden prorogation was to allow time for concerting a new
 plan of operations, and for preparing another speech for the King,
 adapted to this unexpected change in the posture of public affairs.
 Whether there was any precedent for such prorogation, Mr. Pitt
 stopped not to enquire. Where a mighty object was to be gained he
 was not to be influenced by precedents. Mr. Pitt's suggestion was
 agreeable to his Majesty. A prejudice operating in the King's mind
 had long induced him to overlook many of Mr. Pitt's great qualities,
 and to consider him more a man of eloquence, than of sound practical
 sense. That prejudice had decreased, and was now removed by the
 courage and intelligence evinced by his minister. It at once struck
 both his Majesty and Mr. Pitt that this was the opportunity to place
 arms again in the hands of those Hanoverians who had been dispersed

into different quarters of cantonment by the convention of Closter-seven ; and again to employ them against the enemy. Far be it from me to recommend the expediency of a measure at the expense of justice. But conceding that the Sovereign was not authorized to disown a treaty made by his general, still the fulfilment of the articles of the treaty of Closter-seven was evidently conditional, and depended upon the faith of both the parties who had signed it. If, therefore, the French first violated the terms of the treaty, that treaty was at an end, and the other party was entitled to consider itself freed from its obligations. Such a consequence resulted from the conduct of Richelieu. From the moment the capitulation was signed, he thought only of repairing by the plunder of the wretched Hanoverians the fortune which he had squandered in every species of excess. In gratifying his own rapacity, continual infractions of the treaty were committed. The convention, moreover, had expressly stated that the Hanoverian troops were not to be considered prisoners of war, yet the French by insisting that they should be disarmed would have reduced them to that very condition. Confined within the narrow district which was assigned to them, exposed to the rigour of the season, and deprived of all the conveniences and most of the necessities of life, there was scarce a hardship to which prisoners of war are subject, which these troops did not experience. Surely then, as they had not benefited by the advantages of the treaty, they had a right to consider themselves unshackled by its restrictions, and to resume their arms upon the first favorable opportunity ¹.

His Majesty first suggested to Mr. Pitt the resumption of his

¹ However much the Duke of Richelieu complained of the resumption of their arms by the Hanoverians, that measure was regarded by France as one naturally resulting from their situation. This is mentioned by Duclos. The same historian is of opinion that neither Richelieu nor the Duke of Cumberland were authorized to conclude the convention of Closter-seven, which he stigmatizes as the greatest fault committed by the French during the war. He also states that the pamphlet, entitled "*le parallèle de la conduite du roi et celle d'Angleterre*," which made some noise a short time after the Hanoverians had resumed their arms, was written by Bussy a creature of Richelieu's, whom we shall afterwards find employed in the negotiation for peace, between France and England.

CHAP. Hanoverian troops. It was the very measure which the minister had
 XI.
 1757. resolved to propose when he advised the prorogation of Parliament.

From this moment the King gave his confidence to Mr. Pitt, who, having ascertained the views of his master, saw that he could render them subservient to the interests of his country.

By Mr. Pitt's advice Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick was placed at the head of these resumed forces, and that great commander, repairing to Stade, assembled the army consisting of 30,000 men ^m.

The English Parliament met on the 1st December, 1757, when his Majesty went to the House of Peers and delivered the following speech:

“ It would have given me the greatest pleasure to have acquainted you, at the opening of this session, that our success in carrying on the war had been equal to the justice of our cause, and the extent and vigour of the measures formed for that purpose.

“ I have the firmest confidence, that the spirit and bravery of this nation, so renowned in all times, and which have formerly surmounted so many difficulties, are not to be abated by some disappointments. These, I trust, by the blessing of God, and your zeal and ardour for my honor, and the welfare of your country, may be retrieved. It is my fixed resolution to apply my utmost efforts for the security of my kingdoms, and for the recovery and protection of the possessions and rights of my crown and subjects in America and elsewhere; as well by the strongest exertion of our naval force, as by all other methods. Another great object, which I have at heart, is the preservation of the Protestant Religion and the liberties of Europe; and in that view, to adhere to and encourage my allies.

“ For this cause, I shall decline no inconveniences; and in this cause, I earnestly desire your hearty concurrence, and vigorous assist-

^m The King of Prussia's account of these transactions, and the high opinion he entertained of Mr. Pitt, will be found in the Appendix, No. i. paper 1.

ance. The late signal success in Germany has given a happy turn to affairs, which it is incumbent on us to improve; and in this critical conjuncture, the eyes of all Europe are upon you. In particular I must recommend it to you, that my good brother and ally the King of Prussia, may be supported in such a manner, as his magnanimity and active zeal for the common cause deserve.

“GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

“It gives me the utmost concern, that the large supplies which you have already granted for carrying on the war, have not produced all the good effects we had reason to hope for. But I have so great a reliance on your wisdom, as not to doubt of your perseverance. I only desire such supplies as shall be necessary for the public service; and to that end, have ordered the proper estimates to be laid before you. You may depend upon it, that the best and most faithful economy shall be used.

“MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“I have had such ample experience of the loyalty and good affections of my faithful subjects towards me, my family, and government, in all circumstances, that I am confident they are not to be shaken. But I cannot avoid taking notice of that spirit of disorder which has shewn itself amongst the common people in some parts of the kingdom. Let me recommend it to you, to do your part in discouraging and suppressing such abuses, and for maintaining the laws and lawful authority. If any thing shall be found wanting, to explain or enforce what may have been misunderstood or misrepresented, I am persuaded it will not escape your attention.

“Nothing can be so conducive to the defence of all that is dear to us, as well as for reducing our enemies to reason, as union and harmony among ourselves.”

Addresses to the throne were voted by both Houses without opposition.

On the 14th December the army estimates were laid before the House of Commons. In the course of the debate which followed,

CHAP. XI. 1757. Mr. Beckford dropped this wild expression, "He did not know in what hands we were." Mr. Pitt said, "In what hands are we?—in those of a most gracious King." He then pronounced a panegyric upon his Majesty, chiefly on account of his goodness towards himself since he received the seals. He said that the King had listened to himself, who was least in the administration; but, although least, he hoped to continue that administration with honor. He next spoke of the great concord which prevailed amongst the ministers. But nothing, he said, could be well, until the army was subjected to the civil power. It was the duty of military men not to reason, but to obey. Those sent upon the late expedition^a had laughed at it even at table—nay, so had some of the Cabinet. He grew warm upon the subject, although, as he said, he knew he ought not, as the commander^o was then under trial.

Mr. Pitt then reverted to our want of success in North America, and loaded Lord Loudoun, (whom Lord George Sackville had defended,) with all the asperity peculiar to his style. He said that he had scarcely any hopes now, although the people paid for such vast armies in America. Not only was nothing done—nothing was attempted. We had lost all the waters; we had not a boat on them now. Every door there was open to France. Although Lord George Sackville had excused, *he* could not. He would not condemn; yet he believed that Lord Loudoun might have recovered our affairs had he not loitered from the 9th July to the 5th August—consuming the time in enquiries whether, or not, the French were superior. For himself, our ill success had injured his repose and impaired his health. He then burst into a panegyric upon our successes in the East. There, he said, he found Watson, Pococke, and Clive. What astonishing success had Watson had, with only three ships, which had been for some time laid up on land! He did not stay to careen this, and condemn that, but sailed at once into the body of the Ganges. He was supported by Clive, that man not born for a desk; *that heaven-born general*, whose magnanimity, resolution, determination and ex-

^a That against Rochfort.

^o Sir J. Mordaunt.

ecution, would charm a King of Prussia; and whose presence of mind astonished the Indies^p!

CHAP.
XL.
1757.

If any thing could have added to the reputation which the King of Prussia had acquired, it was the victory of Lissa which he gained on the 5th December, exactly one month after he had conquered at Rosbach. By an astonishing evolution, similar to those which have immortalized the generals of antiquity^q, he reversed in an instant his order of battle, and completely deceived Daun, his illustrious antagonist. According to the King of Prussia's statement, his own loss in this battle did not exceed 2,600 men in killed and wounded, whilst that of the Austrians, inclusive of those taken prisoners, amounted to 307 officers, and 21,000 soldiers. Breslau capitulated on the 10th December, when 13 generals, 686 officers, and 17,635 soldiers submitted to the conqueror. Lignitz soon afterwards was compelled to follow the example of Breslau, and Schweidnitz was blockaded by the Prussian troops.

It is not a new observation, which the unprecedented situation of affairs at this time impels me to repeat, that the compass of no single year and of no single country ever displayed events and revolutions more wonderfully striking than those which occurred in Germany in the year 1757. The commencement of that year saw the King of Prussia at the head of the finest army in the world, flushed with conquest, and the power of Austria trembling before him. On a sudden the scene is changed! The victorious monarch and his only ally are severally defeated: the gathering clouds of his enemies advance, and destruction, to all appearance, impends over Prussia. Behold another metamorphose! Struck by the most vigorous hand, the ball rebounds not with such violence from the ground, as did the fortune

^p This speech, (of which so weak and imperfect a sketch is here given from Lord Orford,) was admired almost beyond any of Mr. Pitt's orations, and doubtless roused the energy and spirit of our naval and military commanders.—*London Magazine*, January, 1758.—*Smollett's History of England*.—*Lord Orford's Memoires*.

^q The stratagem practised by Frederick on this occasion was probably derived from that which gave Epaminondas the victory at Leuctra.—*Coxe's Mem. House of Austria*, vol. ii. p. 415, note.

CHAP. of the war when turned by the skill of Frederick. By one stupen-
XI. dous victory he recovers his former ascendancy : by a second victory,
1757. still more splendid, and gained within a month of the former, he annihilates many thousands of his enemies, and deprives the rest, for the present, of all power to hurt him. Actions, approaching these in magnitude, have been related of fabulous heroes in ages of remote antiquity. But military success in modern times, under the disadvantage of such inferior numbers, is infinitely more wonderful than any *authenticated* exploits of the conquerors of old. When the art of war was in its infancy, much depended upon personal prowess, and a few gigantic warriors often prevailed over a host of men as brave as themselves, but inferior in muscular strength. The modern implements of destruction have levelled these personal inequalities, and it can only be by the most extraordinary superiority in its commanders, that a small body of men can now obtain any permanent advantage over a numerous enemy.

What a theatre and what scenes are before us ! French and Austrians, Swedes and Russians, Hanoverians and Prussians crowd the stage. Six pitched battles are fought. Not the collected efforts of conquerors of distant ages and nations ; but the hero is Frederick, the scene is Germany, and the action confined within the period of a single campaign !

CHAPTER XII.

1758.

The strenuous system of Mr. Pitt's administration begins to produce its effects—The alliance of England with Prussia considered—Message from the King to the House of Commons—A supply granted—Mr. Pitt's bold and extensive system with regard to North America—Instructions from Government to General Abercrombie and Admiral Boscawen—Commodore Holmes obliges a garrison of French and Austrians to evacuate the city of Emden—Commodore Marsh takes possession of the French settlement of St. Louis—East Indies—Clive, Coote—M. de Lally—Another enterprise against the coast of France—Forces employed—Operations of the squadron—The army lands, and burns several French ships and a great quantity of naval stores near St. Malo—The fleet returns to Spithead—The Attorney-general's bill for explaining and amending the writ of Habeas Corpus—Singular incident which gave rise to this bill—Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick compels the French to recross the Rhine—Enormities committed by the French soldiery—Noble conduct of the Duc de Randan—Mr. Pitt sends reinforcements to Prince Ferdinand's army—A third expedition against the French coast—Bason and piers of Cherbourg destroyed—Cape Breton taken by General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen—Gallantry of Wolfe—Letter from Mr. Pitt to General Amherst—Character of General Amherst—Account of the fourth expedition against the coast of France—The King of Prussia defeats the Russians at Custrin—but is himself defeated at Hochkirchen—Fort Frontenac in America taken by Colonel Bradstreet—Expedition against Goree—another against the French Caribbee Islands—Meeting of Parliament—Mr. Pitt's speech—Treaty with Prussia renewed—Conclusion of the year 1758.

MR. PITT was now fixed in that eminent situation in which every lover of his country wished to behold him, and in which, the consciousness of his own great abilities taught him that he might effect the highest services for the nation. He had said to the Duke of De-

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

CHAP. vonshire in the preceeding year, "My Lord, I am sure I can save this
XII. country, and nobody else can*."

1758.

It is the peculiar praise of Mr. Pitt, that in him were concentrated several powers of the most opposite description, any one of which is sufficient to distinguish its possessor, and the union of which in one man has generally been deemed impossible. In him, intense powers of application were joined to the quickest perception, and the most brilliant imagination to the soundest judgment. He astonished Europe as much by the energy of his measures, as he shook the senate of Great Britain by the thunders of his eloquence. As a minister his whole attention was devoted to the interests of his country, and perhaps history shews nothing equal to the system of intelligence, the vigour of counsels, and the promptitude and success of execution which marked his administration. It was now that the strenuous system of Mr. Pitt began to produce its effects. As he had taken, in a great measure, the superintendence of every department of government upon himself, his authority and example now began to excite in others a proper sense of their own responsibility. When they saw the minister regular and indefatigable in his country's service, they also were naturally impelled to adopt similar habits of application. The generous were actuated by the noble ambition of the minister, the mean and selfish knew that they had to deal with one who would call them to a severe account for any dereliction of their duty.

The British ministers resident at foreign courts, during Mr. Pitt's administration, unanimously acknowledged the wonderful exactness with which all communications were made to them, and the clearness and perspicacity with which all their instructions were expressed. Sir James Porter, the principal part of whose life was diplomatically employed, often declared to his friends, that so correct a knowledge and so active a spirit then pervaded all the departments of state and the concerns of government, and so striking an alteration was evinced as

* Lord Orford's Memoires, vol. ii. p. 271.

well in the manner as the matter of the official communications, that these circumstances alone would have convinced him of Mr. Pitt's appointment or resignation, had he received no other intimation of the event.

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

Order and despatch, confidence and knowledge, naturally proceeded from such a system of government, success and victory were its rewards.

As France persevered in her attachment to the enemies of the King of Prussia, Great Britain cemented her engagements with that extraordinary man. How far those engagements were consistent with the interests or previous policy of this country, is a question easily determined. Considered in themselves, they were unwise and contradictory. Why, then, it will be asked, did Mr. Pitt, the previous adversary of continental warfare, not only acquiesce in the existence of such connections, but vehemently support them throughout his administration? Before we presume to condemn the conduct of this great minister, let it be remembered that the alliance with Prussia was already concluded; that the war had assumed its shape before he came into power. The only alternative then in his choice was to serve his country in the way prescribed to him, or not to serve her at all. Had he declined coming forward, the same war would inevitably have taken place, and conducted, as it would have been, without abilities, without energy, and without popularity, its consequences must have been fatal to Great Britain. Mr. Pitt well knew the resources of the country, he knew that if the efforts of the people could be called forth by a confidence reposed in the minister, if the spirit of the officers could be revived by fear, by shame and ambition, the impending ruin might be warded off, and the war itself be converted into the means of national glory and advantage.

Under this impression, Mr. Pitt coincided with his Sovereign as to the expediency of supporting the King of Prussia and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.

On the 18th January he presented to the House of Commons the following message from the King.

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

“GEORGE R.

“HIS Majesty having ordered the Army, formed last year in his Electoral Dominions, to be put again into motion from the 28th November last, and to act with the utmost vigour against the common enemy, in concert with his good brother and ally the King of Prussia; and the exhausted state of that Electorate, and of its revenues, having rendered it impossible for the same to maintain and keep together that army, until the further necessary charges thereof, as well as the more particular measures now concerting for the effectual support of the King of Prussia, can be laid before this House; his Majesty, relying on the constant zeal of his faithful Commons, for the support of the Protestant Religion and of the liberties of Europe, against the dangerous designs of France and her confederates, finds himself, in the mean time, under the absolute necessity of recommending to this House the speedy consideration of such a present supply as may enable his Majesty, in this critical exigency, to subsist and keep together the said army.”

In consequence of this message, 100,000*l.* was unanimously granted to his Majesty for the purposes of the war.

To cement more closely the alliance between the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia, a new treaty^b of convention was signed, on the 11th April, by the respective counsellors of each. By this treaty the King of England stipulated to pay 670,000*l.* at the requisition of the King of Prussia, who engaged to apply the money in augmenting and employing his forces in such manner as might most effectually contribute to the mutual defence and security of the two sovereigns. In other points this treaty was a confirmation of the one ratified by the same parties in the year 1756, by which they engaged themselves not to conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, nor any other sort of convention or agreement with the powers engaged in the present war, without mutual concert and agreement.

^b See Appendix, No. iv. paper 7.

Although it would be impossible to enter into a minute detail of all the measures which emanated from the minister, I shall endeavour to present the reader with a connected series of such as were most conspicuous throughout his administration. I shall begin with North America. In this part of the world we had long been strangers to success. An irresolute and tardy^c system of operations, arising principally from a want of confidence in the ministers at home, had defeated all our undertakings. This was no longer to be endured by Mr. Pitt. After sound deliberation he determined to carry into execution the bold and extensive suggestion of expelling the French from the whole continent of America, which I before have mentioned.

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

The Earl of Loudoun was recalled, and the chief command conferred upon General Abercrombie. The plan of operations was to commence with the siege of Louisburg in Cape Breton by General Amherst. General Abercrombie was to proceed against Canada by the way of Crown Point, and General Forbes was to undertake the reduction of Fort du Quesne. In contempt of weak and vulgar prejudices, the minister was determined to employ young and daring officers, of approved ability, for the execution of his designs. Colonel Wolfe was accordingly sent to America, and although subordinate to General Amherst, Mr. Pitt knew, that the success of the enterprize would be materially assisted by his zeal and discernment. The command of a most powerful fleet, destined to this service, was given to Admiral Boscawen. Under this excellent officer, Rear Admiral Sir C. Hardy and Commodore Durell were appointed. Sir C. Hardy sailed early in the month of January for Halifax, with orders to proceed to Louisburg as soon as the season would permit, and to intercept any supplies which the enemy might attempt to throw into the place.

^c The promptitude of Mr. Pitt's measures, and the sound intelligence which his known anxiety in the cause enabled him to obtain respecting North America will be clearly seen by a perusal of Number xi. in the Appendix to this work. The papers written by Governor Pownall, which I have there inserted, are particularly interesting, and evince great judgment and observation.

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

The following extracts from the instructions given to General Abercrombie and Admiral Boscawen, will explain the intentions of the government.

Extract from the Instructions to Major-general Abercrombie.

St. James's, 30th December, 1757.

“ WHEREAS, we have by our commissions, bearing date the 28th day of December, and the 29th day of the said month, (which will be delivered to you herewith,) appointed you to be General and Commander-in-Chief of all and singular our forces, employed or to be employed in North America ; for your better direction and discharge of the trust thereby reposed in you, we have judged proper to give you the following instructions.

“ You shall immediately upon the receipt of your commissions and these our instructions, take our said forces under your command. And we do hereby require you to cultivate a good understanding and correspondence with the Commander of the squadron of our ships of war on the American station, during your continuance upon the service, with which you are now entrusted ; we having given directions of a like nature to the Commander of our said squadron with regard to his conduct and correspondence with you.

“ We having directed our several Governors in North America to apply to and correspond with you, about all such matters as may relate to our service, and we having also ordered them to observe and obey all such directions as shall be given by our Commander-in-Chief from time to time ; you are hereby required not only to keep a constant correspondence in writing with them, but will likewise visit the said provinces or any of them, if you shall think it necessary. And you will remind our said Governors to use all possible despatch, that the execution of our designs may not be retarded by the slowness of the levies to be made in their respective provinces, and by their not repairing in due time to such place or places as you shall think fit to appoint for their rendezvous. And we do hereby authorize and em-

power you to contract for such a number of carriages as shall be necessary for the use of our forces in North America. And with regard to all other preparations necessary for carrying on our service, and on which you shall have no particular instructions or orders from us; you shall, with the concurrence of the Governors who are to assist in any such service, make any such preparations as you shall judge proper. And you will, in all such emergencies and occurrences that may happen, whether herein mentioned or not, not only use your best circumspection, but shall likewise call to your assistance a Council of War when necessary, which we have thought fit to appoint on this occasion, consisting of yourself, the Commander-in-Chief of our ships in those parts, such Governors of our colonies or provinces, and such General-officers, Colonels, and other of our Field-officers, as shall happen to be at a convenient distance.

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

“ You will not only cultivate the best harmony and friendship possible, with the several Governors of our colonies and provinces, but likewise with the Chiefs of the Indian tribes, and you will keep a constant correspondence with Sir William Johnson, Colonel, sole agent, and superintendent of the northern, and Mr. Atkin, agent and superintendent of the southern Indians, and assist them in endeavouring to engage the said Indians to take part and act with our forces in all operations as you shall judge most expedient.

“ You will inform yourself from time to time, of the nature and value of the presents that shall be voted or ordered by the Assemblies of our different colonies and provinces in the accustomed manner, for the inviting and engaging the Indian tribes to our alliance and interest; and you will be very watchful that a just and faithful distribution be made of the same, by all such persons who shall be entrusted therewith, and you shall assist the said persons with your best advice in the said distribution.

“ Whereas it has been represented to us, that an illegal correspondence and trade is frequently carried on between the French and our subjects in the several colonies and provinces; you will diligently take all possible measures to prevent the continuance of all such

CHAP. dangerous practices, and particularly that a due and exact obedience
XII. be paid to an act passed last session of Parliament, entitled, ‘ An Act
1758. to prohibit, for a limited time, the exportation of Corn, Grain, Meal,
Malt, Flour, Bread, Biscuit, Starch, Beef, Pork, Bacon, and all other
victual, (except Fish and Roots and Rice to be exported to any part
of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre,) from our Colonies and
Plantations in America, unless to Great Britain or Ireland, or to some
of our said Colonies and Plantations, &c.’

“ Whereas, for the greater encouragement of the levies directed to be made in our several colonies and provinces, we have thought it necessary to establish new regulations, (which you will receive herewith,) with regard to the rank of the provincial officers, when acting in conjunction with our regular forces; it is our will and pleasure, that you do cause the said rank to be observed upon all occasions; and that you do publish, affix, and disperse the same, as you shall judge proper in America.

“ We having directed the Earl of Loudoun to put into your hands copies of all instructions and orders received from us, or from one of our principal Secretaries of State, since he was appointed General and Commander-in-Chief of our Forces in North America, and also of all other material papers relating to our service, you will consider the same as informations, and, where necessary, as instructions to yourself.

“ In order that our forces in North America may not be unsupplied with officers to command them whilst they are in the said service, we do hereby give you full power and authority, in case of death, removal by sentence of court-martial, or the quitting of any of our officers in the said service, to supply such vacancies by granting commissions to such persons as you shall make choice of for that purpose, who are to be acknowledged, and to command in their respective stations, as if they had received commissions from us; but if any commission, appointing to the command of any regiment or battalion, or giving the rank of Colonel in our army, shall become vacant, then our will and pleasure is, that it shall remain vacant till our pleasure shall be known thereupon; and you shall give immediate

notice of all vacancies to one of our principal Secretaries of State, and to our Secretary at War for the time being.”

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Pitt to Major-general Abercrombie,
dated Whitehall, December 30, 1757.*

“HIS Majesty having nothing more at heart, than to repair the losses and disappointments of the last inactive and unhappy campaign, and by the most vigorous and extensive efforts, to avert, by the blessing of God on his arms, the dangers impending on North America; I am to begin with acquainting you, in the greatest confidence, that the King has come to a resolution to allot an adequate proportion of his forces in North America, amounting, (as you will see by the enclosed paper, containing the destination of the troops,) with two battalions to be sent from England, to upwards of 14,000 men, for the siege of Louisburg, to be begun as early in the year as the 20th of April, if the season shall happen to permit, under the direction of an officer, to be appointed by his Majesty’s particular commission for the command of that operation; and you will take the most particular care that no part of the requisites for that siege, which were prepared last year, be dissipated; but that the same be kept in the best condition, and forthcoming on the shortest notice; and you will also be very attentive that the battering train and stores be constantly kept in most perfect repair and order, and fit for immediate service; and I hope soon to be able to apprise you of the various additions to such train and stores, which are now preparing to be shortly sent from England.

“I am next to signify to you his Majesty’s pleasure, that you do immediately concert the properest measures for pushing the operations of the campaign, with the utmost vigour, early in the year, by an invasion of Canada, by the way of Crown Point, with such of the remaining part, as you shall judge proper, of the King’s troops, (not allotted, as above, for the siege of Louisburg, and for the other services pointed out,) in conjunction with such a numerous body of

CHAP. the forces of the Northern Provinces, as you will perceive, by the
XII. enclosed copy of my letter to the Governors^d thereof, it is hoped, will,
1758. in consequence of those strong and pressing orders to that effect, be
ready to join in this important service. And to this great end, his
Majesty relying on your fidelity and zeal for the honor of his arms,
and preservation of America, has commanded me to signify to you,
that it is his Majesty's pleasure, that in case it shall be found practi-
cable, you do attempt an invasion of Canada by the way of Crown
Point, in order to proceed, if practicable, to an attempt on either
Montreal or Quebec, or both of the said places successively, with
the whole force in one body, or at one and the same time, by a
division of the troops into separate and distinct operations, according
as you shall, from your knowledge of the countries through which
the war is to be carried, and from emergent circumstances not to
be known here, judge any of the said attempts to be practicable;
and as you will perceive that Brigadier General Stanwix is not men-
tioned in any of the three distributions of the forces, I am to inform
you, that it is the King's intention that the said Brigadier should
be left at Fort Edward, Albany, or New York, as you shall judge
proper, in order to have the care of the frontiers during your
absence, and of all things necessary for the proper communication
with, and supply of the army under your command; and it is the
King's pleasure that you do, to the utmost of your power and influ-
ence, assist and encourage the several Governors of the northern pro-
vinces in the full and most expeditious execution of the necessary and
important orders now sent them. And in order that nothing may be
wanting to enable the troops, to be employed in attempting the said
irruption into Canada, to take the field early, and push their opera-
tions with the greatest vigour, the King has been pleased to direct
the Governor or Lieutenant Governor of New York to provide such a
number of boats and such vessels as you and the said Governor or
Lieutenant Governor shall judge sufficient for the use of the troops,

^d See Appendix.

&c. on the above most essential service, as the enclosed copy of my letter to him on this occasion will particularly explain to you. And that this work may be carried on with all possible dispatch, his Majesty has been further pleased to appoint Captain Loring, who will deliver this despatch to you, and whose zeal and abilities for this service have been strongly recommended to the King, to superintend and inspect the building and providing a sufficient number of such boats and vessels, agreeably to the directions he shall receive from you or from the Governor or Lieutenant Governor of New York for this purpose. You will, therefore, in concert with the said Governor or Lieutenant Governor, forthwith consider the number of boats, as well as such vessel or vessels as may be requisite on this occasion, and give the necessary orders for preparing the same without loss of time, so that they may be ready at Lake George, or such other waters to which you shall direct the same to be conveyed, (in consequence of such plan of operations as you shall finally determine to put in execution agreeable to the above instructions,) as nearly as may be by the time limited in my letter above mentioned to the Governor of New York ; and you will give all proper and necessary assistance and encouragement to Mr. Loring for the effectual execution of this most essential service. I must not conclude this article without strongly recommending to you the taking, in due time, a proper post on such part of Lake George as you may judge necessary for protecting the boats and preparations for an embarkation.

“ I am further to signify to you his Majesty’s pleasure that you do appoint Colonel Forbes, (who will by this conveyance receive a commission of Brigadier-General in America,) to command such forces as you shall judge proper to leave in the southern provinces ; and that Brigadier Forbes do proceed, without loss of time, to Pennsylvania, or such other of the southern provinces as shall be thought most proper, in order the better to concert any operations to be undertaken by the said troops, who in conjunction with the forces, directed by my letter, (of which the enclosed is a copy,) to the southern governors, to be raised in those provinces, are to be em-

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

CHAP. ployed, under the command of the said Brigadier Forbes, on any
XII. such offensive operations as may be judged by him most expedient
1758. for annoying the enemy, and most efficacious towards removing and
repelling the dangers that threaten the frontiers of any of the southern
colonies on the continent of America. And it is his Majesty's pleasure,
that Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet, to whom the King has given
that rank, should be employed as Deputy Quartermaster-General,
under Brigadier Forbes, in the southern colonies.

“ You will observe, by the copies of my letters to the governors,
that his Majesty has been pleased to promise, that his commissaries
shall issue provisions to the men, raised by the several provinces, in
the same proportion and manner as is done to the rest of the King's
forces: I am therefore to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure that
you do give the necessary directions to all the commissaries and other
officers who may have the charge of the provisions, to furnish the said
men with the same, in the proportion and manner above mentioned;
for which purpose the contractors have received directions to have
constantly in store a sufficient quantity of provisions, as well for the
regular national troops, as for the provincials which shall be raised in
consequence of his Majesty's orders; and it is the King's pleasure
that you should keep a particular account of the same, and that no
provisions should be delivered to the provincial troops but in conse-
quence of an order from you, or from the commander-in-chief of his
Majesty's forces in those parts, where the said provisions may be
wanted; and you will, in case of necessity, draw bills for any extra-
ordinary expences incurred for this service. And with regard to the
arms and tents, mentioned in my letters to the several governors, I
am to acquaint you that the King has been pleased to order ten
thousand arms and four thousand tents to be sent to New York, for
the service of the provincials raised in the northern governments, and
two thousand arms and one thousand tents to Philadelphia, for the
service of those raised in the southern governments. And it is his
Majesty's pleasure that you do, in concert with the several governors,
give the most pressing orders, that all the serviceable arms be col-

lected in the respective provinces, be forthwith put into the best condition, in order that the same may be employed, as far as they will go, in the present exigency.

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

“ His Majesty is further pleased to empower you, and has commanded me strongly to recommend to you, to raise as considerable a number of rangers as may be practicable for the various operations of the campaign; and in particular, that you do not fail to cause a body of the said rangers, amounting to not less than six hundred, to be sent with the forces to Halifax, for the expedition to Cape Breton.

“ I am further to signify to you his Majesty’s pleasure, that you do direct Lieutenant-Colonel Williamson, and Lieutenant-Colonel Montresor to obey all such orders as they shall receive from the Lieutenant-General and Board of Ordnance, with regard to the detaching part of the royal regiment of artillery and engineers to Halifax; and for their immediate repairing to that place, in order to make with all possible expedition and diligence the necessary preparations for the intended siege of Louisburg. And with regard to the whole entire battering train, and all stores of every kind thereunto belonging, which were prepared and destined for the siege of the said place last campaign, and which it is understood are at present at New York; it is the King’s pleasure, that you do take particular care to send in due time the said entire battering train, together with the stores above mentioned to Halifax, in order that the same may be in readiness to be employed for the siege of Louisburg, intended to be undertaken as early as is pointed out in the foregoing part of this letter.

“ You will see, by the paper above enclosed, containing the distribution of the forces in North America, the allotment of such part of the same as are destined for the siege of Louisburg; and I am to signify to you his Majesty’s pleasure that you do cause the several regiments, so appointed by the said list for the siege of Louisburg, to be employed accordingly in that siege without making any change therein, unless some alteration should be found absolutely necessary from extraordinary inconvenience that might otherwise arise to the

CHAP service from the unforeseen circumstances or situation of any particu-
XII. lar regiment. And in case it should be found absolutely necessary to
1758. change any regiment or regiments in the allotment herewith trans-
mitted of the forces destined for the above siege, you are to take especial care, that notwithstanding any such change of particular corps, the total of regular forces, prescribed and fixed for the siege of Louisburg, do amount to the full number allotted in the enclosed paper for the said service. It is also the King's pleasure that you do take care that the troops above mentioned be rendezvoused at Halifax, as nearly as may be by the twelfth day of April, and you will not fail to order forthwith, all proper provision to be immediately made for their reception at that place; and that all the preparations there and elsewhere for the siege of Louisburg be so quickened and pressed, that no disappointment may happen in proceeding from Halifax, in case the season permits, to Cape Breton, by the twentieth of April, as directed in the former part of this letter.

“ A considerable number of transport vessels are actually preparing here, and will shortly proceed to New York, in order to be in readiness to convey the troops above mentioned to Halifax; and you will detain the transports that are now in their passage to America with the additional Highland companies, to be also employed as you shall judge necessary for the use of the troops. And to prevent, as far as possible, any delays or disappointments happening in this essential service, from a deficiency in the transports to be sent from England, either on account of their late arrival in America, or from any of the same being rendered, through accidents during their voyage, unfit when they arrive for immediate service; it is the King's pleasure that you do forthwith take up in America six thousand tons of transport vessels, at such place or places as you shall judge proper, and that you do order the said vessels to be fitted and prepared in every respect and ready wherever you shall direct for the embarkation of the troops, the train, the stores, and all other requisites for this service. And that you may not fail being able to procure the said quantity of transports, or any farther quantity that may hereafter happen to be wanted, you

will, whenever necessary, apply to the several Governors to lay a strict embargo on all ships, during such time as you shall judge proper for this purpose, and the said Governors are directed by the King to comply with any such application from you. And as it may probably happen, notwithstanding your great care to the contrary, that all the transports necessary for conveying the troops, train, and stores, may not be altogether ready so nearly at the same time as is to be wished; I am to signify to you, that it is the King's pleasure, that you do send the forces to Halifax, (so as that they may be there by the time above directed,) in such division as you shall judge proper, without making the whole of this important service wait, on account of some part only of the troops destined for the same not being quite ready; and in that case, such remaining part thereof is to be sent with all expedition as soon after as possible, so as to join the main body assembled at Halifax, for the siege of Louisburg, as before directed."

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

Extract from the Instructions to Admiral Boscawen.

St. James's, 27th January, 1758.

"In case, on your arrival in North America, you shall find that the orders you have been directed to give to Rear Admiral Sir Charles Hardy, for blocking up the port of Louisburg, shall not have had their effect, you are, with all possible diligence, to take the most effectual measures for blocking up the said harbour.

"You are to give such further orders as may be necessary for the safe and speedy conveying of such part of our troops as shall not be already at Halifax, when you arrive in North America, for which purpose you shall retain, over and above the transport vessels, already engaged in our service, such further transport vessels in America, as you and the Commander-in-Chief of our said forces shall judge necessary and most expedient for our service.

"Whereas we have ordered the fifteen thousand tons of transport vessels, taken up here and now under your command, to be victualled

CHAP. with three months provisions, whole allowance, you shall in case of
XII. necessity, and that the same can be spared, cause our troops to be
1758. supplied on shore with the said provisions ; and you will also cause
the whole or such part of the sea-bedding to be landed for the use of
our said troops on shore, as shall be required by our Commander-in-
Chief, which sea-bedding is to be returned on board the transports,
when it shall be no longer wanted on shore.

“ Whereas we have directed certain operations of our land forces to be carried into execution before the arrival of Major General Amherst, under the orders of Brigadier General Whitmore, and Brigadier General Lawrence, to whom we have given our instructions respectively to that purpose, which they are directed to communicate to you ; our will and pleasure is that you do concert with the said Brigadier Generals all proper measures for carrying into execution the several services prescribed in our orders to them.

“ As soon as the season of the year, and the navigation of those seas shall allow, and in case the force of our fleet under your command shall be sufficient to extend to that additional service without prejudice to the first and principal object, namely, the siege of Louisburg, you are to take the earliest measures for disposing such of your ships as you shall judge proper at the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, in such manner as effectually to prevent all ships and succours going to Quebec.

“ Whereas it cannot be foreseen by what time the siege of Louisburg may have its issue, or what the state and number of our troops may be, when that service shall be over ; and also considering, in case, by the blessing of God upon our arms, our troops should make themselves masters of that place, the necessary garrison which must be left for the defence thereof ; we judge it most expedient to leave it to you, and to Major General Amherst, or the Commander of our forces that shall have been employed at Louisburg, to consider the state and circumstances of things as they shall then be found, and thereupon to determine and concert such ulterior operations with our fleet or forces as you and Major General Amherst or the commander of the

aforesaid body of troops shall judge most practicable and expedient for our service, and for making the most effectual impressions on the enemy; and our will and pleasure is, that you do use your utmost endeavours for that purpose, in such manner as you and the said Major General or Commander of the troops shall judge most advisable, either by proceeding against Quebec with the whole of the land forces remaining, in case it shall at that time be judged adequate to so great and arduous an enterprise, as well as that the season of the year shall still permit of an operation of such length, or by making any other attempts which may occur on the French settlements near the gulf or river of St. Lawrence, Bay of Fundy, and river of St. John's; or by detaching such ships as you shall judge most adapted for that service, in conjunction with such a body of our land forces as Major General Amherst or the officer on whom his command may have devolved, shall judge sufficient for the following services, namely, an attack upon the forts and places lying on the river Mobile, as well as those on the river of Mississippi.

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

“Whereas it is necessary that, upon certain occasions, Councils of War should be held, we have thought fit to appoint, and do hereby appoint such a council which shall consist of four of our principal sea-commanders, and of an equal number of our principal land officers, including the Commanders-in-Chief of our sea and land forces, (except in cases happening at land, relating to the carrying on any siege, or other military operations to be performed by our land forces only; and in like manner except in cases happening at sea, with regard to operations to be performed by the fleet only;) and all such sea and land officers are hereby respectively directed, from time to time, to be aiding and assisting with their advice as often as they shall be called together by you, or the officer commanding our land forces for that purpose.

“Whereas the success of this expedition will very much depend upon an entire good understanding between our sea and land officers, we do hereby strictly enjoin and require you on your part, to maintain and cultivate such a good understanding and agreement,

CHAP. and to order the sailors and marines under your command to assist
XII. our land forces, and to man the batteries when there shall be occasion
1758. for them, and when they can be spared from the sea service ; as we have instructed our General and Commander of our land forces on his part to maintain and cultivate the same good understanding and agreement, and to order that the soldiers under his command shall man the ships when there shall be occasion for them, and when they can be spared from the land service. And in order to establish the strictest union that may be between you and the said General and Commander of our land forces, you are hereby required to communicate these instructions to him, as he is directed to communicate those he shall receive from us to you.

“ You are hereby directed upon all occasions, so to dispose and order our ships under your command as may be most advantageous for our service, the security of our dominions in North America, and the protection of the trade of our subjects, as far as shall in no wise impede any service or enterprise to be undertaken pursuant to these our instructions ; and we have directed the governors of our several colonies and provinces in North America, to send you the earliest intelligence of any motions of the enemy, and to apply to you for assistance in case of emergency, and we have further directed our said governors to use all legal methods to supply the ships under your command with such seamen and workmen as shall be wanting to recruit the same, and which you shall from time to time apply to them to furnish.

“ As our service may require that you or the Commander of our land forces should, on particular occasions, despatch a sloop or small frigate to England with intelligence, you shall always take care to have with you one or more sloops or small frigates for that purpose.

“ When the season shall be so far advanced, that nothing material can be effected by your longer continuing with the main of our fleet in North America, nor that any thing shall be to be apprehended from any fleet of the enemy in those parts, you are to return to England with so many of the ships under your command, as you shall

think proper, taking care to leave there such a force under the command of a flag officer or of a captain only, according as the same may be proper, as shall be superior to any force which, from the best intelligence you shall be able to obtain, the enemy may have in those parts.”

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

The expulsion of the enemy from Emden, a city belonging to the King of Prussia, which had fallen into the hands of the French and Austrians, was another object of importance to the English government. Emden is the capital of East Friesland, and is situated on the north side of the river Ems, on the Dollert Bay. It was justly considered that, as most of the supplies for the garrison came down the river Ems, by cutting off these means of support, the enemy might be compelled to evacuate, not only the city of Emden, but the whole Prussian territory. Commodore Holmes, with a small squadron, was, accordingly, appointed to execute this important service, in which he so well succeeded, that the garrison, amounting to 3,700 men, soon abandoned the place. The other great consequences anticipated from this success ensued.

Soon after this, Mr. Pitt having received intelligence that a large fleet of merchant vessels with troops and stores were preparing to sail, under a strong escort of men of war, from the isle of Aix to the French American colonies, commissioned Sir E. Hawke to intercept them. Although the English Admiral, meeting with adverse winds, was unable to execute his commission so fully as he desired, by making captures, he completely defeated the object of the French armament. By chasing them into their own harbours, he prevented them from succouring their colonies in America, and thus materially contributed to the subsequent successes of Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst.

March
and
April.

On the 8th March, a squadron, under Commodore Marsh, was despatched to reduce the French settlements on the river Senegal in Africa.

The design of attacking these settlements was first suggested by Mr. T. Cumming, a quaker, in the year 1756. But his communication with the English administration long subjected this patriotic

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

person to mortification and disappointment. When he learned that hostilities had commenced between France and England, he formed a most sensible plan of reducing the factories of the former in Africa, through the aid of a native prince of the country. Mr. Pitt at once perceived the beneficial consequences which would attend the execution of Mr. Cumming's proposition, and therefore gave him every encouragement in his power*. But his first administration was too short and too unsettled to enable him to carry it into execution. He was now enabled to do so.

Mr. Cumming, as the principal promoter and director of the expedition, sailed with the squadron. The principal object of attack was the French settlement on the island of St. Louis. This, with a garrison of 250 men, 92 pieces of cannon, 16 vessels, and a very valuable booty, soon surrendered to the English, who achieved the conquest without the loss of a man. They afterwards proceeded to attack the island of Goree; but here they were repulsed, and, finding their force inadequate to the purpose, the execution of it was deferred till a later period of the year.

I have stated that Commodore Stevens was sent, early in the year 1757, to strengthen the fleet under Admiral Watson in the East Indies. Before he reached his destination the lamented Admiral was no more. He died on the 16th August, 1757, leaving a name most highly distinguished for conduct, integrity, and benevolence. He was succeeded in the command of the fleet by Rear Admiral Pococke. Colonel Clive was still proceeding in his career of victory. This celebrated man was the son of a gentleman of small fortune in Shropshire. From his youth he was remarkable for his daring and impetuous spirit. He was averse to application and restraint, and from this cause, and from the unsteadiness of his father's disposition, he received his education at various schools. At the age of nineteen he obtained a writership in the service of the East India Company, and proceeded to Madras. Finding his talents more adapted to military than to civil

* See a letter from Mr. Pitt to Mr. Cumming in the Appendix, No. ii.

pursuits, he relinquished his appointment, and was allowed to enter upon his new career with the rank of an Ensign. His character for courage and resolution was established at the siege of Pondicherry, and in an enterprize against Devi Cotah. Common observers, indeed, charged him with rashness, but the discerning remarked a coolness of determination and a presence of mind which presaged his future renown^f.

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

One of the first advantages to the East India Company, resulting from Mr. Clive's conduct and intrepidity, was the possession of Arcot, from which he expelled the enemy, and which he afterwards defended with extraordinary ability. His name was now familiar to fame. In concert with Admiral Watson he compelled the fort of Geriah to surrender, and, with the same partner in success, he reduced Calcutta and Hooghly, the former the capital of Bengal, and the latter a city of great trade and resources. On the 23d June, 1757, he obtained the celebrated victory of Plassey, which destroyed the power of Suraja Dowla.

Great as were these successes, and others obtained by Major Coote in Bengal, the affairs of the British in other parts of India were not, at this time, in a flourishing condition. The French were expecting very powerful reinforcements from Europe, and, in the mean time, were active in insinuating themselves into the favor of several of the native Princes. On the 4th May, 1757, the French reinforcements, with a strong squadron under the Comte d'Achè, sailed from Brest. At the head of the land forces, and with very extensive powers to act as Governor-General of their possessions in India, the French government had placed the Comte de Lally. This officer was the descendant of an Irish family which emigrated to France when James II. abdicated the throne of Britain. De Lally was a man of extraordinary courage and resolution and very well qualified to undertake the execution of the most daring enterprise. But his temper was too im-

^f The experienced Major Lawrence was in particular struck with these qualities in Clive.—*Mill's British India.*

CHAP. XII. 1758. petuous for the judicious management of interests so involved and delicate as those of the French in India. D'Achè was long delayed by the sickness which prevailed amongst his men, and did not reach the coast of Coromandel until the 25th April, 1758. I shall reserve the account of his proceedings and those of De Lally for my narration of the following year, before which they had not reached England.

With a view to keep up a constant alarm on the coasts of France, and thus detain a very considerable portion of the enemy's forces in their own country, a new design was concerted by the minister. For this purpose a large body of infantry was assembled in the Isle of Wight, and every preparation, which prudence and foresight could suggest, was adopted to ensure success to the undertaking. Officers of highly approved conduct and courage were selected for the command, and as the term expedition had become open to ridicule from the last year's failure, the armament was designated an enterprise. Lieutenant General the Duke of Marlborough^g was appointed to the command of the land forces, and the following General and Staff Officers were employed under him.

Lieut. Generals,	{ Lord George Sackville, William Earl of Ancram.
	{ Hon. John Waldegrave, John Mostyn,
Major Generals,	{ Alexander Dury, Hon. George Boscawen, Granvill Elliot.
Brigadier-General,	Colonel G. A. Elliot.
Adjutant-General,	Lieut. Col. C. Hotham.
Quarter-Master-General,	Lieut. Col. R. Watson.

The whole army amounted to 14,000 men, constituting a force formidable by its numbers and actuated by the warmest gallantry and zeal. The nation at large participated in the martial ardour of the troops. Lord Downe, Sir J. Lowther, Sir J. Armitage, Mr. Berkley,

^g Maternal grandson of the great Duke of Marlborough.

and Mr. Delaval, gentlemen of distinguished rank and property, engaged as volunteers in the service, and every lover of his country pre-saged a happy issue to the undertaking.

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

The naval part of this expedition was composed of two squadrons. The one designed to co-operate with the troops consisted of a few ships of the line, with a number of frigates and sloops of war, bomb-ketches, and other vessels. This was under the command of Captain the Honorable Richard Howe, a name already terrible to the enemy. The other squadron was composed of upwards of twenty ships of the line; the command of which was given to Lord Anson and Sir Edward Hawke. The last and greater squadron was directed to cruize off Brest, in such manner as to prevent the French ships from disturbing the operations of Commodore Howe.

I have said that the main design of this expedition was to create a diversion in favor of the King of Prussia and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, by compelling France both to withhold and to withdraw her troops from Germany. In addition to this, the destruction of the enemy's ports and marine in the British channel was an object of much importance. The destination of this armament was profoundly concealed even from the English, and filled the enemy with the most dreadful apprehensions.

As the failure of the expedition against Rochfort had, in some degree, been attributed to the want of proper means of landing, at one time, a sufficient body of troops upon the French coasts, a considerable number of flat-bottomed boats, upon a new construction, were provided for this purpose. These were each rowed by twelve oars; they drew only two feet of water, and were calculated to contain seventy soldiers.

On Thursday, the 1st June, both squadrons weighed anchor and put to sea, and, as they took different directions, they soon lost sight of each other. On Monday, the 5th, the whole fleet, under Commodore Howe, reached St. Malo, and put into the bay of Cancele. On the evening of the same day the grenadiers of the army embarked in the flat-bottomed boats, preparatory to landing; the volunteers ac-

CHAP. XII. 1758. companied this detachment, and acted with them upon all occasions. The resistance they experienced from the enemy in landing was most contemptible. They were fired upon, indeed, from the shore, but the French battery consisted but of two guns, and the garrison but of a single veteran. This brave old man, alone and unaided, continued to oppose the fire of his two guns against the thunder of the British ships, nor would he desist, till disabled by a wound from a musket-ball, which he received in the leg. When charged with rashness by our officers, he said, "I have done no more than my duty; had my countrymen done so, you had never landed at Cancalle." His countrymen deserved his reproach; for when our fleet first appeared, there were in Cancalle seven companies of foot, and three troops of dragoons, who, as soon as our grenadiers began to move towards the shore, made a precipitate retreat in the direction of St. Malo. Upon the first landing of the English troops, the people of the country abandoned their houses in the greatest consternation, and carried off their effects. None remained but the infirm and aged, some of whom were first rifled, and afterwards butchered by the brutality of the soldiery and seamen. Notwithstanding the most severe prohibitions against these enormities, notwithstanding the strictest vigilance and the most admirable example of the officers, these ruffians plundered and destroyed all they met with, to the deep disgrace of humanity. But such are the horrors of invasion. The Marquis de Landal, intendant of the coast, coming to reconnoitre the position of the English, fell in with one of our advanced parties, and refusing to surrender, was shot dead with his servant.

On Wednesday, the 7th, the Duke of Marlborough and Lord George Sackville, with the first column of the army, and Lord Ancram at the head of the second, advanced, by different routes, to St. Malo. After marching without opposition through a very woody and enclosed country, they arrived in the neighbourhood of the town, and proceeded to encamp before it. It was now reported to the Commander-in-chief that a number of ships, and houses filled with naval and military stores, in the suburbs of St. Servan and Solidore, were

not protected by the cannon of St. Malo, and might easily be destroyed. A detachment of troops were accordingly sent upon this service, and, favored by the night, they hastened to perform their commission. Imagination can scarcely conceive the grandeur of the scene which followed. The dark and silent hour of midnight was disturbed by the shouts of British triumph, and by the conflagration of the ships reflected in the wave, giving notice to the trembling natives that the work of destruction was proceeding ^b.

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

The city of St. Malo is very strongly situated on a rock, almost surrounded by the sea, and has no communication with the land but by a narrow causeway, nearly seven hundred yards in length. Although the place is not capable of withstanding a regular siege, it was found too strong to be carried by escalade. It was judged expedient, therefore, by the general officers to return to Cancalle bay, where the re-embarkation of the troops was effected with great ease and expedition. The fleet, before its return to England, reconnoitred the town of Granville, on the coast of Normandy, but as a large body of troops were encamped in the neighbourhood, no descent was attempted. After a delay of several days, occasioned by adverse winds, and the

^b The following is an accurate statement of the loss sustained by the enemy upon this occasion, estimated at 800,000*l*.

AT SOLIDORE,

1 ship of 32 guns, never at sea, completely rigged.	
3 ships of 20, new.	} All these had masts, yards, rigging, and a considerable quantity of stores on board.
1 ship of 20, old.	
1 sloop of 12.	
2 ships of 16.	
1 ship of 30, just laid on the stocks, the keel and timber burned.	
6 merchant ships, two of them new.	
6 sloops.	

AT ST. SERVAN.

1 ship of 50 guns on the stocks.	} King's ships.
1 ——— 36	
1 ——— 22	
1 ——— 18	
62 merchant ships, and many small craft.	

CHAP. consequent variation of their course, the whole fleet bore away for
 XII. Cherbourg, the bay of which is open to the sea, and affords no se-
 1758. curity for shipping. Here it was decided that a landing should take
 place. The Commander-in-chief determined that the forts Querque-
 ville, Homet, and Gallet should be attacked in the night by the first
 regiment of Guards. Dispositions to this effect were accordingly
 made; but a strong gale of wind blowing in to the shore, occasioned
 so great a surf, that the attempt to land was pronounced to be ex-
 tremely dangerous. It was, therefore, postponed; and as the provi-
 sion, both for the soldiers and the horses, began to fail, it was con-
 sidered expedient to return to England. The fleet accordingly weighed
 anchor, and on the 1st of July arrived at Spithead.

Such was the issue of the first enterprise against the French coast in the year 1758. Considering the objects for which it was undertaken, it was certainly attended with much success, and this success was obtained with as little loss as an invading army ever experienced, the mortality having scarcely exceeded that to which the same number of persons is liable upon ordinary occasions¹.

The time of the minister was so fully engrossed in considering and directing the great operations of the war, that it was impossible for him to devote any great portion of it to the internal legislation of the country. This was for the greater part conducted by others. Mr. Pitt's commanding situation, however, induced his friends to bring forward several measures which they thought conducive to the public welfare. His relations, Earl Temple and Mr. George Grenville, with his assistance, carried through both Houses of Parliament a very humane and excellent bill for the encouragement of seamen, by the punctual and frequent payment of their wages. The Attorney-general prepared and brought before the House of Commons, a bill for explaining, extending, and ascertaining the full operation of the writ of Habeas Corpus. As this measure excited great attention at the

¹ The account of this expedition is principally taken from the journal of an officer employed upon the service.

time, and is one of great national importance, I shall consider, at some length, the object at which it aimed, and the fate which it experienced.

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

Arbitrary imprisonment is an evil, which, in some degree, prevails in almost every government but that of Great Britain. It is singular that our exemption from this evil, should chiefly be owing to a Parliament held in the corrupt reign of Charles II. But the truth is, that the violent conduct of three kings gave rise to the three great bulwarks of our constitution. The great charter was extorted from the tyrant John; the petition of right, which renewed and extended that charter, was occasioned by the offensive and arbitrary conduct of Charles I.; and the writ of Habeas Corpus, which completed the two former acts, resulted from the violent projects of the famous Cabal. It is well known, that the great object of the act of Habeas Corpus was to rescue prisoners from all evasion and delay, both from their judges and those by whom they were committed, and to enable them to insist upon being brought to trial within a limited time after their commitment. With this invaluable privilege of the subject, the power of impressing seamen, and some other acts of the government, appeared to clash. The Attorney-general's bill was intended to remedy these defects. It originated in a singular occurrence. By an act passed in the preceding session, for recruiting his Majesty's land forces and marines, certain commissioners were empowered to decide whether the persons brought before them, were such as ought, by the regulations of the act, to be impressed into the service. It was, moreover, expressly provided, that no person so impressed by those commissioners should be removed from his Majesty's service by any other process than that of a criminal accusation. During the recess of Parliament, a gentleman having been impressed before the commissioners, and confined in the Savoy, his friends made application for a Habeas Corpus in his favor. This involved a question of a delicate and contradictory nature. For the act of Charles II. related only to persons committed for alleged crimes, and the gentleman in question did not stand in that predicament. Before the point could be determined, the

CHAP. party was discharged in consequence of an application to the Secre-
 XII. tary at War. But although the individual was no longer a sufferer,
 1758. the principle upon which he had been detained was a general one,
 which appeared to call for the interference of the legislature. Mr.
 Pratt's bill was intituled "An Act for giving a more speedy remedy
 to the subject upon the writ of Habeas Corpus."

It imported that the several provisions made in the act of Charles II. for awarding writs of Habeas Corpus in cases of commitment or detainer, on account of any criminal or supposed criminal matter, should be extended to all cases of persons restrained or confined under any pretence whatever; that upon the oath of such persons, or upon that of any other on their behalf, stating that such confinement was not by virtue of a commitment for any alleged criminal matter, a Habeas Corpus should be granted to them in the same manner as to those specified in the previous act; that the person or persons before whom the party so confined should then be brought by Habeas Corpus, should, within three days after the return was made, proceed to examine into the facts alleged in such return, and into the cause of such confinement, and thereupon discharge, bail, or remand the party as the justice of the case should require. The bill also provided that a writ of Habeas Corpus might be required of the judges during the time of vacation.

The motives which induced the Attorney-general to bring the bill forward, reflect great honor upon his humanity and public spirit. The measure was, however, inopportune. It was unwise, I think, to move a question so likely to impede the operations of government, at a time when the sudden emergencies of the service called for such vast supplies of men. The bill was supported with great firmness¹ by Mr. Pitt, and passed the House of Commons by a considerable majority. Lord Temple was its warmest advocate in the House of Lords. It was opposed by Lord Hardwicke, Lord Mansfield, and a great majority of the Peers.

¹ This was the more manly in the minister as his Majesty's sentiments were known to be unfavorable to the bill.

The opinions of the twelve Judges were taken upon the subject, and found, as to the greater part, to be against it. In a speech which occupied two hours and a half, and which is described to have been one of the most splendid specimens of sense, oratory, and argument, Lord Mansfield opposed the bill, which was eventually rejected by the House¹.

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

Such unanimity now prevailed that very little discussion arose during this session in the House of Commons. Almost the only debate, of any interest, proceeded from a motion, (which was rejected,) for leave to bring in a Bill to shorten the duration of future parliaments. An Act was passed to remedy some defects in the regulations respecting the militia.

Several other subjects of importance to the country came before Parliament, and several useful enactments were made.

The deadly feeling of revenge which actuated the German powers, was not arrested by the barriers which nature presented. The dreadful winter of 1757, although it impeded, was not able to prevent the progress of hostilities. Wherever war was practicable, there it was carried on, and whenever it was necessarily suspended, the time was employed in designs and preparations to extend it.

Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick first opened the campaign of 1758. He had a difficult task to perform—no less than that of expelling 80,000 Frenchmen from Lower Saxony and Westphalia with the very same army of 30,000 Hanoverians, whom they had compelled four months previously to lay down their arms. The Prince, however, succeeded to admiration. Assisted by a reinforcement of Prussians under Prince Henry, within a month, he drove the French from their conquests, and compelled them, with the loss of 10,000 men, to re-cross the Rhine. What a change had the French experienced since their victory of Hastenbeck, and the convention of Closter-seven! Then insolent with success, they had given way to every description of licentiousness, and plundered a conquered people without

¹ Lord Orford's Memoires.

CHAP. the smallest feeling of remorse. It was now their turn to suffer, and
XII. their cup of retribution was indeed full. It is impossible to describe
1758. the wretched condition of the French troops retiring before the army
of Prince Ferdinand. Officers and soldiers involved in one common
distress forgot, the first their rank, the latter their obedience. Ex-
posed to the rigours of a most severe season they were without food
and without clothing, and continually suffered from the desultory
attacks of the pursuing army. Exasperated by their sufferings, they
forgot all mercy to the inhabitants of the country through which they
passed, and conducted themselves more like banditti or savages than
an army of disciplined soldiers. There were, however, some noble
exceptions. The Duke of Randan, the French governor of Hanover,
at the time when his countrymen so abused their success, had, by the
strictness of his discipline and the moderation of his conduct, saved
the Electorate from destruction. His behaviour now was equally
grand. Resentment was no more able to impel him to acts of seve-
rity, during this adverse vicissitude, than the pride of conquest, during
his previous prosperity. The generous conduct of the Duke of Randan
adds dignity to France, and must consecrate his name to posterity as
long as honor and benevolence are cherished amongst the foremost
virtues of man.

After some very splendid instances of military judgment and
exertion, Prince Ferdinand, on the 23d June, gave the enemy battle
at Crevelt, and obtained the victory. Seven thousand of the best
troops of France were there killed, wounded, and taken prisoners.
Accounts of this success reached London on the 27th June, and, of
course, occasioned the most lively joy.

Mr. Pitt never neglected to improve an advantage. He saw
that this opportunity of enabling Prince Ferdinand to pursue his vic-
tory should immediately be seized, and he determined to send him a
considerable reinforcement from England. The Duke of Marlborough
was appointed to the command of the troops. He was accompanied
by Lord G. Sackville, Major-General Waldegrave, together with the
Adjutant and Quarter-master-Generals upon the late expedition to

St. Malo, and one brigade of infantry from the same service, consisting of the 20th, the 23rd, and the 25th regiments of foot.

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

Although the expedition against St. Malo had not answered the expectation of many sanguine persons in England, it fully accomplished the great end of creating a diversion in favor of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. It was chiefly owing to that great general's representations of the utility of these designs, that Mr. Pitt directed another attempt to be made against the coast of France. The nature of this service was not agreeable to military men. After several officers had declined taking the command of the forces upon this occasion, it was accepted by Lieutenant-general Blighe, an experienced and honorable soldier, but too old for the conduct of so bold and hazardous an enterprise, and entirely unacquainted with the geography of the French coast. The following general and staff officers were appointed under Blighe.

	{	John Moystyn,
Major-Generals		Alexander Dury,
		Hon. G. Boscawen,
		Granville Elliott.

Brigadier-General, Col. G. A. Elliott.

Quarter-master-General, Lieut. Col. Robert Clark.

Adjutant-General, Captain William Viscount Fitzmaurice.

The troops employed were those returned from St. Malo, with the very considerable reduction, however, of the brigade which accompanied the Duke of Marlborough to Germany.

His Royal Highness Prince Edward, second son of the late Prince of Wales, embarked as a midshipman in the expedition; thus offering to the world a noble instance of contempt of fatigue and danger in an English Prince of the blood royal.

The squadron having been refitted, and reinforced by the Montague of sixty guns, the troops embarked; and, on the 31st July, the fleet fell down to St. Helen's. On the following day they sailed, and, after a passage much delayed by calms and contrary winds, anchored in the bay of Cherbourg on the 7th August. Since the

CHAP. former appearance of our fleet off this place the enemy had been
XII. actively employed in preparations to oppose any future attempts to
1758. invade them. They had thrown up entrenchments for several miles along the coast on each side of Cherbourg ; they had collected a considerable body of troops, and all the militia of the district, to the shore, and altogether they presented a very formidable appearance of resistance. This general state of alarm and preparation was singularly contrasted by the apathy and indifference evinced by an individual peasant, who continued his occupation of making hay whilst the English were preparing to land their forces.

Commodore Howe had disposed the men of war and the bomb ketches so judiciously, and directed so warm a fire against the enemy, that they never ventured to quit their entrenchments. The landing, therefore, was effected in excellent order, and with very little loss. An enemy who had thus, almost passively, allowed us to land upon their shores, were not likely to offer any violent opposition to our subsequent advance. The French, in fact, deserted their lines in the most shameful state of despair, and suffered the English to enter Cherbourg, without molestation, the day after they landed.

The town of Cherbourg, in Normandy, is situated on the north coast of the peninsula of the Cotentin, at the bottom of a large bay between the capes of La Hogue and Barfleur. The harbour is naturally bad. But the situation of the place is well adapted to injure the English commerce, to protect that of France, and perhaps to facilitate an invasion of Great Britain.

Impelled by motives now unknown, Louis XIV. had caused the fortifications of Cherbourg to be destroyed, but, in the subsequent reign, Cardinal Fleury employed the celebrated engineer, De Caux, to repair them, and to improve the harbour. At an immense expense, and after the labor of many years, a most capacious bason was constructed with sluices and flood-gates. The works, indeed, had latterly been neglected ; but, as the most material expense and labor had already been incurred, they might at any time have been resumed, and their subsequent completion have proved of much importance to France.

To render these labors of the enemy vain, and to prevent their successful continuation, the English immediately proceeded to destroy the bason, with the two piers at the entrance of the harbour; to render the harbour itself useless to ships of burthen; and to demolish the forts, batteries, and magazines of Cherbourg. Whilst the engineers were occupied in this work of destruction, the light-horse penetrated into the country in the direction of Walloign, about four leagues distant, where the French were encamped, and receiving constant reinforcements. Several skirmishes ensued between the out-parties of the two armies, in one of which Captain Lindsay, a most valuable cavalry officer in our service, was mortally wounded.

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

The invaders had now completed their object, and reduced the ingenious labors of the French at Cherbourg to utter insignificance. Its harbour^m and bason, with nearly 200 pieces of artillery, and an

^m On one of the sluices of the harbour were found the following inscriptions.

On the east side.

Hanc jussit Ludovix, suasit Floræus, et undis
Curavit mediis Asfeldus surgere molem :
Non aliis votis almæ præsentior urbis,
Ars frænavit aquas, fluctus domuitque minaces.
Hinc tutela viget, stat copia, gloria crescit,
Hinc rex, hinc sapiens, herosque manebit in ævum.

On the west side.

Ludovici XV. jussu,
Floræi consilio,
Asfeldi ductu,

In Ævum stat hæc moles.

Ars, naturæ victrix, aquarum impetum refrænât, facilem navibus tempestate actis aditum dat, tutelam asserit, copiam invehit, gloriam perpetuat, simulque principem, sapientem, heroa, posteritati commendat.

This was parodied by an officer in the expedition, with more truth than elegance, thus :

Louis' and Fleury must, with Asfeld, now
Resign to George, to Pitt, to Blighe, and Howe.
One blast destroyed the labor of an age ;
Let loose the tide, and bid the billows rage ;
Their wealth and safety gone, their glory lost ;
The King's, the Statesman's, and the Hero's boast.

CHAP. immense quantity of ammunition, were destroyed, and 22 brass can-
XII. nons and 2 brass mortars were, with several colors, sent in triumph to
1758. England.

On the 16th August the forces, having been ten days unmolested in France, reembarked with the same expedition and safety which had marked their landing. Whilst the nation was rejoicing at these successes, and the people were gazing with admiration at the trophies borne off from Cherbourg, advices were received of still greater triumphs in America. Cape Breton had fallen under the power of Great Britain. This island is situated between the 45th and 47th degrees of north latitude, and, with the island of Newfoundland, forms the entrance of the Gulph of St. Laurence. The harbour is fine, and no place in the new world is more commodious for ships coming from every part of America, whether chased by an enemy, driven by stress of weather, or destitute of wood, water, or provisions. On every account, therefore, the possession of this island was an object of the first importance to the English.

Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst, with a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, and an army of nearly 12,000 men, had appeared before Louisburg on the 2nd June. The French had made the best dispositions to receive them. A chain of posts extended two leagues and a half along the beach, and at every place where a landing appeared practicable, entrenchments were thrown up and batteries erected. But the natural difficulties which the English had to encounter were even greater than those arising from the ingenuity of the enemy. They were six days on the coast before a landing was found practicable. So violent a surf prevailed along the shore, that no boat could possibly surmount it. At length this surf somewhat abated, and the opportunity to effect a landing was instantly seized. The troops were distributed into three divisions. That on the left, consisting of the four oldest companies of grenadiers, and the light infantry and companies of rangers, supported by the Highland regiment and the remaining companies of grenadiers, was conducted by the celebrated Wolfe. This was intended for the real service; the

other two divisions were merely designed to distract the attention of the enemy, and to weaken their defence of the particular part to be attacked. General Wolfe's division now moved towards the shore. The enemy, in cool determination, awaited their approach, and, as the boats drew near, poured in the whole fire of their cannon and musquetry upon them. The effect was terrible indeed, and would have proved fatal to their enterprise, had not their leader been spared. But he, preserving the coolest self-possession, inspired his men with the warmest courage. Amidst the scene of carnage which ensued, when the fire from the shore was aided by the violence of the surf; when the boats were upset, and the wave was overwhelming those whom the enemy had spared, Wolfe assured his troops that he was leading them on to victory. He leaped into the water, and was followed by his men. They hastened to the shore, formed instantly upon the beach, and, with fixed bayonets, drove the enemy from their posts in the utmost confusion. Before that day closed, all the troops were landed from the ships. But although this great object was effected, the greater task was to be performed—the siege was now to be undertaken. Fresh difficulties presented themselves. The enemy had five ships of the line in the harbour, which would have been enabled to bring all their guns to bear upon the English troops in their approaches to the town. The principal object of the English was to secure a point, called the light-house battery, from which their own guns might play upon the vessels in the harbour, and upon the batteries on the other side of it. This service also was committed to General Wolfe, who performed it with the most extraordinary celerity and success. Then leaving a detachment at light-house point, he returned with a great part of his corps to the camp before the town—formed an attack against the western gate, where he made the most rapid advances, and erected batteries, which fired with the greatest success upon the town and shipping.

It was now that the British admiral displayed a zeal and a presence of mind which greatly accelerated the exertions of the army. Of the five ships of the enemy which were in the harbour, three had

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

CHAP. been destroyed; Admiral Boscawen detached six hundred seamen in
 XII. boats to take or burn the two which remained. This force, led on by
 1758. the two young captains Laforey and Balfour, in the darkness of the night made their way through a terrible fire of cannon and musquetry, and boarded and took possession of the ships. The one they burned, the other they triumphantly towed from the harbour. The enemy were now unable to continue their resistance, and surrendered the town on the 26th July^a.

This was the severest blow which the French had received since the commencement of the war. By the surrender of Louisburg they lost the only place where they could carry on their valuable cod fishery—the only place where they could conveniently receive the reinforcements which were sent to support the war in the other parts of America. With Louisburg fell St. John's. The governor reluctantly yielded up this fine island to Lord Rollo, whom General Amherst had despatched to possess it in his sovereign's name.

The following is an extract of a letter from Mr. Pitt to General Amherst, upon the reduction of Cape Breton. The same letter, *mutatis mutandis*, was addressed to Admiral Boscawen.

Whitehall, September 9th, 1758.

“ On the 18th past, Captain Amherst delivered to me the favor of your letters of the 11th and 23d June, and 6th, 23d, 27th, and 30th July; and on the 4th instant Captain Hathorn arrived with that of the 10th past; both of which were immediately laid before the King. I cannot sufficiently express the satisfaction your success against the very important fortress of Louisburg, gave his Majesty; and the King has commanded me to acquaint you with his full and entire approbation of your whole conduct during the course of the siege of that place.

“ His Majesty has the firmest reliance that by the blessing of

^a See two letters from General Amherst to Mr. Pitt, in the Appendix, No. ii. Letters 5 and 6.

God, the further operations of so fine an army, which has suffered such a small loss, will be attended with like success in the prosecution of the ulterior objects, which by your letter of the 10th past, the King is informed that you and Admiral Boscawen have determined to pursue, and which his Majesty hopes from your nearer view of things, and judgment formed from further enquiry on the spot may best answer the great purposes of his Majesty's service in America; and the King doubts not but that all the said operations will be pushed with the utmost ability and vigour.

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

"It is the King's pleasure that you should in the manner you shall judge most proper acquaint the officers and men under your command, with his Majesty's satisfaction at their brave and good behaviour which, as you justly observe, must always insure success.

"I cannot conclude without adding my most hearty congratulations on the great honor you have acquired, and assuring you of the sincere part I shall take in every thing that can contribute to the increase thereof."

Jeffery Amherst, the descendant of an old and most respectable family in the county of Kent, was born on the 29th of January 1717. At a very early age he devoted himself to the profession of arms. He received an ensign's commission in the guards when not more than fourteen years old. At the age of twenty-four he was made *aid-de-camp* to General Ligonier, and in that capacity was present at the battles of Dettingen, Fontenoy, and Rocoux. After this he was admitted upon the staff of the Duke of Cumberland, and was engaged in the fatal battles of Lafeldt and Hastenbeck. In the year 1756, he was appointed to the command of the 15th regiment of foot, and in two years more obtained the rank of major-general. Mr. Pitt, ever attentive to the character of the officers he employed, saw that the qualities of General Amherst rendered him a proper person to command the army in North America. He was accordingly appointed, and the brilliant operations of the campaign amply confirmed the high opinion entertained of him by Mr. Pitt. General Amherst, although

CHAP. a firm disciplinarian, was ever the soldier's friend. He was a man of
 XII. strict economy, of a collected and temperate mind, and in the whole
 1758. of his conduct appears to have been animated by a just sense of what was due to his country °.

The exultation of the English now knew no bounds. But pride was not made for man. Three days after these joyful tidings were received from Louisburg, despatches arrived from General Abercrombie detailing the mournful reverse which his army had experienced. The gallant Lord Howe had lost his life in a skirmish with an advanced guard of the enemy. A few days afterwards, General Abercrombie made a precipitate attack upon Ticonderago, and was repulsed with the loss of nearly 2,000 men.

The sequel of our enterprises on the coast of France was of an equally tragical description^p. The English fleet after leaving Cherbourg was driven to the coast of England. Happy would it have been had the troops then been permitted to disembark, and to forego, at least for the season, all further thoughts of invasion. They had done all that could reasonably be expected from them. Had they desisted here, their triumph would have been perfect. It was known that the whole of the French coast was now alarmed; that large bodies of troops had been collected to oppose our future descents, to harrass and impede our progress in the country, and to cut off our retreat. In addition to this, the advanced season of the year exposed our fleet to considerable danger, and our forces, already diminished by other causes, to farther reduction. These arguments were, however, either disregarded or overruled, and the fleet again sailed on the 31st August. On the 3d September they anchored in the bay of St. Lunaire,

° General Amherst was, in May, 1776, raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Amherst. For several years he held the chief command of the army in Great Britain, with the lieutenant generalship of the ordnance. He was made a field-marshal in July, 1796, and died at Montreal, his seat in Kent, on the 3d August, 1797.

^p Lord Chesterfield speaks of both these disasters in proper terms. He says: "Our expedition to St. Malo, I cannot call so much an unlucky, as an ill-conducted one; as was also Abercrombie's affair in America."—cccxi. *Letter to his Son*.

on the coast of Brittany, about two leagues to the westward of St. Malo. The next day the army landed without opposition, and encamped within half a mile of the shore. Far be it from me, at this distance of time, unjustly to reproach the memory of a brave, honorable, and veteran officer. But truth obliges me to declare that this descent was as weakly designed by General Blighe, as the subsequent operations of the army were rashly and unskilfully conducted. His great object in landing at St. Lunaire appears to have been the reduction of St. Malo. But surely General Blighe had no reason to suppose that he could accomplish that, to which the late commander, with a much more considerable force, and when the town was less prepared for resistance, had found himself unequal. Every person acquainted with the state of St. Malo knew that it was not to be taken by the force then before it. Its situation rendered it extremely difficult of access by land. As to the operations of the fleet: the mouth of the river which forms the bason from St. Malo to St. Servan, is, at the narrowest part, above two miles in breadth; it is defended by several strong forts; and the navigation is so difficult that none of the pilots would undertake to conduct the English vessels through it.

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

On the 5th of September, General Blighe detached 500 men to St. Briac, a small port in the neighbourhood, where he had heard, that in time of peace there were upwards of 200 ships. But whatever number might be collected there during peace, no more than thirteen inconsiderable vessels were now found by the detachment. These they burned, and then returned to the camp. The design against St. Malo being now abandoned, General Blighe was unwilling to return to England without undertaking some farther enterprise. His desire was brave and laudable, but, unfortunately, no practicable object presented itself to authorize the perilous measure which he adopted. He penetrated farther into the country, proceeding, however, in such a manner as to be near the fleet, which had now quitted its former station and anchored in the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the westward of St. Lunaire. In two days, the army reached the village

CHAP. of Matignon, having had several skirmishes with small bodies of the
XII. enemy, who had occasionally appeared on our flanks, but who always
1758. dispersed when they were briskly encountered.

General Blighe now learned, that the Duc d'Aguillon, the Governor of the province, with eleven battalions of infantry, five regiments of cavalry, ten pieces of cannon, and two mortars was encamped within the distance of three miles, and intended to attack him on the following morning. To engage an enemy so vastly superior, would have been the extremity of rashness. It was therefore determined, that a retreat should take place to St. Cas, and that the troops should re-embark with the utmost expedition. When a general is compelled to retreat before a superior force, his operations should be conducted with the most cautious secrecy. On this occasion, an opposite system was pursued. Very early in the morning, General Blighe ordered the drummers to beat the signal called *the generale*. This, of course, alarmed the enemy, who immediately struck their tents and pursued us. The object of their pursuit was to intercept our troops before they reached the point of embarkation, and this would have entirely succeeded but for the badness of the roads, which obstructed the advance of their artillery. The same and other causes retarded the progress of the English, and although they had commenced their retreat at three o'clock in the morning, and although the distance to the shore did not exceed three miles, the interruptions they experienced were so frequent that they did not arrive until nine upon the beach of St. Cas. Here a second error was committed. In so pressing an emergency the safety of the men should surely have been first consulted, and if any sacrifice became necessary, it should have been that of the cannon and horses. Unhappily, the re-embarkation commenced with the field artillery and the light cavalry. This was, however, effected, and the greater portion of the army was also on board the ships, when an attack by the enemy was commenced. It is not often that one has the painful task of recording instances of want of valour or want of conduct in British officers and in British troops. It is my duty to do so on the present occasion. After the French had taken possession of the village

of St. Cas, the grenadiers of the British army, amounting to 1,100 men with four companies of the first regiment of guards, drew up to cover the embarkation of the battalions. A very steep hill formed a sort of amphitheatre about the bay of St. Cas, and the ships were enabled to bring their guns effectually to bear upon the enemy when they attempted to descend upon our men. By doing this, they had compelled the French to retreat more than once, with considerable slaughter. By an error of the General, who commanded the forces then on shore, this advantage was lost. In consequence of his orders, a body of our own troops became exposed to the guns from the ships, which, in mercy to them, were directed to cease firing. This fatal interval was instantly improved by the enemy, who, pouring down their numbers, committed a fearful havoc amongst our men. Lord Howe, perceiving the sailors in the boats to be staggered by the fire of the enemy, here displayed a signal instance of intrepidity. He ordered himself to be rowed in his own boat through the thickest of the fire, and standing upright, proceeded to the shore and bore off as many as it would contain. In the mean time, an unequal contest was maintained against the enemy by the grenadiers of the English army, and half of the first regiment of guards. At length their ammunition, which was at first shamefully deficient, began to fail, they were seized with panic, they faltered, they broke, they fled in the utmost confusion. Some directed their course to the sea, and endeavoured to save themselves by swimming to the boats, which were ordered to give them every possible assistance. Sir John Armitage was shot upon a rock. General Dury, after receiving a wound, perished in the sea. Numbers shared his fate. As the enemy had now entire possession of the beach, and still kept firing upon our men, who no longer opposed a resistance, Commodore Howe directed the cannonading to cease from the ships, upon which the French gave quarter to our troops. The loss we sustained on this melancholy day was about 600 killed and wounded, and 400 who were taken prisoners by the enemy.

The disastrous termination of our attempts upon the French coast threw a temporary gloom over the nation, but this was quickly

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

CHAP. XII. 1758. dispersed by the glad intelligence we continued to receive from other quarters, and by the internal prosperity of the country. Whilst most other kingdoms of the world were the scenes of a desolating war, England saw her own commerce increasing, her agriculture advancing, and her civil institutions enjoying all those advantages usually attendant upon a state of repose. When we consider the additional burthens which our exertions rendered necessary ; the severity with which the impressment of seamen was, during certain times, carried on ; the great extension of our military forces, and the establishment of a national militia, it is singular that the country should have been so free from disturbance. Nothing can more strongly evince the confidence which the people placed in the government than this state of tranquillity.

The King of Prussia's actions this year, although much inferior in splendor to those of the preceding one, were prodigious instances of military skill and activity. With a rapidity with which it seemed wholly impossible that a great army could be transported, he had flown from the siege of Olmutz to invade Bohemia, attacking his enemies every where, whilst his generals could scarcely preserve themselves upon the defensive. With 20,000 men he then marched against the Russians, who were besieging Custring ; attacked them on the 25th of August, and, after a furious engagement, which lasted from nine o'clock in the morning till half-past eight in the evening¹, obtained a decisive victory.

Intelligence of this success reached London on the 2d of September. The following month brought accounts of a different complexion. We were then informed that Frederick had been surprized and defeated at Hochkirchen. His baggage and artillery there fell into the hands of the enemy. His brother-in-law, Prince Francis of Brunswick, and Marshal Keith, one of the ablest of his generals, and several thousand of his best troops, fell in the engagement.

It is singular that Austria should not have improved this opportunity to overwhelm the King of Prussia. It is scarcely possible to suppose

¹ Mem. de Mon Temps.

that, if Daun had then pursued his advantage with vigour, Frederick could have supported another campaign. But the diffidence and hesitation evinced by the Austrian general, are the strongest proofs of the awe he entertained of the activity and resources of his antagonist.

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

A multitude of interesting events, of almost daily occurrence, prevented the public from dwelling upon any individual disaster.

On the 31st of October despatches were received by Mr. Pitt from General Abercrombie, relating the surrender of Fort Frontenac to the force under Colonel Bradstreet. This officer not only made himself master of the fort without the loss of a man, but also possessed himself of all the shipping of the enemy upon the lake Ontario, amounting to nine armed vessels. The following is an extract from his letter to General Abercrombie upon the occasion.

“ Oswego, August 31, 1758.

“ I landed with the troops within a mile of fort Frontenac without opposition, the 25th. The garrison surrendered prisoners of war the 27th, between seven and eight in the morning. It was a square fort of 100 yards the exterior side, and had in it 110 men, some women, children, and Indians, sixty pieces of cannon, (half of which were mounted,) sixteen small mortars, with an immense quantity of provisions and goods, to be sent to the troops gone to oppose Brigadier-General Forbes, their western garrisons, Indians, and to support the army under the command of M. Levy, on his intended enterprise against the Mohawk river, valued by the French at 800,000 livres. We have likewise taken nine vessels, from eight to eighteen guns, which are all they have upon the lake, two of which I have brought here, and the rest and the provisions I have burnt and destroyed, together with the fort, artillery, stores, &c. agreeably to your Excellency's instructions, should I succeed. The garrison made no scruple of saying, that their troops to the southward and western garrisons will suffer greatly, if not entirely starve, for want of the provisions and

CHAP. vessels we have destroyed, as they have not any left to bring them
 XII.
 1758. home from Niagara."

The success which had attended the expedition against the French settlements in Senegal being deemed imperfect whilst France retained possession of Goree, the administration determined to effect the reduction of that fortress. The Hon. Augustus Keppel, brother of the Earl of Albemarle, was appointed to the command of a squadron sent upon this service. It consisted of four ships of the line, several frigates, two bomb ketches, and some transports. The land forces were composed of the second battalion of Lord Forbes's regiment, and some piquets from other corps, and amounted in the whole to seven hundred men. They were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Worge, who had lately been appointed governor of Senegal. Commodore Keppel sailed with his squadron on the 11th November, and, after the loss of one of his ships, the *Litchfield*, and of a transport, which were unhappily wrecked, arrived at his destination.

Goree is a small island on the coast of Africa, near Cape de Verd. Although barren, its situation renders it a place of considerable importance to the nations who have settlements on the coast.

I shall relate the success of the expedition amongst the events of the following year.

Intelligence having been received that the French Caribbee Islands, from the weakness of their garrisons, might easily be reduced, an expedition was planned to attack them. A body of nearly 5000 troops, under the command of Major-General Thomas Hopson^{*}, was employed upon this occasion. This strong armament sailed from Spithead on the 10th November, escorted by eight ships of the line,

^{*} The military command of this force was first offered to General Moystyn; when he declined it, "Mr. Pitt carried a list of names to the King, who selected Hopson—a choice not consonant to Mr. Pitt's practice, who, considering that our ancient officers had grown old on a very small portion of experience, which by no means compensated for the decay of fire and vigour, chose to trust his places to the alertness and hopes of younger men."

Lord Orford's Memoires, vol. ii. p. 345.

under Captain Hughes, who was ordered to join the larger squadron in the West Indies, under Commodore Moore.

CHAP.
XII.
1758.

Parliament assembled on the 23rd November. Mr. Pitt opened the business of the session. In the course of his speech he pretended not to disguise the expence and difficulties under which the country laboured—heaps of millions, he said, must be raised—we could not make the same war as the French, or as our ancestors did, for the same money. He painted in strong colours what the exertions of the country had obtained. Then, availing himself of the impression which he had produced, he placed himself in an attitude of stern defiance, but of perfect dignity, and exclaimed in his loudest tone—“Is there an *Austrian* among you? Let him stand forward and reveal himself. I invite him now to speak out, instead of dispersing anonymous pamphlets^s amongst the people.”

The thanks of the House were presented to General Amherst, and to the Admirals Boscawen and Osborn for their respective services. Various supplies of men and money were voted for the ensuing year.

Thus ended the year 1758. A year marked by the display of the greatest energy and ability on the part of the British nation, and, notwithstanding a few reverses, crowned with extraordinary success. That confidence in their own powers, so necessary in all arduous enterprises, had now been called forth in the members of our armies and navies; and the deeds of Wolfe, of Boscawen, and Howe, and numberless others, prove that the genial influence of a sensible and encouraging government is alone wanting to produce the most strenuous exertions of courage and ability.

On the 7th December, a new treaty was concluded between

^s Lord Orford says this apostrophe was levelled at Doddington, who had published severe reflections against Mr. Pitt, and the cause of Prussia, in a pamphlet called an “*Examination of a Letter attributed to General Blighe*.” Mr. Butler, in his *Reminiscences*, (article, Earl of Chatham,) gives an animated account of the extreme impressiveness of this apostrophe.

CHAP. Great Britain and Prussia. This was no more than a renewal of the
XII. subsidy stipulated for in the previous treaty of the 11th April.
1758.

Whilst these arrangements were made in London, a fresh treaty of alliance between France and Austria was in preparation at Versailles. By this measure France engaged to exert herself to the utmost in procuring the restitution of Silesia and Glatz to the House of Austria; to furnish the stipulated succours, either in men or money, according to the option of the Empress-Queen; to pay the subsidy to Sweden which had hitherto been discharged conjointly by Austria; and, to maintain in Germany, during the whole war, 100,000 troops against the King of Prussia. In return for these and other great considerations, Maria Theresa confirmed to France the cession of Ostend and Nieuport during the war, and renounced her right to the eventual succession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia guaranteed to her at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle¹.

¹ Coxe's House of Austria, vol. ii. chap. 35.

CHAPTER XIII.

1759.

Letter from Mr. Pitt to General Amherst—Intelligence from General Forbes respecting his capture of Fort du Quesne—Goree taken by Commodore Keppel—Death of the Princess Governante of the United Provinces—Conduct of the Dutch towards England—Firmness of Mr. Pitt—Guadaloupe and Marigalante taken by the English—Affairs of Spain—Correspondence between Mr. Pitt and the Earl of Bristol.

THE seeds of victory had been previously sown, and some partial gatherings had taken place, but the full harvest was not reaped until the year 1759. CHAP.
XIII.
1759.

Adequately to record the brilliant exploits of my countrymen during that wonderful year is wholly beyond my power. Were I to attempt to describe them with spirit and fire proportioned to their merit, I might be in danger of falling into bombastic expression; and were I to detail them minutely, I should swell my work to a size incompatible with my plan. But although I pretend not to do them justice, I must also endeavour not to sully their brightness by any poverty of expression, nor to deprive them of their proper portion of renown by reducing them to a mere chronicle of dates and names.

The ensuing campaign in North America occupied the unremitting attention of Mr. Pitt. The following is an extract from one of his letters to General Amherst upon that most important subject:

CHAP.
XIII.
1759.

" Whitehall, December 29, 1758.

" I am now to acquaint you, that the King has come to a resolution to allot an adequate proportion of his forces in North America, amounting, (as you will see by the enclosed paper containing the destination of the troops,) to 12,005 men, to make an attack upon Quebec by the River St. Lawrence, against which place they are to proceed from Louisburg, as early in the year as on or about the 7th May, if the season shall happen to permit, under the direction of Brigadier General Wolfe, whom the King has appointed for the command of that operation, and who will have the rank of Major General for that expedition only; and I am to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that you do cause the several regiments, appointed by the said list, to be employed accordingly on that service, without making any change therein, unless some alteration should be found absolutely necessary from extraordinary inconvenience that might otherwise arise to the service from the unforeseen circumstances or situation of any particular regiment or regiments in the allotment herewith transmitted, of the forces destined for the above operation; and in case it should be found absolutely necessary to change any regiment or regiments in the said allotment, you are to take especial care that notwithstanding any such change of particular corps, the total of regular forces prescribed and fixed for this service do amount to the full number allotted in the enclosed paper for the same. It is also the King's pleasure that you do forthwith cause such part of the troops above mentioned, except General Brag's regiment, which is already at Louisburg, to be so disposed that they may be ready and embarked at New York, Boston, Halifax, or such other place as shall be most convenient, on board the transports which shall be provided for that purpose, in such time as that all the troops above mentioned for this service may be rendezvoused at Cape Breton, as nearly as may be on or about the 20th April, if the season shall happen to permit, and you will, without loss of time, despatch all necessary orders, and in particular to the Governor or Commander-in-chief at Halifax, and to the Governor at

Louisburg, with regard to any troops in their respective departments destined for this expedition, as by the enclosed state of the troops, in order that no disappointment may happen in proceeding from Louisburg, in case the season permits, by the river St. Lawrence to Quebec, on or about the 7th May, as directed in the former part of this letter; and you will not fail to order forthwith all proper provision, and particularly fresh provision as far as may be, to be immediately procured for the subsistence and refreshment of the troops, during the stay they may happen to make at Cape Breton, the place appointed for their rendezvous; and that all the preparations there and elsewhere for this service be quickened and pressed with the utmost diligence. And you will particularly direct that the battering train, and the stores of every kind thereunto belonging, (which by your letter of August 28, you informed me was sent to Halifax under the command of Colonel Williamson, and which I am now informed, by the Office of Ordnance, has been sent to Boston,) be forthwith put into most perfect repair and order for immediate service, so as that the same may be in readiness to be employed on the expedition against Quebec, as early as is already pointed out in this letter; and the necessary additions to the said train and stores are now preparing and will shortly be sent from England. You will also direct Colonel Williamson and the chief engineer to obey all such orders as he or they shall receive from the Lieutenant-General and Board of Ordnance with regard to the detaching part of the Royal Regiment of Artillery and Engineers on this expedition, and you are to cause the battering train and stores, together with three companies of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, to be embarked in such manner as you judge proper, and sent to Louisburg, so as to be there, as near as may be, by the 20th April.

CHAP.
XIII.
1759.

“Twenty thousand tons of transport vessels are actually preparing here, and will shortly proceed to New York, to be in readiness to convey the troops above mentioned to Louisburg, from such ports and in such divisions as you shall judge most expedient for the service proposed.

“But to prevent, as far as possible, any delays or disappointments

CHAP.
XIII.
1759.

happening in this essential service from a deficiency in the transports to be sent from England, either on account of their late arrival from England, or from any of the same being rendered, through accidents during their voyage, unfit when they arrive for immediate service ; it is the King's pleasure that you do forthwith take up, at such place or places as you shall judge proper in North America, six thousand tons of transport vessels, or any additional quantity that you shall find necessary for the troops, the train, the stores, and the other requisites to be employed in the expedition up the river St. Lawrence, and you will order the said vessels to be fitted and prepared in every respect, and ready whenever you shall direct for the embarkation of the troops, the train, the stores, and all other requisites for this service. And that you may not fail being able timely to procure a sufficient quantity of transports, I am particularly to recommend it to you, and you are hereby directed to order an embargo to be laid, as soon as necessary, on all ships in the different ports of the respective provinces in North America, the Governors of which were directed, by my letter of September 18, (copy of which was transmitted to you,) to comply with any application from you for this purpose ; and you will direct the said embargo to continue until such time as all the transport vessels with the troops, the train, the stores, and all the other requisites for the expedition against Quebec shall be actually sailed for their destination. But I am persuaded you will of yourself see the necessity of not mentioning the above circumstances in your orders to the Governors to lay such an embargo ; and as it may possibly happen, notwithstanding the greatest care to the contrary, that all the transports necessary for conveying the troops, train, and stores, may not be altogether ready so nearly at the same time as is to be wished ; I am to signify to you that it is the King's pleasure that you do send the above forces to Louisburg, (so as that they may be there by the time above directed,) in such divisions as you shall judge proper, without making the whole of this important service wait, on account of some part only of the troops, destined for the same, not being quite ready ; and in that case such remaining part thereof is to be sent with all expedition,

as soon after as possible, so as to join the main body assembled at Cape Breton for the service before directed.

CHAP.
XIII.
1759.

“ His Majesty is further pleased to empower you, and has commanded me strongly to recommend to you, to keep up and raise as considerable a number of rangers as may be practicable, for the various operations of the campaign; and in particular that you do not fail to cause a body of the said rangers, amounting to not less than 600, to be sent with the forces to Cape Breton, for the expedition against Quebec; but at the same time it is his Majesty’s pleasure, that you shall not, on account of the said rangers, should they not happen to be ready, detain the troops from repairing with all expedition to their destination as directed, and you are to order the said rangers, when ready, to follow and join the troops as soon after as possible.

“ I am also to signify to you his Majesty’s further pleasure, that you do forthwith take the proper steps to engage Colonel Gridley, (whom you appointed on the death of Mr. Meserve to command the carpenters at the siege of Louisburg,) or such other officer as you shall think proper, to collect the number of eighty carpenters and to proceed with them without loss of time to Cape Breton, in order that the said carpenters may be employed under the command of Colonel Gridley on such works as shall be necessary for the operation of the troops in the above expedition, or in such other manner as the Commander-in-chief of the King’s troops on that expedition shall judge proper; and in case you shall think it expedient, you will endeavour to prevail on Mr. Gridley to decline accepting any command in the troops of his province the ensuing campaign, in order that his whole time and attention may be employed in the above most essential service.

“ It having been represented that a number of schooners and sloops, together with whale boats, will be of the greatest utility to the operations to be undertaken by the way of the river St. Lawrence; it is the King’s pleasure that you do immediately cause a considerable number of schooners and sloops, not less than forty as far as may be,

CHAP.
XIII.
1759.

to be provided in the most expeditious manner, and held in readiness at New York for the service of the river St. Lawrence, and seventy whale boats to be built with the utmost diligence, which schooners, sloops, and whale boats are to be sent to Louisburg for the same service; and you will exert every means in your power to forward this essential service, in such manner that the above number of schooners, sloops, and whale boats may not fail, on any pretence whatever, to be finished by the 1st April at the latest, and that they be in every respect ready, and that they do proceed to Louisburg with the troops ordered to be assembled there. You will see by the enclosed copy of my letter to the Lieutenant-Governor of New York, that he has the strongest orders to give you all possible assistance in the execution of this very necessary work; and you will accordingly concert with him the proper measures for the punctual and full performance of the said service, so as that no delay or disappointment may happen therein.

“ You will observe in the allotment herewith transmitted to you of the forces to be employed against Quebec, that the 28th regiment is to be taken from the garrison of Louisburg; and in order to provide for the security of that most important place, during the absence of the said regiment, it is the King’s pleasure that you do employ all proper means in order that a battalion of the provincials, consisting of not less than 1000 men, may, in case it be consistent with the terms of their enlistments, as well as with their inclinations, repair to Louisburg, and there remain in garrison, on the express condition of being relieved at the end of the campaign, by his Majesty’s regular forces; and you will also take proper and effectual measures for the safety and defence of the town of Halifax and the province of Nova Scotia, during the absence of such part of the troops now there, and which are destined for the expedition above mentioned.

“ I come now to that part of the operations for the ensuing campaign in North America, which are to be under your own immediate direction, and which for their importance and extent, as well as from the correspondence and intercourse that they will constantly demand with the several governors throughout the whole of North America,

must necessarily require the presence of the officer on the Continent of America, vested with the command-in-chief of the King's forces there, by his commission under the great seal ; and his Majesty hopes from your distinguished zeal for the honor of his arms and your known abilities and experience, that the execution of a plan of operations of such weight, and formed at such expence for an irruption into Canada, will be attended with a happier and more honorable event than heretofore.

CHAP.
XIII.
1759.

“ I am therefore to signify to you the King's pleasure that you do immediately concert the properest measures for pushing the operations of the campaign with the utmost vigor early in the year, by an invasion of Canada with such part as you shall judge proper of his Majesty's troops, (not allotted as above for the expedition against Quebec,) in conjunction with such a numerous body of the forces of the Northern Provinces, as you will have seen by the copy of my letter of the 9th instant to the governors thereof, it is hoped will, in consequence of those pressing orders to that effect, which are renewed and enforced in the strongest manner by my letter of this date, (copy of which I now enclose,) be ready to join in this most important service ; and to this great end, it is his Majesty's pleasure that you do attempt an invasion of Canada by the way of Crown Point, or La Galette, or both, according as you shall judge practicable, and proceed if practicable and attack Montreal or Quebec, or both of the said places successively with such of the forces as shall remain under your own immediate direction in one body, or at one and the same time, by a division of the said forces into separate and distinct operations, according as you shall, from your knowledge of the countries through which the war is to be carried, and from emergent circumstances not to be known here, judge all or any of the said attempts to be practicable.

“ It is also the King's pleasure that you should give a due attention to the Lake Ontario, and facilitate as far as possible, consistent with other main operations of the campaign, the re-establishment of the important post of Oswego, a place so highly essential to his Majesty's possessions in North America in time of peace as well as war ; and

CHAP. you will accordingly not fail to concert with the Lieutenant-Governor
XIII. of New York, within whose province Oswego is situated, all necessary
1759. and effectual measures for re-establishing that post, in the course of
the ensuing year, and for building a sufficient and proper fort for the
security and defence thereof, and the enclosed copy of my letter to
Mr. De Lancey will show you that he has similar orders to concert
with and assist you in the execution of this very important service. It
were much to be wished that any operations on the side of Lake
Ontario could be pushed on as far as Niagara, and that you may find
it practicable to set on foot some enterprise against the fort there,
the success of which would so greatly contribute to establish the
uninterrupted dominion of that lake, and at the same time effectually
cut off the communication between Canada and the French settle-
ments to the south, and the utility and importance of such an en-
terprise against Niagara is of itself so apparent, that I am persuaded
it is unnecessary to add any thing to enforce your giving all proper
attention to the same, as far as the great and main objects of the
campaign shall permit.

“ You are already, by my letter of the 9th instant, directed to
exert your utmost endeavours to incite and encourage the several pro-
vinces to the full and due execution of the King’s commands; and
the success of the ensuing decisive campaign depends so much on com-
mencing the several operations as early as shall be practicable, and
thereby preventing the last efforts there is reason to suppose the enemy
is preparing to make, to save their possessions in North America from
total ruin, that you cannot be too urgent with the provinces to quicken
and expedite the levies, so as that the said provincial troops may be
assembled at the rendezvous, and be in every respect ready, in con-
junction with the regular forces, to open the campaign by the 1st
May; as nothing can contribute so much to the success of the opera-
tions to be undertaken in different parts of North America, and par-
ticularly of the attempt on Quebec, as putting the forces early in
motion, on the other frontiers of Canada, and thereby distracting the
enemy and obliging them to divide their strength.

“ With regard to the southern operations, I am to signify to you his Majesty’s pleasure, that you do continue Brigadier-General Forbes in that command, or if his health shall not permit him to undertake that service, that you do appoint such other officer as you shall think proper to command such forces as you shall judge proper to leave in the southern provinces; and that Brigadier Forbes, or such other officer do proceed, without loss of time, to Pennsylvania, or such other of the southern provinces as shall be thought most expedient, in order to concert any operations to be undertaken by the said troops, who, in conjunction with the forces directed by my letter of the 9th instant to the southern governors to be raised in those provinces, are to be employed under the command of Brigadier Forbes, or such officer whom you shall appoint as above, or any such offensive operations as you shall judge most expedient for annoying the enemy, and most efficacious towards removing all future dangers from the frontiers of any of the southern colonies on the continent of America.

CHAP.
XIII.
1759.

“ You will have observed by my letters to the governors, that his Majesty has been pleased to promise that his Commissaries shall issue provisions to the men raised by the several provinces, in the same proportion and manner as is done to the rest of the King’s forces. I am therefore to signify to you his Majesty’s pleasure, that you do give the necessary directions to all the Commissaries and other officers, who may have the charge of the provisions, to furnish the said men with the same in the proportion and manner above mentioned. For which purpose the contractors have received directions to have constantly in store a sufficient quantity of provisions, as well for the regular national troops as for the provincials which shall be raised in consequence of his Majesty’s orders; and it is the King’s pleasure that you should keep a particular account of the same, and that no provisions should be delivered to the provincial troops, but in consequence of an order from you or from the Commander-in-chief of his Majesty’s forces in those parts where the said provisions may be wanted; and you will, in case of necessity, draw bills for any extraordinary expenses incurred for this service. And I am here

CHAP. particularly to recommend it to you, as a principal means of preserv-
XIII. ing the health of the men, that you do cause them to be furnished with
1759. fresh meat whenever the situation and circumstances of the troops shall make the same anyways practicable; and you will take care, that, for so long time as fresh meat shall be provided for the forces, the enclosed clause of the contract be duly observed on the part of the contractors or their agents, and that the delivery of provisions of beef and pork by the contractors be accordingly in part or in the whole suspended, and a proportionable allowance only made for the several other species, as shall be agreed upon and certified by you.

“Such a considerable number of arms and tents have been already sent to North America, that it is hoped a sufficient quantity will be found there for the service of the next campaign. I am however to acquaint you that the King has been pleased to order 10,000 arms and 6,000 tents to be forthwith sent to New York for the service in North America, which you will cause to be distributed according as the same shall be necessary.

“In my letter of the 9th instant, you were directed to refit and build boats for the service of the troops on the lakes, and I am now to signify to you the King’s pleasure, that you do procure such a number of battoe-men as you shall judge necessary for the boats attending the troops, and men sufficient for navigating the vessels.”

Whilst the Minister was facilitating the departure of that great armament which was to decide the ascendancy of Great Britain over France in America*, intelligence of a most favorable nature was received by him from General Forbes. It is extremely probable that the previous destruction of Frontenac greatly aided the execution of Brigadier-General Forbes’s measures against Fort du Quesne. This active officer commenced his march from Philadelphia to the river Ohio early in July, 1758. After a detachment from his little army had received a very unfortunate check in an engagement with

* The expedition against Quebec under General Wolfe is particularly alluded to here.

the French, in which 300 men were either killed or taken prisoners, the Brigadier advanced to Fort du Quesne. But the enemy had not the resolution to sustain a siege. On the 24th November^b they abandoned the fort, of which, on the following day, the English took possession. General Forbes changed the appellation of Du Quesne and bestowed upon it a name which would have reflected honor upon the proudest city, calling it Pittsburg, after that statesman from whose counsels so many more illustrious conquests proceeded.

CHAP.
XIII.
1759.

Mr. Pitt, in a letter to General Forbes, dated January 23, 1759, thus expressed the feelings of satisfaction which the Sovereign and himself entertained towards that meritorious officer.

“ On the 19th instant I received the favor of your letter of the 20th October, and at the same time I received from Major-General Amherst the copy of that you had wrote to the Commander-in-chief of his Majesty’s forces in North America, dated the 26th and 30th November, from Fort du Quesne, (Major Halkett having, by some accident, been detained in America,) which was immediately laid before the King; and I take the first opportunity to acquaint you, that his Majesty saw, with the highest satisfaction, that the well concerted plan against Fort du Quesne, which had been formed with so much prudence and judgment, and executed with equal steadiness and resolution, had been attended with the success it so justly merited; and I have the King’s commands to assure you of his most entire approbation of your whole conduct through every step of an enterprise of the highest importance to the safety and welfare of his Majesty’s possessions in North America, and attended with such various difficulties, that nothing less than the indefatigable zeal you

^b Smollet is severe upon the King’s speech which was delivered on the 23rd November, 1758. Amongst his objections, is the omission of the surrender of Fort du Quesne in the mention of our successes. Whether this was possible, when that surrender did not take place till the 24th November, I leave the reader to determine.

CHAP. have shown for the King's service, and your constant and unwearied
XIII. application and perseverance could have surmounted ; and that at a
1759. time while you laboured under such an unhappy state of health, as
your distinguished duty alone to the King, and uncommon ardor for
the honor of his Majesty's arms, could have enabled you to struggle
with.

“ You are yourself so truly sensible of the high consequence of the post you have now possessed yourself of, that the King is persuaded you will have taken every possible measure to make a secure establishment there, and that you will have neglected no means in your power to maintain his Majesty's subjects in the undisputed possession of the Ohio, and thereby effectually to cut off all trade and communication this way, between Canada and the western and southern Indians ; protect the British colonies from the incursions to which they have been exposed since the French built Fort du Quesne, and thereby made themselves masters of the navigation of the Ohio ; and fix again the several Indian nations in their alliance with, and dependance upon his Majesty's government. And though you mention not to have found all the assistance from some provinces which you so justly expected and required, yet it is hoped that the success, notwithstanding such innumerable obstructions, which you have at last obtained, and in which all the inhabitants of that part of America are so immediately and so nearly interested, will animate their zeal, and double all efforts on their parts, expeditiously and effectually to maintain a post, on the possession whereof the safety and prosperity of those colonies so essentially depend ; and the enclosed copy of my letter to the governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, will inform you of the strong orders they have received on this subject. I have also had his Majesty's orders to direct the Commander-in-chief of his forces in North America to lose no time in concerting with you the properest and speediest means for completely restoring, if possible, the ruined fort to a defensible and respectable state, or for erecting another in the room of it of sufficient strength, and every way adequate to the great importance of its several objects above mentioned ;

and he is further directed to give you all possible assistance herein, CHAP.
 as well as for such other operations, as in concert with the General, XIII.
 shall be judged proper for pushing on that side the successes of his 1759.
 Majesty's arms the ensuing campaign."

On the 27th January, Mr. Pitt received the following letter from Commodore Keppel relating the capture of Goree :

" Sir,

" I arrived here with the squadron under my command the 28th December past in the evening, and the next morning, agreeable to his Majesty's instruction, I attacked with the ships the fort and batteries on the island of Goree, which were soon reduced to desire to capitulate; and the Governor's demands were, to be allowed to march the French troops out of the garrison with the honors of war. His terms I absolutely rejected, and began a fresh attack; it was, however, but of very short duration, when the island &c. surrendered at discretion. Lieutenant-Colonel Worge had his troops embarked in the flat-bottomed boats in good order and readiness, at a proper distance, with the transports to attempt a descent when it should be found practicable or requisite.

" Two days after the surrender of the island, I ordered it to be delivered up with the cannon, artillery, stores, and provisions, &c. found in it, to the officer and troops Lieutenant-Colonel Worge thought fit to garrison the place with; and the Colonel is taking all imaginable pains to settle and regulate the garrison in the best manner, and as fast as things will admit of.

" The enclosed, Sir, is the state of the island, with the artillery, ammunition, and provisions found in the place at its surrender.

" French made prisoners of war, 300.

" Blacks in arms, a great number, but I am not well enough informed as yet to say precisely.

" The loss the enemy sustained, as to men, is so very differently

CHAP. stated to me by those that have been asked, that I must defer saying
XIII. the number till another opportunity.
1759.

“Iron ordnance of different bores 93; one brass twelve-pounder; iron swivels mounted on carriages 11; brass mortars mounted on beds, two of thirteen inches; ditto, one of ten inches; iron, one of ten inches. In the magazine, powder 100 barrels. Provisions of all species for 400 men for four months.”

The death of the Princess Gouvernante of the United Provinces occurred at this period, and affected George II. very sensibly both as a father, and as a king. He was much attached to his daughter, and he knew that her death might be attended with serious consequences in Holland.

The Dutch had for some time taken a very unfair advantage of that neutrality which, contrary to their treaties, they had been permitted by England to observe. They had become carriers to the French, not only of mercantile commodities, but of military stores. The English government, incensed at such conduct, issued orders that all neutral vessels, having French property on board, should be arrested by our cruisers. A great number of Dutch ships were, consequently, taken and condemned as legal prizes, both in England and Jamaica. The loudest clamour now arose amongst the subjects of the United Provinces. Remonstrance after remonstrance were presented by the merchants to the Princess Gouvernante, and a war with England seemed inevitable^c. The Duke of Newcastle interfered to prevent this; and, without communicating the proceeding to Mr. Pitt, directed Mr. Yorke, the British resident at the Hague, to make strong promises of satisfaction to Holland. The complaints of the Dutch

^c The Dutch themselves, in conjunction with the English, had formerly practised this system, (of seizing neutral vessels employed in the service of an enemy,) of which they now so loudly complained. In the reign of King William III., the two countries were at war with France, the commerce of which country the northern powers of Sweden and Denmark then attempted to carry on, but the English and the Dutch at once united to seize their vessels and to prevent the system.

had of course reached Mr. Pitt, but he knew that their shameful partiality to the French had merited the treatment which they experienced, and he empowered Mr. Yorke to be sparing of his promises of satisfaction. Mr. Yorke answered, that this was now too late; he had received a different commission from the Duke of Newcastle, and had accordingly given the Dutch encouragement to hope for fuller redress. But the firmness of Mr. Pitt was not to be shaken by the timid counsels of his colleague. He represented with becoming warmth, to his Grace, the weakness of his instructions to Mr. Yorke; he persevered in his own resolution, and declared that as the Duke had occasioned the British resident to make unwarrantable promises to the Dutch, he must now incur the odium of retracting them.

CHAP.
XIII.
1759.

The Princess of Orange had constantly endeavoured to compose the differences between Holland and Great Britain, and her death, at this period, was felt by both countries as a great calamity. The French had been active in exciting the Dutch against England, and the prudent and mild administration of her Royal Highness had been eminently useful in repressing the violence of the former.

The firmness and severity of our administration towards the Dutch, although it materially checked them in lending an unfair and fraudulent assistance to the commerce of France, was productive of one evil, by affording certain miscreant masters of privateers a pretext for boarding and searching every Dutch vessel they encountered. The real object of these wretches, of course, was plunder, and they evinced this, by many instances of extraordinary atrocity.

Complaints of these piracies being made to the court of St. James's, the Lords of the Admiralty proffered a reward of 500*l.* to any person who should discover the offenders. Several of them were consequently apprehended, condemned, and executed. But the administration, wishing to put an effectual stop to these enormities, passed, in the following session of Parliament, "An act to explain and amend an act of the 29th George II. for the encouragement of seamen, and the more speedy and effectual manning of his Majesty's

CHAP. navy ; and for the better prevention of piracies and robberies by pri-
 XIII. vate ships of war :” which produced the desired effects.
 1759.

On the 14th June Mr. Pitt received despatches from the Hon. General Barrington, informing him of the surrender of the island of Guadaloupe to his Majesty’s forces. Martinique had been the first object of the expedition. The attempt against that island had failed, partly on account of some misunderstanding between the commodore and the general of the land forces, and partly owing to the age and infirmities of the latter, which prevented him from exerting those energies which such a service requires.

Although the enterprise against Martinique had failed, the leaders of the armament knew that the minister would not excuse any want of spirit and activity in their subsequent proceedings. In pursuance of their instructions, they therefore determined to attack Guadaloupe.

This very fine island derives its name from a resemblance which it bears to a chain of mountains called Guadaloupe, in Old Spain. It is extremely fertile and productive, and abounds in every thing conducive to the conveniences and luxuries of life.

After a campaign of nearly three months, during which General Hopson died, and the forces in general suffered greatly from sickness, Guadaloupe fell into our hands. The reduction of the small island of Marigalante immediately followed. These were most important conquests, and naturally afforded the greatest satisfaction to the minister and the country.

The cares and labours of the secretary were by no means confined to the direction of the war, or to transactions with those nations in union with, or against whom we were engaged in hostilities. A country with which we were then at peace, but whose conduct gave ground to fear that they might take a decided part with our enemies, was the object of his most vigilant attention. This country was Spain. The King of Spain was himself at this period in the most frightful state both of body and mind. The right of Don Carlos, King of Naples, to the throne of Spain was undoubted, and the lamentable

condition of his brother's health rendered his own accession an event of almost daily probability. No endeavours were omitted by the French to attach Don Carlos to their interest, and it must be admitted that the services which they were able to render him were extremely important. The Spanish minister, M. Wall, although apparently desirous of preserving the friendship between England and Spain, occasionally evinced a disposition of resentment to this country, and of partiality towards France, which were calculated to alarm Mr. Pitt.

CHAP.
XIII.
1759.

Sir Benjamin Keene, who had for many years been our ambassador at Madrid, dying in December, 1757, William, Earl of Bristol, was, on the 17th June, 1758, appointed to succeed him. This nobleman was well qualified for his situation, possessing much good sense and shrewdness, an even temper, and conciliating manners. Although no open quarrel had arisen, several causes of difference at this time existed between Great Britain and Spain. These disputes principally regarded the following points: The restitution of certain vessels bearing the Spanish flag, alleged to have been captured by the English:—The privilege claimed by the Spaniards of fishing upon the banks of Newfoundland:—The demolition of the English settlements upon the Spanish territories in the Bay of Honduras. These, together with the claim of the English to cut logwood in certain of the Spanish settlements, were the subjects of repeated discussion between the two countries. With regard to the first point—the captures alleged to have been made by the English—Mr. Pitt desired Lord Bristol to represent to the Spanish minister that the conduct of England would be guided by the determinations of our courts of admiralty. The second point—the Spanish claim to fish off the bank of Newfoundland—Lord Bristol was directed absolutely to deny. Upon the third point Lord Bristol had instructions to negotiate^d. But before orders were issued to destroy the English forts erected in the Spanish settle-

^d In his first letter from Madrid, Lord Bristol thus does justice to the ability of Mr. Pitt. "I beg leave to return you my thanks for the great accuracy and precision with which you have explained every part of my instructions: I only wish I may be able to discharge my duty in fulfilling them, as well as you have accomplished yours in the direction of them."

CHAP. ments, Mr. Pitt was desirous of obtaining a regular permission from the
 XIII.
 1759. Spanish crown, authorising the British to cut logwood in Honduras.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Pitt to the Earl of Bristol.

“ Whitehall, August 1, 1758.

“ Agreeable to my letter of the 20th June last, I now despatch this messenger with his Majesty’s orders to your Excellency on the several points of business depending with the Court of Spain. In order first to inform your Excellency fully of the present state of things relative to establishments in the Bay of Honduras, and other parts of that coast in the West Indies, I send your Excellency herewith the several papers mentioned in the enclosed list^c, which contain every thing that has passed between the two Courts since September, 1756, when that matter was stirred by a memorial in form, delivered on the subject, and which has since been pressed with a good deal of warmth on the part of Spain. Your Excellency will see the unfriendly, not to say offensive, manner in which M. D’Abreu was, in November last, order to return the answer which I had given to that minister on the 9th of the preceding September. It was scarcely to be doubted, that the temperate and measured reply which the King ordered me to make to M. D’Abreu, on the 29th November, would have induced M. Wall to have entered into such explanations, as common usage and decorum require on such an occasion, and as are absolutely necessary, in order to the bringing this matter to a just and amicable conclusion. But M. Wall has hitherto disappointed this reasonable expectation, and, as your Excellency will see by Colonel De Cosne’s letters, has constantly refused to declare wherein the King’s answer of the 9th September had been thought inadmissible, and, contrary to the promises made by any of his Majesty’s ministers: M. D’Abreu, at the same time, constantly declaring here, that he had no instructions from his Court to give any explanation upon the subject. His

^c I have published as much of Mr. Pitt’s correspondence with Lord Bristol and other ministers as I thought would explain his policy. The papers to which he refers I have, from their number and length, been almost always compelled to omit.

Majesty, nevertheless, from a principle of equity and moderation, still continues in the same resolution, which your Excellency will observe has been often repeated in the course of the correspondence herewith transmitted to you, of giving all reasonable and just satisfaction to the Court of Spain, and the King only waits for such openings from the Spanish minister as are necessary to enable his Majesty to give the Catholic King this fresh and effectual proof of his Majesty's constant desire to remove every obstacle to the establishment of the most lasting friendship and union between the two crowns : but, until some opening of this sort be made on the part of Spain, your Excellency will decline entering particularly into the subject of the Honduras, taking, nevertheless, all opportunities of repeating to the Spanish ministers the strongest assurances of his Majesty's sincere and cordial dispositions towards that Court as far as is consistent with the rights of his people and the honor and dignity of his crown : and your Excellency will use your utmost endeavours to make M. Wall sensible of the rectitude of the King's intentions, and, if possible, to soften the asperity, and eradicate the diffidence, which have, for some time past, but too much appeared in the conversation of that minister.

CHAP.
XIII.
1759.

“ I am particularly commanded by the King to caution your Excellency in your discourses with the Spanish ministers, on the subject of the Honduras, to be constantly attentive to distinguish between the privilege which his Majesty's subjects have long enjoyed and practised, (and which was confirmed by the first article of the Treaty of Commerce between England and Spain concluded at Utrecht,) of repairing to the uninhabited parts of the province of Yucatan, merely for the purpose of cutting logwood, and between that which relates to such settlements or establishments as may have been made in violation of the territorial jurisdiction of the crown of Spain. For it is extremely material that your Excellency should not, in your conversations with the Spanish ministers, drop any thing that may be interpreted into a facility on the part of his Majesty with regard to the above right of cutting logwood.

“ The enclosed copy of a memorial, lately delivered by M.

CHAP. D'Abreu, will inform your Excellency of a new point which that
 XIII. minister has, on occasion of two ships detained by our privateers, started
 1759. with regard to a right which the Spaniards, and particularly the
 Guiprescoans, have formerly pretended to have, to fish at Newfoundland, which right M. D'Abreu claims by the fifteenth article of the Treaty of Utrecht, and the second of that of Madrid, in the year 1721, of both of which articles I send your Excellency the enclosed extracts, whereby you will see, how entirely without foundation this pretension is, the former only giving to the Spaniards such privileges as they are able to make claim to by right, *jure sibi vindicare poterunt*, and the latter simply confirming the stipulation of the Treaty of Utrecht without giving any new right whatever.

“The inclosed report of the Board of Trade, dated the 13th January, 1712-13, on a memorial of the Marquis de Monteleon, not only shews the sense of the English ministers upon this subject at that time, but also the impossibility of granting a privilege which is expressly prohibited to all aliens and strangers by a particular act of Parliament made in the reign of King William, when England was in amity and alliance with Spain: and some judgment may even be formed of the sentiments of the Court of Spain itself from the inclosed copy of a pass, dated 27th February, 1712-13, subsequent to the claim set up by the Marquis de Monteleon's memorial, for a Spanish ship to go to Newfoundland to buy fish, caught and cured by the English, but with an express clause, that the said ship do not fish on any of the banks of Newfoundland. For it is hardly to be imagined that the Court of Spain would have accepted of such a pass, had they supposed that their subjects had any well-founded right to fish themselves in those parts; and the enclosed extract of M. Methuen's instructions, dated 1st February, 1714-15, (which was renewed in the same words the 1st June, 1715, to Mr. Bubb,) together with the copy of a letter wrote by Mr. Secretary Stanhope to the Lords of the Admiralty, on the 9th May, 1715, when the Spaniards were said to be fitting out some ships for this trade, and the extract of the standing instructions to the Commander of his Majesty's ships

on that station, fully prove that the English ministry have never understood such a right to have been given by the Treaty of Utrecht. CHAP.
XIII.
1759.

“ No further step appears to have been taken on this subject till the year 1719, when Colonel Stanhope, the late King’s minister with the French army, transmitted a memorial from the States of Guipuscoa, claiming this privilege, not only in virtue of the Treaty of Utrecht, but because their ancestors always enjoyed the same, as the first discoverers of those parts, which memorial having been referred to the Board of Trade, their Lordships on the 11th September, 1719, made a very full and judicious report in answer thereto, (copy whereof I enclose to your Excellency,) in which report the only proof attempted to be brought in support of this supposed right of the Guipuscoans, as first discoverers, is not only clearly confuted but it is also demonstrated, that was there any foundation for the notion of their ancestors having been the first discoverers of Newfoundland, they are absolutely excluded from all such pretended right by the 7th and 8th articles of the American Treaty in 1670, between Great Britain and Spain, (copies of which articles I also enclose). The several papers above mentioned will furnish your Excellency with such strong proofs and arguments, that there can be little doubt of your being thereby able to convince the Spanish ministers that this claim is totally void of all foundation ; and that it is impossible for the King, on any account, to admit of a trade to which the Spaniards have no right by treaty, and which they have never enjoyed or practised ; and as this memorial of M. D’Abreu seems only founded on the complaints made to him by the captains of the two Spanish ships the privateers have detained, and that it does not appear to have been delivered in consequence of any particular order from his Court, or that even he has any instructions on this subject, it is scarcely to be imagined that the Spanish ministers will seriously take up and support this pretension.

“ M. D’Abreu having, in the memorial above mentioned, renewed his complaints of the behaviour of the privateers in general, I am naturally led to that disagreeable subject, on which it is unnecessary to trouble your Excellency with many papers as you will be able to

CHAP. inform yourself of all that has passed relative to this point from the late
XIII. Sir Benjamin Keene's papers, which have been left in the hands of
1759. Colonel De Cosne for your perusal; I therefore only enclose copies of three of M. D'Abreu's memorials, and of the two answers which I had the King's commands to return to that minister and which indeed contain every thing that can be said on such a subject. His Majesty sees, with real concern, the irregularities which many privateers have doubtless committed; and no opportunity, that the nature and constitution of this government allow, has been neglected, not only to give the Spanish sufferers all possible satisfaction by the immediate release of their ships, in such cases where the same could be obtained, but also to inflict the most exemplary punishment on the offenders, of which the actual execution of four persons at Antigua, is a convincing proof; and if more examples have not been made, it has been entirely owing to the Spanish complainants, though invited thereto, not having been able to produce sufficient evidence of the facts alleged."

"I cannot leave this subject of privateers and captures, without recommending to your Excellency, in a particular manner, the cases of two of his Majesty's subjects: the one, Mr. Irwin, Master of his Majesty's ship the Experiment, who has been long confined in a castle called Denia in Valencia, under pretence that the Experiment had taken a French privateer called Telemaque in violation of the territorial jurisdiction of Spain, and though Mr. Irwin's liberty has been offered to him, yet it was on a condition, not in his power to comply with, viz. giving security to abide the sentence that should be given by the council of war. The other case I have to mention is that of Captain Tate, of the Duke of Bedford privateer, against whom the extraordinary sentence, which your Excellency will see in the inclosed extract of a letter from Consul Jordan, is said to have been lately passed, after a long confinement at Ferrol, on pretence of his having plundered some Spanish and other neutral vessels off that coast—Colonel de Cosne is so fully acquainted with the two cases above mentioned that it is unnecessary for me to do more than refer you to him."

“ It is the King’s pleasure that your Excellency should employ your best offices with M. Wall for the immediate release of Mr. Irwin and Captain Tate, in the passing of which offices, you will be particularly careful not to use any expressions that may tend to increase the *aigreur* with which that minister has always treated these matters ; but your Excellency will, on the contrary, endeavour to cool and soften M. Wall by laying before him in a friendly manner the natural tendency of such rigorous proceedings towards his Majesty’s subjects.”

CHAP.
XIII.
1759.

“ *Postscript.*—Since writing this letter I find by my last conference with M. D’Abreu^f that M. Wall had expressly instructed him to support the pretension of going to fish on the banks of Newfoundland. I, on that occasion, declared to that minister without any reserve, that on the present state of this affair the King would never admit that pretension. No proofs having ever been produced by Spain to support the same since the first loose mention of this matter in the 15th article of the treaty of Utrecht, and I am fully persuaded that no proofs which are valid can ever be produced with regard to this pretension. I declined entering with much detail into this matter with M. D’Abreu, telling him that I had the King’s order to transmit to your Excellency, all the papers and documents relating thereto, with directions to communicate, with all candour and openness, the contents thereof to the Spanish ministry ; and his Majesty doubts not from the equity and sincere intentions of the court of Spain, that when they come to see the force and weight of such a series of facts and proofs as are contained in the said papers, that court will no longer insist on a point so untenable on their part, and so totally inadmissible on that of England.”

In a letter dated Whitehall, August 15th, 1758, addressed to the Earl of Bristol, and delivered to him by Colonel De Cosne, Mr. Pitt expresses himself in the following forcible manner :

“ The King still hopes that when his Catholic Majesty is in-

^f Minister from the court of Madrid to that of London.

CHAP. formed of such a series of established facts and uncontrovertible evi-
 XIII. dence, the court of Spain will no longer insist on this pretended right,
 1759. having as yet produced no other ground of this extraordinary and inadmissible proceeding except the treaties above, concluding nothing to the point, but that which is contained in a letter M. D'Abreu read to me from M. Wall, wherein that minister says, that *Bacalao* ^e being very scarce and dear in Spain his Catholic Majesty had thought proper to give passports to his subjects to go and take it themselves; on which I could not help asking M. D'Abreu whether he thought the King, his master, would consider a scarcity of gold and silver in England, as any foundation for his Majesty to give passports to his subjects to fetch it themselves from Mexico or Peru."

In one of his earliest letters to the Secretary, Lord Bristol thus describes the conduct of the Spanish minister :

" *Madrid, Monday, 18th September, 1758.*

" Monsieur Wall sent for me into his closet on Saturday, he did not open himself in the least concerning our disputes in the Gulphs of Honduras and Campeachy, nor did he mention the Spanish claim to fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, he only exclaimed in general against our privateers, and spoke with warmth of what had happened to M. Pignatelli's baggage. He said I could not be ignorant of the solicitation of the Empress, or the promises of the court of France to induce the Catholic King to take a share in the present war, and that all Europe saw how strictly his royal master had adhered to his engagements of observing a strict neutrality, but that the English seemed determined to exhaust their patience; he added, that Spain was not at present a formidable power, but still was a respectable one: he flung out some menaces of not suffering English privateers to come into ports of Spain, and concluded with saying, that when the Conde de Fuentes, (whose departure he was pressing,) arrived at London, his

^e Bacalao is a species of cod-fish, which, when dried, forms a principal article of food in Spain. The coasts of Newfoundland abound with these fish.

Catholic Majesty would then know the real intention of the court of Great Britain. I heard all General Wall had to say without interrupting him, or adding fuel to a fire that might have blazed out, and which if it had, I should only have left to consume itself; I assured him, I hoped every thing might still be well, for my instructions were such, when he would allow me to expatiate upon them, as should convince the Catholic King how sincerely his Majesty desired to cement the friendship between the two crowns, and to remove every obstacle that might retard a union so much to be wished for. During our conversation, I pressed twice for the release-ment of Mr. Irwin now confined in Denia castle, but Mons. Wall gave me no direct answer of the time.”

CHAP.
XIII.
1759.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Pitt to the Earl of Bristol.

“ Whitehall, December 5th, 1758.

“ I had before received his Majesty’s commands not to lose this post in transmitting to your Excellency a piece of intelligence the King has received by an authentick channel, concerning more than ordinary movements which M. Pignatelli has been some time making at the court of Denmark, and that there are strong symptoms of that minister’s being at work with those of Denmark for some particular concert between the two respective crowns the immediate object of which is, as yet, somewhat mysterious; but it is surmised, that some sort of naval union between those two powers may be the thing in agitation. Though a coalition of this kind would, in the present conjuncture, tally but ill with the temperate and reasonable spirit M. Wall appears to be now in with regard to disputes about captures, and with the favorable and cordial sentiments towards England, which his Majesty observes with the highest satisfaction that minister has so recently expressed to your Excellency. Yet the King has nevertheless thought proper that your Excellency should be apprized of the above intelligence, which his Majesty cannot but hope, from M. Wall’s late conversation with you, will not prove founded. Under these circumstances, it is the King’s pleasure that

CHAP. your Excellency should use the utmost circumspection not to manifest
XIII. a distrust, (which might give pain, and perhaps indispose M. Wall
1759. towards us,) but at the same time, that you should be particularly watchful and vigilant to discover whether there may be any ground for such surmises."

The King of Naples' intentions with regard to setting aside his eldest son, in the succession to the Spanish throne, were mentioned to Mr. Pitt by Lord Bristol. In a letter dated Madrid, 15th January, 1759, Lord Bristol says, "The French and Austrians would leave nothing unattempted to induce his Sicilian Majesty to declare against the English. They have promised to guarantee, in the strongest manner, his present possessions to his third son, (for the eldest is an avowed idiot,) and the second, of course, would be declared the Prince of Asturias, in case the crown of Spain devolved upon the King of Naples."

In the first part of a letter, dated Whitehall, March 1, 1759, Mr. Pitt alludes, with great delicacy, to the probable consequences which would result from the death of the King of Spain, and instructs Lord Bristol as to the language he should adopt with regard to the rights and prospects of the King of Naples and the King of Sardinia. He then thus adverts to the complaints of the Spanish government regarding the outrages of the English privateers: "M. Wall having in his conversations frequently mentioned that unhappy source of dissatisfaction which arises from the undue practices of our privateers, I cannot conclude this despatch without informing your Excellency, with much pleasure, that several persons are actually in custody, and will speedily be brought to trial, when there is great reason to hope, in case they are guilty, sufficient evidence will be produced to convict them capitally, and, by such a necessary example, to deter others from the like enormities. It is also under consideration to propose a law in Parliament for restraining such excesses of privateers, as have given but too much scandal. I am further to inform your Excellency that the Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's ships in the Mediterranean will have the strictest orders to avoid giving any possibility of

umbrage or complaint to the court of Spain, or any other power in Italy, in alliance with his Majesty, as well as to exert all his influence to keep the privateers in those parts within just bounds; and the King does not doubt but that orders will also be given on the part of Spain, to prevent any partialities in their ports, and that no undue protection or shelter be given to the small French privateers, which have so frequently interrupted the trade of the British subjects in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar. I have a particular pleasure in acquainting your Excellency of the King's entire approbation of your conduct, and of the prudent manner in which you have managed the several conversations you have had with M. Wall, as well as those with the Neapolitan and Sardinian ambassadors." CHAP.
XIII.
1759.

Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Bristol to Mr. Pitt.

" Madrid, Monday, March 5, 1759.

" Prince Yaci^e has acquainted me with his having received orders for every one to continue in employment after the demise of his Catholic Majesty, till the arrival of the King of Naples; but he said, at the same time, that I should perceive very great changes, before it was long, at his court. That M. Wall was to be one of the very few who was intended to remain in his present situation; and he, (Prince Yaci,) should not stay many months at Madrid, for his Sicilian Majesty had determined to place him at the head of the army in the kingdom of Naples, by appointing him the Captain General in the room of the present one, who is blind, and will retire, with a considerable pension, from business. The Marquis Grimaldi, ambassador from the crown to the States General, who has been at Madrid above a year, with leave of absence, has been strongly soliciting to be sent in the same character to Paris. He is commonly reputed to be a man of parts, yet I have never been able to discover any talents

^e The Neapolitan ambassador.

CHAP.
XIII.
1759.

in him, except a peculiar gift of noise and impudence ; and from the confident assurance with which he delivers his opinion upon all subjects, those who do not attend to his superficial reasoning might be imposed upon. This man, a Genoese by birth, entered into high life with the character of an Abbé, but not thinking he was likely to rise so quick in his ecclesiastical profession as his ambition would have carried him, laid aside his cloak and band, and adopted himself into the class of those who sought preference as a foreign minister. He has devoted himself to M. Wall, whose partiality to him surprises every one, and as Monsieur Grimaldi is one of the most avowed of the whole French party at this court, I thought it might not be improper for you, Sir, to be acquainted with his connections, his character, and his views."

The next extract which I insert in this place is one from the ambassador to Mr. Pitt, descriptive of the characters of the various ministers then resident at Madrid.

" Madrid, Monday, 16th April, 1759.

" As I have been several months at Madrid, during which time I have endeavoured to study the characters of most of the foreign ministers, I will venture to transmit to you the opinion I have formed of the gentlemen employed by the different potentates of Europe at this Court. I must premise, that excepting the Nuncio, the French Ambassador, and the Imperial Minister, who have set dinner meetings, there is very little connection amongst the rest, who seem to have caught the infection of unsociability which reigns so generally in this country.

" I will begin by M. Spinola, a Genoese, and the Papal Nuncio, both as he is of the smallest consequence to the political state of Europe, and that I can have the least connection with him, although he very attentively came to see me, which visit I returned the next day. He is no bigot, a well-bred, inoffensive man, and liked by all who know him.

“ M. Aubeterre is Ambassador from France, and, as such, will always make the principal figure at this Court. He is sensible, and, though exempt from the self-sufficiency so peculiar to his nation, feels the dignity of his character, and the weight of the sovereign he represents ; very properly zealous for his royal master’s cause, but has ever shewn himself as properly reserved when we have been together. CHAP.
XIII.
1759.

“ The Abbé de Saldanha, the Portuguese Ambassador, is an unaffected, open, worthy, but retired man, who always professes a great attachment for the English nation.

“ I have, in some former letter, written so much about the Prince Yaci, that I need not add any thing concerning him here, only that I am perfectly satisfied with his conduct, and shall prove to him how ready I am to cultivate his friendship, without giving him any uneasiness about the jealousy the French have already shewn concerning his conferring with me.

“ The Sardinian Ambassador, Comte de la Tour, has good parts, but is such an incessant talker, that he has, with truth, acquired the reputation of being indiscreet. He came here against M. Ossorio’s consent, is still upon bad terms with him, and therefore, I believe, but half-informed from his own Court ; yet, as he will appear to be thoroughly so, and must give vent to his loquacity, often starts arguments without any grounds. The King of Sardinia might be better served by a man with inferior talents and more judgment.

“ Monsieur Foscarini’s abilities are sufficient to execute any commission the Republic of Venice, whose ambassador he is, can be likely to have at Madrid.

“ The Baron Wasner, Ambassador from the States General, has been a long time in this country, and is very impatient to return home, as his successor, M. de Gronsfeld, is appointed. M. Wasner is speculative ; a great reasoner upon all incidents, inquisitive, and makes about the same figure in Spain that his Republic does in Europe. He would be considerable, but the power he represents neither enables him to make any figure by his expense, nor to obtain the consideration he seeks from their influence in public affairs.

CHAP.
XIII.
1759.

“ The Maltese Ambassador is a cypher, and therefore I only name him, as he is one of our corps.

“ Monsieur Rosenberg, Minister from the Empress-Queen, is conscious of his capacity ; although he has a very good one, he very much over-rates his own genius. He is superlatively insolent, and so hurt at not having the first rank, that he will not give the title of Excellency to those who do not give it to him ; and he endeavours to put himself upon a par, in all respects, with ambassadors.

“ Count Colowrat, the Saxon Minister, has little to do here, but to solicit the payment of some money due from this crown to his master, who has made over that debt to him, instead of appointments, which he is never likely to obtain. He is in low circumstances ; an honest, worthy man, but constantly drunk after dinner till night.

“ Monsieur Bachoff, Envoy from Denmark, bears a good private character, has bad health, which confines him at home, and is by far the most silent man I ever met with ; but, although he never enters into conversation, and only answers by monosyllables, and sometimes asks some indifferent question, it is easy to perceive that his genius is not of the first class.

“ The Swedish Envoy, M. Hildebrand, is not very communicative ; he had some wrong-headed quarrel with the late Venetian Ambassador, M. Justiniani, in which he went so far as to challenge him, because he would not give him the title of Excellency, which makes him, in general, avoided and treated coolly.

“ The Bavarian and Modonese Ministers, M. Sarni, and the Count Pogi, seem unnecessary expenses to their respective sovereigns, for they are, as well as Count Colowrat, soliciting arrears of money which they will never be paid the smallest part of.

“ Monsieur Zoagli, the Minister of Genoa, has good parts, and, from his long residence in Spain, is thoroughly acquainted with the country.

“ Monsieur Torre, the Extraordinary Minister from that Republic, has been here but a few months, to execute a particular commission, relating to the prohibition of some Genoese manufactures from coming

into this kingdom, which the Catholic King's ill health has hitherto prevented his setting about. He is retired and reserved."

CHAP.
XIII.
1759.

I shall conclude the chapter with an extract of a letter from Mr. Pitt to the Ambassador.

" Whitehall, June 5th, 1759.

" Though during the continuation of the melancholy suspense in which Spain is held by the prolongation of the sufferings of their unhappy monarch, there cannot be much room for transmitting to your Excellency particular instructions, or corresponding on immediate points of business, I have the pleasure to acquaint your Excellency that the King has found your letters, from time to time, full of very interesting relations, and that his Majesty approves the manner in which you have managed the several important conversations of which you give an account.

" The King has a particular satisfaction in seeing the very confidential foot on which you live with General Wall, and the just and cordial sentiments which he has so fully expressed towards the King, and it is unnecessary to add, that your Excellency cannot act more agreeably to his Majesty's views and inclinations than in cultivating with the utmost attention the friendship and confidence of that minister.

" The King likewise sees with great pleasure your intimate connection with Prince Yaci, the Neapolitan Ambassador, and his Majesty cannot but consider in this critical conjuncture, when all eyes in Spain are turned towards Naples, such an intercourse to be of great utility and importance to his service, and the King relies on your Excellency's prudence and address to improve such an advantage.

" With regard to what your Excellency mentions to have come from that Ambassador in conversation, and as from himself, of an idea of his Majesty's squadron in the Mediterranean accompanying the King of Naples to Spain; there is all reason to believe that such a

CHAP. suggestion must have been made without any direction from his Court,
XIII. a compliment of that kind having been, a considerable time since,
1759. ——— intimated at the court of Naples, who declined it, and in consequence of
which, Prince Sanseverino has very fully expressed here the sense the
King of Naples had of so friendly an offer on the part of his Majesty.
At the same time your Excellency may let Prince Yaci understand,
that in case on a second reflection, such a public mark of the King's
firm and cordial friendship should be agreeable to that court, his
Majesty will with pleasure give orders accordingly, thinking that a
squadron of his could be no way so honorably employed or so perfectly
to the King's satisfaction.

“The pretended fears of M. D'Aubeterre for St. Domingo, and the trite artifice of endeavouring to alarm Spain for her interests in Hispaniola, correspond with the like labours of M. D'Ossun at Naples, and with regard to which, I am to acquaint your Excellency, that I have desired Prince Sanseverino to assure his court that far from having any intention of attacking St. Domingo he sees his Majesty's arms are turned in the West Indies another way, against the French Caribbee Islands.

“I have as yet no commands from the King on the subject of a credential to the Queen Dowager. The difficulties attending your Excellency's presenting such a credential, in the only two supposable cases, either that of Queen Dowager or of Regent, before you shall have presented any credentials as the King's Ambassador to the Crown of Spain, as well as before notification of a demise and new accession in Spain, are, from your Excellency's present situation, so peculiar and of such weight, that it is thought the matter deserves further consideration.

“I enclose herewith to your Excellency his Majesty's message to the two Houses of Parliament with regard to the actual preparations making in the ports of France with a design to invade this kingdom; together with their addresses thereupon. Your Excellency will, no doubt, have heard something in general, not only of these avowed designs, but of the actual preparations of France for this pur-

pose, and I am now to acquaint you, that after repeated intelligence of such a nature, it became necessary to make a communication to Parliament, in order to derive the fullest powers to Government of calling forth every measure of defence; but your Excellency may be thoroughly persuaded, that whatever danger there may be of an invasion being attempted, such is the situation of these kingdoms by the wise precautions of his Majesty, that the apprehension of the consequences of such an attempt neither disturb nor fluctuate the councils of the King, nor tend in the least to break the measures, or check the vigour of any part of the plan of the war; his Majesty's regular forces in Great Britain and Ireland amounting to above 40,000 men, thirty-five ships of the line, besides frigates, equipped and manned for home service."

CHAP.
XIII.
1759.

CHAPTER XIV.

1759.

The French project an Invasion of Great Britain—Admirable state of the country under Mr. Pitt's administration—Message from the King to Parliament respecting a French Invasion—Exertions throughout the Country in defence of Government—Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick—Battle of Minden—Lord George Sackville—Impartiality of Mr. Pitt—Operations of the British Navy—Fleet under Boscawen—Victory over De la Clue—King of Prussia is defeated at Cunnersdorf—Brilliant successes of the English in America under General Amherst and Sir William Johnson—Letter from General Amherst to Mr. Pitt, and from Mr. Pitt to General Amherst—Spanish correspondence.

CHAP. THE French ministry recollecting the alarm which their menaces, in
XIV. the year 1756, had excited in this country, and the benefit which
1759. themselves had derived from them; and probably supposing that the
strong terrors which Mr. Pitt's expeditions against their own coast had
occasioned throughout France might now be thrown back upon Eng-
land, renewed their purpose of invasion. All their ports evinced the
activity of their preparations; transports were collected, large ships
of the line equipped, and troops ordered to assemble on the coast for
embarkation. They asserted and they supposed that from the power-
ful squadrons and armaments which England had sent to different parts
of the world, her internal strength must be greatly exhausted, and
her navies in the European seas insufficient to protect her coasts.
But the times had changed. Another minister was at the head of
the British administration, and other principles prevailed. The reign

of terror was passed in England, and was transferred to her enemies. The lapse of three years had made us a warrior people. A very numerous and admirably disciplined militia was now formed throughout the country, and ready to assist the operations of our regular troops.

CHAP.
XIV.
1759.

The people most cheerfully acquiesced in every burthen which the parliament imposed. The King, the ministry, the Parliament, the people were all unanimous in the prosecution of the war, in resenting and resisting the hostile intentions of France. On the 30th May, the following message was communicated to the House of Commons by Mr. Secretary Pitt :

“ GEORGE REX,

“ The King has received advices that the French court is making preparations with a design to invade this kingdom ; and though his Majesty is persuaded, that, by the united zeal and affection of his people, any such attempts must, under the blessing of God, end in the destruction of those who shall be engaged therein ; yet his Majesty apprehends that he should not act consistently with that paternal care and concern, which he has always shewn for the safety and preservation of his people, if he omitted any means in his power, which may be necessary for their defence. Therefore, in pursuance of the late Act of Parliament, his Majesty acquaints the House of Commons with his having received repeated intelligence of the actual preparations making in the French ports to invade this kingdom, and of the imminent danger of such an invasion being attempted ; to the end that his Majesty may, (if he shall think proper), cause the militia, or such part thereof as shall be necessary, to be drawn out, and embodied, and to march as occasion shall require.”

The address of the House of Commons, upon this occasion, evinced the greatest zeal in support of his Majesty and the country, and was most satisfactory to the King.

The exertions which the English people are able to make in a

CHAP. popular cause are prodigious, and were now fully exemplified. Whilst
XIV. the devoted and ardent minded minister was continually reflecting
1759. how he might most effectually employ the strength of the country,
his measures were every where supported with enthusiasm. Encouragements from the crown, rewards from public communities, and from private individuals, all stimulated a willing people to fresh efforts of exertion.

A proclamation was issued offering a considerable bounty to every seaman and every landsman who should voluntarily enter the service by the 3d July. As an additional encouragement, the King proffered a pardon to all deserters who should surrender themselves within the same time; but declared that those who neglected this opportunity of returning to their duty, or abused it with a view to defraud the country, should be punished with the utmost severity. The magistrates, throughout the kingdom, were ordered to institute a rigorous search for straggling seamen fit for service, and to cause all that should be found to repair to the nearest sea-ports and there receive the instructions of the respective naval commanding officers. Whilst such methods of severity were practised, others of a gentler nature were by no means neglected.

Fresh regiments were raised, upon the promise of his Majesty, that, at the expiration of three years, every man, then enlisting, should be entitled to his discharge. Ampler bounties were awarded.

The common council of London resolved, that voluntary subscriptions should be received, and appropriated to those who entered into his Majesty's service. Large sums were immediately subscribed for this purpose by the corporation of the metropolis, by different companies, and by private individuals. The public spirit and liberality of the capital soon spread throughout the kingdom, and produced the most satisfactory results.

Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had commenced the campaign of 1759 unsuccessfully. He was repulsed at Bergen with considerable loss, and compelled to retire before the enemy. Elated with their success, the French spoke only of securing conquests which they

had not won, and of preventing a second expulsion from Hanover, which was not then in their possession. The measures they proposed for the retention of this country were as unwarrantable and merciless as their confidence of possessing themselves of it was rash and presumptuous. The despondency of the Hanoverians was equal to the arrogance of the French. The archives of the electorate, and other of the most valued property, were removed from Hanover to Stade, and all seemed to anticipate a second and more severe subjugation. Prince Ferdinand, amid this general gloom, retained his usual serenity. He was too tried a soldier, and too firm a man to allow himself to be dejected by any reverses. Although he knew that a victory on his side could alone save the electorate; although he knew that the eyes of all Europe were upon him, he displayed a self-possession, which scarcely any other man then alive could feel. His great object was to draw the French from their strong camp before Minden, and force them to an engagement. By a very beautiful arrangement he strengthened the position of his forces, whilst he appeared to the enemy to weaken and disperse them. The French were completely deceived. They imagined that the Prince's army was disjoined and divided, and that this was the proper moment to attack them. They accordingly quitted their encampment and advanced into the plain. Their astonishment was great when, upon gaining an eminence which stretched along their front, they beheld the whole army of the allies drawn up before them in perfect order of battle. But it was now too late to recede. It was about five o'clock in the morning of the 1st August when the action between the two armies began. On the right, six regiments of English infantry and two battalions of Hanoverian guards not only sustained the whole fire of the French carbineers and gendarmerie, but absolutely broke every body of horse and foot which advanced to attack them. It is said that the English commenced the engagement with less promise of valour. At first they began to give way. General Waldegrave, affecting not to perceive that their motion tended towards a retreat, cried out, "Wheel to the right!"—

CHAP.
XIV.
1759.

CHAP. XIV. 1759. they did so, and recovered the day^a. The Hessian cavalry, with some regiments of Holstein, Prussian, and Hanoverian dragoons, exerted themselves with great courage on the left. As yet the cavalry on the right had no opportunity of engaging. These consisted of the British and Hanoverian horse, commanded by Lord George Sackville. They were posted at a considerable distance from the first line of infantry, and were divided from it by a scanty wood which bordered upon a heath. It was at that critical minute of the battle, when the centre of the enemy had given way, and their right was repulsed, that Prince Ferdinand saw that the cavalry, by pursuing the advantage which the infantry had gained, might ensure and complete the victory. He therefore instantly despatched one of his aides-de-camp to Lord George Sackville with orders to bring up the cavalry. Immediately afterwards he sent Colonel Fitzroy to Lord George with orders to march to the left with the British cavalry alone. Lord George received these orders with confusion. "This cannot be so," said he to Fitzroy, "would he have me break the line?" "I am out of breath with galloping," said Fitzroy, "which makes me speak very quick : but my orders are positive. The French are in disorder ; here is a glorious opportunity for the English to distinguish themselves, and your Lordship, by leading them on, will gain immortal honor^b." Lord George still hesitated, saying it was impossible the Prince could mean to break the line. Fitzroy again urged the Prince's commands. Lord George enquired which way the cavalry was to march, and who was to be their guide. Colonel Fitzroy instantly offered to conduct them. Lord George persisted in declaring that these orders were neither clear in themselves, nor exactly delivered, and desired Colonel Fitzroy to conduct him to the Prince^c. Before a regular explanation with the Commander could take place, the decisive minute had passed away, and the French, although defeated,

^a Lord Orford's Memoires, vol. ii. p. 367.

^b Letter from Colonel Fitzroy to Lord G. Sackville, dated Minden, August 3, 1759.

^c Colonel Fitzroy's Letter to Lord G. Sackville.

retired in tolerable order from the field. Had our cavalry advanced, upon the instant, there is little doubt that the victory of Minden would have been as complete as that of Blenheim, and that the French would have been left without an army in Germany. The loss of the French in this memorable battle amounted nearly to 7000 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amongst whom were several officers of rank. The loss of the allies did not exceed 2000 men. The exertions of the English, which had mainly secured the victory, had exposed them also to the severest loss, no less than 1200 of them being killed and wounded.

CHAP.
XIV.
1759.

An army of 70,000 men thus defeated by half that number, and this principally effected by the valour of their countrymen, was joyful intelligence to the English. Their satisfaction, however, was not without alloy. Prince Ferdinand had passed a severe reflection upon the General of their forces. In praising the Marquis of Granby, he had conveyed a galling insinuation against Lord George Sackville. In the public orders issued by the Prince, the day after the battle, were these expressions: "His Serene Highness further orders it to be declared to Lieutenant-General the Marquis of Granby, that if he had had the good fortune to have had him at the head of the cavalry of the right wing, his presence would have greatly contributed to make the decision of that day more complete and more brilliant."—"And his Serene Highness desires and orders the Generals of the Army that upon all occasions, when orders are brought to them by his Aid-de-Camps, that they be obeyed punctually, and without delay."

The situation of Lord G. Sackville was too disagreeable to allow him to remain with the army in Germany; he solicited, and obtained permission to resign his command and to return to England. But his reception from his own countrymen was not calculated to console him. Great as were his talents, high as were his connexions, public opinion was not to be controuled, and was now manifested most decidedly against him. Although Mr. Pitt was the friend of Lord George Sackville, he was a greater friend to justice. "Though he went to visit Lord George in form, he by no means meant to protect him. He

CHAP. would not, he said, condemn any man unheard. But he was sworn
 XIV.
 1759. to the German cause, and to the heroes whose success reflected such
 lustré on his own administration, and concurred so much to give it
 stability. When Fitzroy returned to the army, Mr. Pitt charged him
 with the strongest assurances to Prince Ferdinand. ‘Tell him,’ said
 Mr. Pitt, ‘he shall have what reinforcements, what ammunition he
 pleases—tell him I will stand or fall with him.’ Hearing, too, that
 Lord Mansfield connected himself with Lord George, and the law
 intended to support him; ‘The law,’ said Pitt, ‘have nothing to do
 with that question.’ Lord Granby succeeded Lord George Sackville
 in the ordnance, and General Waldegrave in the regiment^b.”

A very short interval elapsed between the arrival of this happy
 intelligence from Germany, and that announcing our triumphs over the
 French by sea, and in America. Before I relate Boscawen’s victory,
 on the 18th and 19th August, I shall briefly sketch some previous
 operations of the English navy.

As it had long been understood to be the intention of the French
 to make a triple descent upon England, Ireland, and Scotland, at the
 same time, every preparation was made, on the part of the British
 administration, to place each country in the most complete posture of
 defence and resistance. Large reinforcements were made to the army,
 and the militia was disciplined with the strictest attention. But the
 navy was wisely regarded as the principal defence of the country,
 and this was stationed in such manner as to block up the various
 harbours of France in which any important naval armaments were pre-
 paring.

For the invasion of England, the French had collected a very
 considerable army upon the coast of Normandy. This force was to
 embark at Havre de Grace, where the narrowness of the channel
 induced them to hope that the enterprise might be effected in flat-
 bottomed boats of a peculiar construction.

For the invasion of Ireland, a large body of troops, commanded

^b Lord Orford’s *Memoires*, vol. ii. p. 381.

by the Duc D'Aguillon, was assembled at Vannes in Lower Brittany. This embarkation was to be covered by the fleet under M. de Conflans, which was then preparing at Brest. CHAP.
XIV.
1759.

For the invasion of Scotland, a squadron was to sail from Dunkirk, commanded by the enterprising Thurot.

To defeat these dangerous intentions of the enemy, Admiral Rodney was sent to bombard Havre de Grace, at which place the boats designed to act against our shores were collected.

Sir Edward Hawke, with a powerful fleet, blocked up the harbour of Brest, whilst Admiral Smith commanded a lesser fleet in the Downs.

A squadron of men of war, under the command of Commodore Boys, was stationed off Dunkirk to observe the motions of Thurot.

These divisions of the British navy were connected by a chain of separate cruisers, so that the whole coast of France, from Dunkirk to the extremity of Brittany, was under actual blockade.

On the 2d July, Admiral Rodney sailed to Havre de Grace in order to destroy the boats and magazines in that place by means of bombardment. He performed this service with great zeal and some execution. No less than 1,900 shells, and 1,150 carcasses were thrown against the town. Many of the flat boats were burned, and others damaged, whilst several of the principal magazines were consumed.

Whilst the designs of the French were thus thwarted in the British Channel, their hopes, their cost, and their labours in the Mediterranean were utterly overthrown by the glorious exertions of Boscawen. The French had long been equipping a very considerable squadron of ships in Toulon, which it was their object to unite with that under Conflans, that thus having obtained a superiority in the Channel, they might execute, with greater certainty, their design of invading Great Britain. They hoped that the immense armaments which had been sent by Mr. Pitt to the East and West Indies and to North America, had so weakened the British navy, that it was not possible for him to strengthen the fleet of Admiral Broderick in the Mediterranean. But in this they were disappointed by the vigilance of the English

CHAP. minister. Mr. Pitt was well acquainted with their operations in
 XIV. Toulon. Much as he desired to extend and strengthen the foreign
 1759. dominions of Great Britain, he was too sagacious to leave our own
 shores without adequate protection. He well knew the importance
 of preventing a junction between the fleets of the enemy; and to
 defeat their purpose, he selected one whom he knew would execute
 whatever an English sailor can perform—he selected Boscawen^c.

Admiral Broderick had been for some time in the Mediterranean, thither Admiral Boscawen was now sent with several additional ships. The united forces of the two Admirals formed the following most powerful fleet.

Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
Namur	90	{ Honorable Edward Boscawen, Admiral of the Blue. Captain Matthew Buckle.
Prince	90	{ Thomas Broderick, Vice Admiral of the Blue. Captain Joseph Peyton
Newark	80	W. Holburne.
Warspite	74	J. Bentley.
Culloden	74	S. Callis.
Conqueror	70	W. Lloyd.
Swiftsure	70	T. Stanhope.
Edgar	64	F. W. Drake.
St. Albans	64	E. Vernon.
Intrepid	60	E. Pratten.
America	60	James Kirk.
Princess Louisa	60	R. Harland.
Jersey	60	J. Barker.
Guernsey	50	Lt. M. Cearney, acting.
Portland	50	Jervis Maplesden.
Ambuscade	40	Rd. Gwynne.
Rainbow	40	Chr. Basset.
Shannon	36	C. Meadows.
Active	36	H. Sawyer.
Thetis	32	J. Moutray.

^c “When I apply,” said Mr. Pitt to this Admiral, “to other officers, respecting any expedition I may chance to project, they always raise difficulties; you always find expedients.”

Lyme	24	J. Baker.	CHAP.
Gibraltar	24	W. M'Cleverty.	XIV.
Glasgow	24	Andrew Wilkinson.	1759.
Sheerness	24	T. Clerk.	
Tartar's Prize	24	T. Baillie.	
Favorite	16	Timothy Edwards.	
Gramont	16	Philip Afflesh.	
Etna	} Fireships	Richard Bickerton.	
Salamander		Hon. J. L. Gower.	

From such a fleet, commanded by such officers, Mr. Pitt had reason to anticipate the most favorable result, should the enemy venture to sail from Toulon. His expectations were not disappointed, although the first proceedings of the English Admiral may be charged with temerity. On the 7th June, Boscawen perceived two French frigates directing their course to Toulon. To these he immediately gave chase, but was unable to prevent their reaching an adjoining bay, in which they were protected by some batteries of heavy cannon. Still desirous of destroying them, Admiral Boscawen ordered three large ships of the line to advance and burn them in the bay. His orders were promptly and ably, but not successfully obeyed, for the English ships, after suffering much loss by the cannon from the shore, were obliged to retire, and to abandon their attempt.

The fleet then put into the bay of Salo in Spain, where they were plentifully supplied with water and provisions. Thence they sailed to Gibraltar, where the squadron underwent some necessary repairs. It was now that the French Admiral de la Clue sailed out from Toulon. De la Clue was an officer of established reputation, and the promptitude with which he availed himself of Boscawen's absence, proves that his reputation was not undeserved. But it was his misfortune to be opposed to an adversary whose vigilance and courage were never surpassed.

The French squadron had very nearly reached Gibraltar, when Boscawen was informed of their approach. Although our ships were not prepared for sailing, such strenuous exertions were made that, two hours after the intelligence was received, the English fleet was in

CHAP.
XIV.
1759.

pursuit of the enemy. It was on the morning of the 18th August, off Cape Lagos in Portugal, that Admiral Boscawen came up with De la Clue. The wind, which before had been favorable, subsided at noon, and it was not until half past two o'clock, that the headmost of our ships could close with the rear of the enemy, who, although greatly outnumbered, fought with extraordinary resolution. Admiral Boscawen in the *Namur*, without waiting to return the fire of their sternmost ships, which he received in passing, pressed on to engage M. de la Clue in the *Ocean*. The French Admiral perceiving the *Namur* and other English ships advancing to attack his van and centre, by a very skilful manœuvre, caused his fleet to bear up into the form of a crescent, by which our foremost ships were thrown out of action, and, from the failure of the breeze, were unable to resume their position. It was not until half-past four o'clock that the *Namur* came up with the *Ocean*, into which she then poured a tremendous broadside. But the contest between the two Commanders was of short duration, for the *Namur* becoming disabled, De la Clue hoisted his sails and endeavoured to retire with his squadron. The English Admiral, having shifted his flag from the *Namur* to the *Newark*, fell upon the French seventy-four gun ship *Centaur*, and soon obliged her to strike her colours. He then renewed his pursuit of the French squadron, and continued it through the whole night, during which two of De la Clue's ships altered their course, and deserted their Commander. When day broke, the ill-fated De la Clue, both of whose legs had been shattered in the engagement, perceiving the close approach of the English squadron, determined to burn his ships, to prevent their falling into the hands of the victors. With this intention he ran the *Ocean* ashore near the fort of Almadana. One of the Captains of his fleet followed his example. Both of these ships fell into our hands, but it being found impossible to bring them off, we performed the desperate intention of their own Commanders, and burned them on the shore. The *Temeraire*, a French ship of seventy-four guns, struck her colours to the *Warspite*. The *Modeste* of sixty-four guns, was captured by Admiral Broderick.

Thus five of the finest ships in the French navy were either taken or destroyed in this glorious engagement. The noble fortitude with which the French admiral bore up against the pressure of mental and bodily anguish^d, renders him an object of respect and compassion. He died, shortly afterward, of his wounds at Lagos.

CHAP.
XIV.
1759.

The joy which this victory occasioned in England was greatly enhanced by the consideration that it had not been dearly purchased. Fifty-six men killed, and 196 wounded was the total of our loss.

It may be supposed that the victorious Admiral was received by his royal master with high tokens of regard. He was, soon afterwards, sworn a member of the Privy Council, and appointed General of the marine forces, with a salary of 2,000*l.* a year. The three prizes were bought by the Government, and, under the same names, bore that triumphant flag to which they had been obliged to strike.

As the fortunes of Great Britain and Hanover advanced, those of Prussia seemed to decline. In the year 1757, when the humiliating convention of Closter-seven, and the failure of the Rochfort expedition filled England and the Electorate with disappointment and dismay, the Prussians exulted in the astonishing victories of Rosbach and Lissa. The year 1758, which was much more favorable to the English, was by no means prosperous with the King of Prussia; and the year 1759, which brought more triumphs to the former than any year since they had been a nation, was, proportionably, disastrous to the latter.

Frederick conceiving that he could only overcome the multitude of his enemies by superior activity and decision, removed General Dohna from the command of the army which was opposed to the Russians, and appointed General Wedel in his stead, with strict injunctions to hazard an engagement. The General obeyed, and was totally defeated at Zulichau. The King undisturbed by this overthrow, hastened to unite his own troops with those of Wedel, and,

^d See his letter (dated Lagos, August 29th, 1759,) to the French Ambassador at Lisbon, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1759.

CHAP. on the 12th August advanced, with 50,000 Prussians, to encounter the
XIV. Russian army consisting of 80,000 men. Nothing could resist the
1759. impetuosity of his first attack. The Russians were driven, with great slaughter, from their intrenchments. Seventy-two pieces of cannon were taken. For six hours fortune favored the efforts of the Prussians. They drove the enemy from the village of Cunnorsdorf, and pursued their advantage with the highest gallantry and zeal. Confident of success the King despatched a letter to the Queen containing these vaunting words, "Madam, we have beaten the Russians from their entrenchments. In two hours expect to hear of a glorious victory." It is extraordinary that one who had so often experienced the reverses of fortune, and who so well knew the stubborn character of the enemy he opposed, could be guilty of such presumption.

That presumption was severely punished. The Russian General Soltikoff now collected the remains of his right wing, and, with supplies drawn from his centre, reinforced his left. Then, bringing forward troops which had not been engaged, he made his stand upon a most advantageous eminence. In vain the Prussian officers represented to their master the strength of the enemy's position, their numbers, and their fresh condition. In vain they pointed out the state of their own troops, exhausted by the labours which they had already sustained. Frederick was not to be satisfied with incomplete success. Fainting with heat and weariness the Prussian infantry were led on to the attack, and were repulsed with dreadful slaughter. With astonishing and, indeed, with injudicious perseverance, they were again ordered to advance, and again they were repulsed with greater slaughter than before. The cavalry were then directed to charge. But both horse and rider were spent with fatigue and made no impression upon the enemy. It was then that the Austrian cavalry, with animation and vigour yet untried and unimpaired, joining a large body of the Russians, poured down upon the Prussians, and threw their whole army into confusion. Nothing was neglected by Frederick to restore the fortune of the day. Every effort which the most discriminating science and the most impetuous courage could

accomplish, was tried in vain. A total defeat ensued, and night alone saved his army from utter destruction. Never were the feelings of a people more cruelly reversed, than those of the inhabitants of Berlin by the second despatch of their sovereign. "Remove," said he, in his second letter to the Queen, "with the royal family. Let the archives be carried to Potzdam. The town may make conditions with the enemy." They were not, however, reduced to this extremity. Great as was always the conduct of Frederick as a general, it, perhaps, never shone more brilliantly than after he had sustained a defeat. Who would not have supposed that an overthrow like that of Cunnersdorf would have decided his fate? Yet the opposing armies, flushed as they were with victory, and superior as they were in point of numbers, were unable to derive any considerable advantages from their late success. Their wonderful adversary remained, as much as before, the object of their dread. They remembered with what extraordinary splendour he emerged from a cloud of misfortunes in the year 1757, and their confidence withered at the thought. In addition to this, a misunderstanding subsisted between the Russians and the Austrians, which operated greatly to the advantage of the King of Prussia. The Russians had suffered all the severity of the late action, yet the honor of the victory was claimed by the Austrians, who had not pressed forward till nearly the close of the day. This exasperated Count Soltikoff, who, when urged by Daun to act with vigor, replied, "I have done enough for one year, Sir; I have gained two victories which have cost the Russians 27,000 men. Before I again put myself in action, I shall wait till you also have gained two victories. It is not fair that the whole business of the war should be performed by the troops of my sovereign alone⁸." Notwithstanding this want of harmony, it is astonishing that the Austrians themselves should have remained so inactive. The Russians had so weakened the forces of Prussia, that had Daun then followed up the blow, it is scarcely possible that Frederick could have supported another campaign.

CHAP.
XIV.
1759.

⁸ Œuvres Posthumes, vol. iv. p. 40.

CHAP.
XIV.
1759.

The defeat of the King of Prussia occasioned much disappointment in England. But the sanguine still relied upon his ultimate success, and the sensible still hoped that, should the worst befall him, his enemies would quarrel amongst themselves and allow their prey to escape, in the heat of the altercation as to whom it should belong.

On the 8th September, Lieutenant-Colonel Amherst brought the most satisfactory despatches from America to Mr. Pitt, respecting the success of General Amherst against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and the still more important reduction of Niagara by Sir William Johnson. This happy intelligence had been expected, with some confidence, by the minister, as the probable result of those vigorous and extensive measures which he had pursued in America. Preceding ministers had been content to order the attack of but one place at the same time, by which they protracted the war, without the possibility of effecting any thing decisive. Another system had now been adopted, by which the attention of the enemy was distracted and their strength divided. An immense force was sent, under very superior officers, to America, and four grand objects were simultaneously undertaken by four different divisions. General Amherst, who had the supreme command, undertook the reduction of the forts upon the lakes George and Champlain. General Wolfe besieged Quebec. General Prideaux proceeded against Niagara, and General Stanwix against the French settlements upon the lake Erie. All these enterprises were connected with each other, and the forces which were first successful, were ordered to co-operate with and assist the others. The army under General Amherst was the first in motion. His own firmness and the fears of the enemy enabled him to succeed fully in his object with scarcely the loss of a man^b.

On the 7th July the French abandoned Ticonderoga, of which General Amherst immediately took possession. On the 14th August he made himself master of Crown Point, and, on that very day, he

^b The Hon. Colonel Townshend, a very amiable and excellent officer, was killed in the entrenchments before Ticonderoga.

received the joyful intelligence that Niagara had submitted to Sir William Johnson. This intelligent man was not bred to the profession of arms. But in critical circumstances every man may be called upon to act the soldier's part. This had been the case with Sir William Johnson several years before, and the services which he then performed in America were not unworthy of the most experienced officer. By the accidental and melancholy death of General Prideauxⁱ the force sent against Niagara now devolved upon him. His kind and conciliating conduct won the hearts of his soldiers, with whom his influence was productive of the most salutary effects. He taught them to despise the hideous yell of the natives which had struck such terror into the troops of Braddock. He defeated a body of 1,700 men composed of French and Indians, and, on the 27th July, compelled the fort of Niagara to surrender.

CHAP.
XIV.
1759.

The following letter from General Amherst informed the Secretary of these gratifying events :

“ Camp off Crown Point, August 5th, 1759.

“ I did myself the honor of writing to you a very short letter on the 27th July, as I would not retard Lieutenant-Colonel Amherst from setting out, that he might acquaint you of his Majesty's troops being in possession of the fort and lines of Ticonderoga ; and I now send Captain Prescott with this, to inform you of the great event of the reduction of Niagara, and at the same time to give you an account of my arrival here with a part of the army under my immediate command.

“ The 27th, I encamped within the lines, and began to level the trenches and batteries, filled up the road I had made from Lake Champlain to the Saw Mill River for the carrying on the siege, encamped four battalions of provincials near the fort for repairing the

ⁱ General Prideaux lost his life by the carelessness of a gunner, who, not observing him, fired a cohorn, which killed the General on the spot.—See *General Amherst's letter*.

CHAP. works, sent 500 men to Fort George for provisions, &c. ordered all
XIV. the French boats to be fished up, and the brig and boats I had
1759. ordered to be built for carrying guns, to be finished in all haste, that I
might be superior to the enemy's sloops on the lake.

“ 28th. The fire was not totally extinguished ; I forwarded every thing as fast as possible that I might get possession of Crown Point without loss of time. In the afternoon I received an account of a most unlucky accident, the death of Brigadier-General Prideaux, who was walking in the trenches on the evening of the 19th ; the gunner carelessly fired a cohorn and shot him, when the approaches were within 140 yards of the covered way. I immediately ordered Brigadier-General Gage to set out for Oswego to take on him the command of that army.

“ 29th. Five companies of provincials arrived this day from the provinces—intelligence that the enemy's troops, which were encamped on the eastern side of the lake, were now moved to Crown Point. I kept small parties constantly looking from the mountains into Crown Point—they have two sloops and a schooner there, and depend on my not getting boats over, and that I shall be obliged to build some of force.

“ 30th. It rained hard last night and this day, which put a great stop to getting the batteaus over the carrying-place.

“ 31st. I ordered the fort by the water-side to be put in thorough good order and to be completed, as the enemy had not quite finished it ;—ordered the fort of Ticonderoga to be repaired upon the same plan as the enemy had built it, which will save great time and expenses, as it is but a small part of the whole that is ruined ;—the costs the enemy has been at in building the fort and houses are very great ;—the glacis and covered way quite good ; the counterscarp of the glacis, masonry ; the counterscarp of the ditch, masonry ; two ravelins of masonry that cover the only front to which approaches can be carried on. The fort a square with four bastions, built with logs on the rocks which are covered with some masonry to level the foundation ; the wood part of it is the worst finished. One bastion

and a part of two courtins demolished but not in the front that can be easiest attacked ; the casemates are good, the walls of the burnt barracks are not damaged ; eleven good ovens have helped us greatly. As the situation of the fort is very advantageous for the protection of his Majesty's dominions, and the approaches may be rendered as difficult to the enemy as they have been to the King's troops, and that there is no fault in it but its being small ; I have thought proper to have it repaired, which I hope will meet with your approbation.

CHAP.
XIV.
1759.

“ 1st August. At noon a scouting party came in, said the enemy had abandoned Crown Point ; this makes no alteration in my motions, as I am already trying all I can to get forward : but on this I sent away Major Graham with all expedition to command the second battalion of the Royal Highland regiment, and to march them to Oswego, that in case from the unfortunate death of Brigadier-General Prideaux the reduction should not have taken place, Brigadier-General Gage may return to the attack with the utmost vigor and dispatch, and to pursue the ulterior operations of the campaign.

“ 2nd. Very rainy weather, put a stop entirely to getting boats over the carrying-place this day.

“ 3rd. A party I had sent to Crown Point brought in a deserter from late Forbes's in a French coat ; one that I had pardoned for desertion when I was at Fort George. I thought it so necessary to make an immediate example that I had him hanged directly ; sent 200 rangers through the woods to Crown Point.

“ 4th. The general at two in the morning, assembly half an hour after, and the rangers, light infantry, grenadiers, and two brigades of regulars were soon embarked, except the Royal Highland regiment that waited for boats which detained me some time. I however arrived at Crown Point before the evening, landed and posted all the corps ; some encamped and some lay on their arms. At night Lieutenant Moncrief, whom I had sent with Brigadier-General Prideaux, arrived with a letter from Sir William Johnson, enclosing the

CHAP. capitulation of Niagara, both which I have the satisfaction to send to
 XIV. you.
 1759.

5th. I ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre to trace out the ground for a fort, which I will set about with all possible expedition. This post secures entirely all his Majesty's dominions that are behind it from the inroads of the enemy, and the scalping parties that have infested the whole country, and it will give great peace and quiet to the King's subjects, who will now settle in their habitations from this to New York. I shall take fast hold of it, and not neglect, at the same time, to forward every measure I can to enable me to pass Lake Champlain."

The high sense which the King and his minister entertained of the services of General Amherst, is expressed in the following letter from Mr. Pitt.

" Whitehall, September 29, 1759.

" I take the earliest opportunity to acquaint you that his Majesty received, with the highest pleasure, the accounts of the very important successes of his arms, under your command, at Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point; which operations you had, pursuant to the plan pointed out in my several letters, concerted with so much punctuality and judgment, and executed with such singular vigor and ability. And the King, who will expect with impatience to learn the ulterior operations of this most critical and decisive campaign, is firmly persuaded, from your experienced zeal and activity for his service, that you will have continued to push the enemy in all parts in the most vigorous manner.

" It is with very particular satisfaction, that I am to inform you of the distinguishing mark his Majesty has been graciously pleased to confer upon you, of his royal favour and approbation, by appointing you to be governor of Virginia; and your commission, which is passing under the great seal, will be, as soon as ready, transmitted to you by the Board of Trade. The King was much concerned at the

loss of two such brave and able officers as Brigadier Prideaux and Colonel Roger Townshend : and his Majesty entirely approves your having immediately despatched Brigadier Gage to take upon him the command of the corps employed on the side of Niagara. You will express to the officers and soldiers under your command the King's entire approbation of the signal zeal and spirit which they on all occasions manifest for the honor of his Majesty's arms.

CHAP.
XIV.
1759.

“ The Gazettes, which have been sent you from my office, will have informed you of the glorious successes with which it has pleased God to bless his Majesty's arms in Europe. I have the satisfaction to inform you that Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick is still pursuing the French army, who continued to retire before his victorious troops, and do not seem yet to have recovered from their consternation. The King of Prussia, notwithstanding the unfortunate check he received on the 12th past, in the battle with the Russians, has maintained his ground, and been able, from the infinite resources of his genius, not only to prevent the enemy from making any advantage of their success on that day, but has also detached a considerable corps to Saxony, who, under the command of Major-General Winch, having defeated a very superior body of the army of the empire, joined by some Austrians, have retaken Leipzick, and are now prosecuting their ulterior offensive operations in those parts.”

I shall close this chapter with extracts from two letters upon Spanish affairs, the one from Lord Bristol to Mr. Pitt, the other from Mr. Pitt to his Lordship. They are replete with the most curious and interesting information.

“ *Madrid, August 13, 1759.*

“ The important event of the Catholic King's demise, which happened at about a quarter after four in the morning, on Friday last, the 10th instant, will undoubtedly be known in England before this letter can reach the office. I applied early to General Wall for an order for post horses, that I might despatch the messenger Potter,

CHAP.
XIV.
1759.

but, as usual upon such occasions, I received answer, I should have one as soon as any could be granted to the foreign ministers, and this morning only, leave has been given to send away our expresses. I will not omit giving you, Sir, by so safe an opportunity, some account of what happened previous to his Catholic Majesty's last attack, and I will mention a few circumstances relative to his illness, as well as the measures that have been taken subsequent to this great change.

“It had long been the opinion of the physicians that the late King of Spain was irrecoverably out of his senses, and that though his bodily disorders were daily increasing, yet it was possible, though not probable, he might continue alive for some months longer. This decision had been often conveyed to Naples, and strong private representations had been sent to that court, from different quarters, of the indispensable necessity of not letting these kingdoms remain any longer in the state of anarchy they then were. In consequence of orders transmitted to Prince Yaci by his royal master, his Excellency, on the 4th and 5th of this month, writ circular letters to the Governor and Council of Castille, to most of the members of that tribunal, to the Captains-General of the different provinces, and to the Commandants in the several garrisons; copies of which letters I have the honor of sending you, enclosed together with the English translations, marked 1, 2, 3, and 4. The surprise and consternation this occasioned amongst those to whom the letters were addressed, as they were required to give answers, subsided only by the news from Villa Viciosa that the Catholic King was struck with a fit of an apoplexy on Monday night, the 6th, at a little after nine, which attack it was impossible his Majesty could long survive.

“On Sunday, the 5th, the Catholic King asked for the Curate of the palace, whose name is Rada, told him he was determined to confess himself, and, to the astonishment of the priest, went through a thorough examination of his past conduct with the utmost devotion as well as penitence, and was perfectly sensible during the whole time. The Curate granted his Catholic Majesty the absolution, but, as the King began, very soon after, to rave, it was not judged expe-

dient to let him receive the sacrament. He continued furious till he was seized with the apoplectic fit, and, after many repetitions of stronger ones on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, his Catholic Majesty expired at the hour I have before mentioned, without seeming to suffer any pain, even when he resigned his last breath. The Pope's nuncio was sent for on Thursday afternoon, and gave his Catholic Majesty the Apostolic benediction, and the absolution that is customary *in articulo mortis*. Messengers were immediately despatched to St. Ildephonso, two were directly sent to Naples by land, and one is gone from Carthagená in a frigate, that had been waiting for some time for that purpose. The Cadiz squadron, which, not long since, had orders to pass the Streights of Gibraltar, in order to form one fleet with that of Carthagená, was also to set sail, upon certain signals being made, towards Naples, to attend the orders of his present Catholic Majesty.

CHAP.
XIV.
1759.

“ Prince Yaci went to St. Ildephonso on Friday morning last, a few hours after the King's demise. His Catholic Majesty's will, which had been signed by the Duke of Bejar, Great Chamberlain of the household, in presence of several grandees, and by the express command of the late King, who was not able to put his own hand to it, contained what I had the honor of sending you word some months ago, as soon as the substance of it came to my knowledge: the principal dispositions in it are to appoint the Queen Dowager Regent of these kingdoms till the arrival of Don Carlos, the lawful successor, whom his late Majesty made also his universal heir, recommending to him only to pay the debts of Philip V., desiring him to take care of all those who composed his own household, or those of his consort, the late Queen Barbara of Portugal, and ordering a great number of masses to be said for his soul. His Catholic Majesty gave express orders not to have his body embalmed, and to have it conveyed and deposited near that of his Queen, in the monastery of the Salesas, a magnificent convent, built and founded by her late Catholic Majesty at Madrid for a certain number of nuns.

“ The Royal corpse was accordingly brought early yesterday

CHAP. morning from Villa Viciosa, and arrived at the convent about ten in
XIV. the morning. It will be laid in the vault after the usual offices have
1759. been performed for nine days. The funeral convoy was private, a
selected number from each of the three troops of horse guards accompanied it. The Catholic King's corpse was placed in a state coach drawn by six mules, three others empty following it, eight more with different attendants belonging to the household, and five, with the twenty senior gentlemen of the bed-chamber. The great officers, as well as all the other grandees which went to join in the procession at some distance from Madrid, were on horseback. The Queen mother, Regent of these kingdoms, (for that is the stile in which all orders are at present issued in her Majesty's name,) has determined to leave St. Ildephonso on Thursday next, the 16th, to stop that night at a house called Campillo, where Philip the Vth used to pass in his way from Madrid to the Royal Palace, which her Majesty has so long made her residence, and from thence to arrive at the Buen Retiro on Friday night.

“ It is impossible, Sir, to describe the hurry and confusion which appears, notwithstanding this event has been so long expected; there is mystery, either real or feigned, painted on all countenances. Few seem to guess whether the Queen mother is entrusted with the extensive powers apparently lodged in her during the Regency, or whether directions from Naples have abridged her Majesty of that extensive sway she has been aiming at. Scarce any know in what degree to pay their court, from their uncertainty of her real interest with the new Catholic King. Many apprehend making too great a tender of their services, lest her Majesty's power should cease, virtually as well as apparently at her son's arrival, and yet none care to be too backward in their professions. Those who had slighted the Queen mother during the last reign, knowing it to be the most effectual method of ingratiating themselves with the late Catholic King and Queen, and the surest means to obtain any graces, feel the impropriety of a wrong conduct. But whatever the Queen Regent may inwardly think, every one does her the justice to believe that she will at least

appear to have forgot the ingratitude of such ill-judging courtiers, and that her outward behaviour will not disclose what she must feel within her breast.

CHAP.
XIV.
1759.

“ Perhaps no changes may take place till after the arrival of the Catholic King. That there will be great ones no one doubts of. The Duke of Alva has long talked of retiring on account of the badness of his health; he has almost fitted up two sumptuous houses, the one in Old Castille, the other in Estremadura, and the nearest of them is at least 30 leagues, or about 120 English miles, distant. The Conde Valdeparaiso, Secretary of State for the Finances, and who owes his rise entirely to that Duke, is expected to be removed from his employment. Every one allows him to be an honest well-intentioned minister, his capacity for that particular branch of his business is disputed, but it is certain he has, by the greatest economy, filled the royal treasury, and that without any additional burthensome taxes upon the nation.”

“ *Whitehall, September 14th, 1759.*

“ As it is hoped that their Catholic Majesties will soon safely arrive at Madrid, I have the King’s commands to lose no time in redespaching this messenger to your Excellency with your new credential letters to the King and Queen of Spain, (together with copies thereof for your information,) and it is his Majesty’s pleasure that your Excellency should present the same in the manner directed by the King’s instructions of the 20th June, 1758, which instructions your Excellency is to observe, and to consider as renewed in all their points.

“ With regard to the Queen Dowager I can only repeat what your Excellency will have already seen in my letter of the 20th June, 1758, viz. that there is no precedent of the King’s having given a credential to that Princess, to which it may not be improper to add, that no Spanish minister has ever brought a credential from the Queen Dowager to his Majesty; and as your Excellency was then directed to wait upon her Majesty, and to compliment her in the manner that

CHAP. has always been practised by the King's ambassador, it is probable,
 XIV.
 1759. as this circumstance will have been explained to the Queen Dowager,
 (which your Excellency very properly desired it might be,) that her
 Majesty will not have continued to make a difficulty of admitting
 your Excellency to an audience; and the King hopes to find, by your
 next letter, that you will have had an opportunity of expressing in the
 strongest terms to the Queen Dowager, the high and constant regard
 and esteem which the King has always had for her royal person.
 With respect to there being no letter from the King to compliment
 her Majesty as Regent, it is superfluous to observe to your Excellency,
 who is on the spot, that the Queen Dowager herself has not notified
 that event to his Majesty, neither has his Catholic Majesty thought it
 proper to notify that appointment in his letter to the King, which
 unfortunately leaves his Majesty under an utter impossibility to take
 formal notice of a measure, on which his Majesty would otherwise
 have expressed great satisfaction.

“ I must not omit to acquaint your Excellency that his Catholic
 Majesty has notified the demise of the King his brother, and his
 accession to the Crown of Spain, by a letter in Spanish, of which I
 send your Excellency the enclosed copy. This letter was despatched
 by a courier from Naples to M. D'Abreu who delivered the same to
 his Majesty in an audience; and I have taken the opportunity of the
 return of the same courier to transmit to Sir James Gray the King's
 answer to his Catholic Majesty, of which I also inclose a copy for
 your information. The King of Spain's letter being wrote in Spanish
 made it necessary for his Majesty's answer to be in English, agreeable
 to the rule invariably observed in that case. I also sent, at the same
 time, to Sir James Gray the King's letters to their Catholic Majesties
 notifying the death of the Princess Elizabeth, second daughter to the
 late Prince of Wales, which happened on the 4th instant, after a very
 short illness; and I also inclose to your Excellency the King's letter
 to the Queen Dowager, notifying that event, which your Excellency
 will deliver in the usual and proper manner: and this circumstance
 will furnish a fresh proof that the King does not fail to shew every

mark of attention to that Princess, which is authorized by the indispensable forms and rules constantly observed between the two courts.

CHAP.
XIV.
1759.

“ My long despatch of the 1st August, 1758, and my several letters to your Excellency from that time to the 31st past, (of which last, for the greater certainty, I herewith send a duplicate,) contain such full instructions, that it is unnecessary to do more than to refer your Excellency to them; I am, therefore, only, at present, to communicate to you, by the King’s commands, a matter of the greatest delicacy, and which, from the recent event of the demise of the late King of Spain, (which soon followed the overture I am going to mention,) is become an object more interesting and important. I am to acquaint your Excellency, then, that some short time before that event in Spain happened, Prince Sanseverino came to me, by his own appointment, and informed me that he had received orders from M. Tanucci to communicate to me the substance of a conversation at Madrid, from the late Lord Marishal to Prince Yaci, which it is presumed, from your Excellency’s silence with regard to the said conversation, is a circumstance which has never come to your knowledge, and which was to this effect: that he, Lord Marishal, could not help observing to the Neapolitan ambassador, that the King of the two Sicilies being so closely united in friendship with the King, and in alliance with the King of Prussia, and also being the relation of the most Christian King, how glorious it would be for his Neapolitan Majesty to employ his good offices for bringing about a peace; that the Marquis Tanucci had informed him, Prince Sanseverino, that the King of Naples had expressed great satisfaction in this idea; and that he was ordered by his court to let me understand, though he was not charged with any formal proposition, that the King, his master, was extremely ready to mediate peace between his Majesty, together with his allies, and the crown of France, if it would be agreeable to his Majesty; desiring withal that these sentiments of the King of Naples, though not reduced into a formal offer, might reach his Majesty. In consequence of this discourse, extremely delicate in the matter, and

CHAP.
XIV.
1759.

still more embarrassing from its indistinctness, being somewhat between a formal office and a mere conversation, I was authorised by the King, (I, on my part, avoiding also the air of an answer in form, to an opening not containing a proposition,) to let Prince Sanseverino understand, that whatever might have given occasion to the discourse of the late Lord Marishal, in which there was great reason to doubt his having been authorised by the King of Prussia; yet, founded or unfounded, that incident had given rise to such cordial expressions of friendship from the King of Naples towards his Majesty, as could not but at all times be most highly agreeable to the King. That as to the rest, such had been the blessing of God on his Majesty's arms, that it was more natural for France than for the King to turn their thoughts towards the good offices of neutral powers for procuring a peace. That many important operations of the campaign were yet to have their issue, especially in America, the knowledge of all which could not for some considerable time arrive in England, and which, however, it was necessary should be known, in order to guide the judgment concerning a future peace. That a great event, of a very different kind, and probably not far off, was also in every light of the utmost importance in the present conjuncture, namely, that either from a catastrophe of nature, or arrangements taken in Spain, the King of Naples might find himself at the head of the Spanish monarchy, and consequently possessed of all that due weight inseparable from that crown, which cannot but greatly affect the system of Europe. That, in the mean time, I had only to let him understand, in general, that whenever peace shall come to be under consideration, his Majesty would, in the first place, consult his ally the King of Prussia as to the mode and manner of negotiating; and, if the circumstances of things should then lead to the good offices of any neutral powers, his Majesty would constantly place the most entire and invariable confidence in the friendship and known uprightness of the King of Naples.

“ I am further to inform your Excellency, that the day after the news arrived of the demise of the King of Spain, Prince Sanseverino

again came to me, and repeated, more strongly than before, insinuations of the same nature with those in his first conversation above mentioned, in return to which, I again held, in substance, the same language as above.”

CHAP.
XIV.
1759.

CHAPTER XV.

1759.

Character of General Wolfe—Military force under him—Naval force under Admiral Saunders—Instructions of the Government to General Wolfe—Manifesto issued by that General—Description of Quebec—Difficulties opposed to the English—Wolfe's celebrated Letter to Mr. Pitt—Lord Orford's description of the Death of General Wolfe—Quebec surrenders—Successes of the English arms in the East—Pococke, Lally, &c.—Public Thanksgiving in England—Parliament meets—Mr. Pitt's Speech—Curious Anecdote respecting the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt—Sir Edward Hawke's Victory over Conflans—Forlorn Condition of France—Proposals of a General Peace by the Kings of England and Prussia—The Difficulties attending these Overtures—Spanish Correspondence.

CHAP.
XV.
1759.

THE success which had attended our other operations in America excited a confident expectation in England that Quebec would quickly be added to our possessions. The difficulties which General Wolfe had to encounter were little known, the hopes of the nation were founded upon his high character. With the single exception, perhaps, of a robust constitution, nature had bestowed upon Wolfe every requisite for military command. His courage was of the highest order, mental and bodily; it was not only undaunted, even to a contempt of danger, but steady and unvaried to avert, overcome, or encounter difficulties and death. With an unusual sensibility, amounting almost to impetuosity of temper, he was not subject to passion; with the loftiest independence, he was free from pride. Generous, almost to profusion, he not only despised every sordid method of enriching himself, but sought out objects of charity and

beneficence. The needy subaltern frequently partook of his bounty, and the deserving soldier never went unrewarded from his presence. His other great qualities, which were also eminently useful to him as a soldier, must have raised him equally in other professions^a. His memory was retentive, his judgment sound, and his perception quick, clear, and comprehensive. Gentle and conciliating in his manners, he was manly and unreserved in his deportment and conversation. Although he was discerning in his attachments, his friends were numerous and warm. The most ardent love of glory glowed in his breast, and for ever excited his energies and thoughts, his studies and pursuits. He lost no moments in qualifying himself for every department of his profession. His written compositions are inferior to those of no other military author^b.

CHAP.
XV.
1759.

By the selfish and the ignorant such a character may be considered as highly exaggerated, or as altogether fabulous; but why, I ask, should not English history produce a character as illustrious as that of Thebes, or in what respect is Wolfe inferior to Epaminondas?

General Wolfe was a soldier by descent. He was the son of an experienced and respected officer, and very early adopted the profession of arms. In the battle of La-feldt he exerted himself in so peculiar and masterly a manner that he attracted the observation and high approbation of the Duke of Cumberland. Without one act of unnecessary severity he introduced such exact discipline into his corps, that as long as British valour on the plains of Minden is recorded with veneration, so long shall Kingsley's battalion stand

^a The minds of some men are so elevated above the common understanding of their fellow-creatures, that they are by many charged with enthusiasm, and even with madness. When George II. was once expressing his admiration of Wolfe, some one observed that the General was mad. "Oh! he is mad, is he?" said the King with great quickness, "then I wish he would *bite* some other of my generals."

^b In proof of this assertion, I refer the reader to General Wolfe's letter to Mr. Pitt which I have inserted.

CHAP. XV. 1759. amongst the foremost in the ranks of fame^c. In Kingsley's regiment he continued a Lieutenant-Colonel, until the kindred genius of that great minister, who roused the slumbering genius of the country, called forth his talents into active exertion. He was early admitted into the most secret consultations upon the plan of attack against Rochefort. He was consulted, and he was employed. But the conduct of the enterprise did not centre in him, or probably the result would have been different. His subsequent success at Louisburg shewed what he might have effected at Rochefort, had his energy been unrestrained. After the glorious reduction of Louisburg he returned to England, an ornament to his profession, and the pride and delight of his parent. He had formed an attachment to an amiable girl, but his services were again required by the country, and their marriage did not take place. Mr. Pitt knowing the great resources of mind which Wolfe possessed, selected him for the command of the forces sent against Quebec. The following were the officers and the strength of the military force under him.

Colonel	{ Hon. Robert Monckton Hon. George Townshend Hon. James Murray }	Brigadier-Generals.
Lieutenant-Colonel Guy Carleton, Quarter-Master-General.		
Major Isaac Barré, Adjutant-General.		
Captain	Hervey Smith	{ Aides-de-Camp to the Commander-in-Chief.
	Thomas Bell	
	Richard Gwillim	{ Majors of Brigade.
	John Spittal	
	Hon. Rd. Maitland	
Lieut. Henry Dobson		
First Brigade.		
Regiments, 15th, 43rd, 48th, 78th.		
Second Brigade.		
Regiments, 28th, 47th, 60th, Monckton's 2nd Battalion.		
Third Brigade.		
Regiments, 35th, 58th, 60th, Lawrence's 3rd Battalion.		

^c Wolfe, himself, was in America when the battle of Minden was fought.

The Grenadiers of the above ten regiments.
 The Grenadiers of the 22nd, 40th, and 15th regiments from Louisburg.
 A corps of Light Infantry from the regiments of the line.
 A corps of Rangers.

CHAP.
 XV.
 1759.

It is singular that the Commander-in-chief, and the three officers immediately subordinate to him in command, were all in the flower of their age. The three last resembled each other not only in years and qualifications, but also in family rank, all being the sons of noblemen.

The command of the naval forces was given to that excellent officer, Admiral Saunders, and, when its whole strength was united in America, constituted the following fleet :

Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.
Neptune	90	780	{ Charles Saunders, Vice-Admiral of the Blue.
Princess Amelia	80	750	{ Captain Broderick Hartwell. Philip Durell, Rear-Admiral of the Red. Captain John Bray.
Dublin	74	600	{ Charles Holmes, Rear-Admiral of the White. Captain W. Goostrey.
Royal William	84	750	
Terrible	74	700	
Shrewsbury	74	600	
Northumberland	70	520	
Vanguard	70	520	
Devonshire	66	520	
Oxford	66	520	
Somerset	64	520	
Alcide	64	500	
Bedford	64	520	
Captain	64	520	
Trident	64	500	
Stirling Castle	64	520	
Prince Frederick	64	520	
Medway	60	420	
Pembroke	60	420	
Prince of Orange	60	420	

CHAP.
XV.
1759.

	Ships.	Guns.	Men.
Centurion		50	420
Sutherland		50	420
Diana		32	350
Richmond		32	220
Trent		28	220
Lizard		28	200
Echo		28	200
Lowestoff		28	200
Seahorse		24	180
Scarborough		24	180
Eurus		20	160
Nightingale		20	160.
Hind		20	160
Squirrel		20	160
Fowey		20	160
Scorpion	} Sloops.	14	120
Porcupine		14	120
Hunter		10	100
Zephyr		10	100
Baltimore	} Bomb Ketches.	8	80
Pelican		8	80
Racehorse		8	80
Vesuvius	} Fire Ships.	16	100
Cormorant		16	100
Strombolo		16	100
Boscawen		16	100
Halifax	{ Armed Ship.	12	80
Rodney	Cutter.	4	40
Crown	{ Store Ship.	18	100

General Wolfe ^d sailed from England in February, 1759.

The following are the principal instructions with which he was charged by the government ^e.

^d All the correspondence of this enthusiastic soldier must excite interest. The reader will find two letters from Wolfe in Number iii. of the Appendix, the first to Governor Whitmore, the second to Mr. Pitt.

^e I have given copious extracts from these and similar official documents respecting the conduct of the war, because they were drawn up by the immediate direction of Mr. Pitt.

“ St. James’s, 5th February, 1759.

CHAP.
XV.
1759.

“ You are immediately, upon the receipt of these our instructions, to repair to Portsmouth, and there embark on board one of our ships of war, and proceed without loss of time to Louisburg in the Island of Cape Breton, where you are to take under your command the troops we have ordered to rendezvous at that place, on or about the 20th April, if the season shall happen to permit; and you are, on your arrival at Louisburg, to use all possible diligence and expedition, in concert with Rear-Admiral Saunders, or the Commander-in-chief of our ships, in embarking the troops, artillery, stores, and all the other requisites for the expedition against Quebec, and to proceed therewith, at or about the 7th May, or as soon as the season of the year shall permit, up the river St. Lawrence, and attack and endeavour to reduce Quebec. And it is our will and pleasure that you do carry into execution the said important operation with the utmost application and vigor.

“ In case, on your arrival at Louisburg, you shall find that the troops which we have ordered Major-General Amherst to send, with all expedition to that place, together with the artillery, stores, and all other requisites for the operation directed, shall contrary to our expectation, and by any unfavorable accidents, not be yet arrived at Louisburg; you are without loss of a moment’s time, and by the most expeditious and sure means, to make the most pressing instances to Major-General Amherst, or the Commander-in-chief of our forces in North America, and to Rear-Admiral Saunders, or the Commander-in-chief of our ships in North America, in order to quicken and expedite, with the utmost diligence and despatch, all possible measures for most speedily assembling and collecting the said troops at Louisburg, as well as the artillery, stores, and all requisites for the expedition against Quebec.

“ In case, by the blessing of God upon our arms, you shall make yourself master of Quebec, our will and pleasure is that you do keep possession of the said place; for which purpose you are to appoint, out

CHAP. of the troops under your command, a sufficient and ample garrison,
XV. under the command of such careful and able officer as you shall judge
1759. best qualified for so important a trust, effectually to defend and secure
the said place. And you will immediately make, in the best manner
practicable, such repairs to the works, as you shall find necessary for
the defence thereof, until you shall receive further orders from us ;
and you are forthwith to transmit an exact account, to be laid before
us, of the state and condition of the said place.

“ As it cannot be foreseen by what time the attempt against Quebec may have its issue, or what the number and state of our troops and ships may be when that service shall be over ; and also considering, in case, by the blessing of God upon our arms, you should make yourself master of that place, the necessary garrison that must be left for the defence thereof ; we judge it expedient to leave it to you and Rear-Admiral Saunders, or the Commander-in-chief of our ships, to consider the state and circumstances of things, as they shall then be found, and thereupon to determine what ulterior operations, higher up the river St. Lawrence, (in case the navigation of that river shall be found safe for such vessels as shall be best suited to the service,) may be practicable and expedient for making still farther and effectual impressions on the enemy. And in case any such ulterior operations as above in consequence of the reduction of Quebec, shall be judged by you and Rear-Admiral Saunders expedient to be undertaken, our will and pleasure is that you do carry the same into execution, in the manner which you shall think most conducive to the good of our service ; and you will not fail, as expeditiously as may be, to inform thereof Major-General Amherst, Commander-in-chief of our forces in North America, and as far as may be, to concert the same with our said General, in order that the operations in different parts may coincide and mutually facilitate and strengthen each other.

“ With regard to such of our forces under your command, as shall be remaining after the above services are over, (and having first, in case of success, left a strong garrison at Quebec, as well as provided for the defence of any other posts which you shall find necessary to be

maintained,) you are to cause the same to be disposed of in such manner as Major-General Amherst, or the Commander-in-chief of our forces in North America, shall direct, (for which purpose you will take all timely opportunities of corresponding with Major-General Amherst,) but if, from the distant operations, in which the said Major-General or Commander-in-chief may happen to be engaged, prejudice may arise to our service, by waiting for such orders, you are to use your best discretion in disposing of our troops in the manner the most conducive to our service; and our will and pleasure is, that you do then put yourself under the command of Major-General Amherst, as Brigadier-General in North America.

CHAP.
XV.
1759.

“Whereas the success of this expedition will very much depend upon an entire good understanding between our land and sea officers, we do hereby strictly enjoin and require you, on your part, to maintain and cultivate such a good understanding and agreement, and to order that the soldiers under your command shall man the ships, when there shall be occasion for them, and when they can be spared from the land service; as the Commander-in-chief of our squadron is instructed on his part to entertain and cultivate the same good understanding and agreement, and to order the sailors and marines under his command, to assist our land forces, and to man the batteries, when there shall be occasion for them, and when they can be spared from the sea service. And in order to establish the strictest union that may be, between you and the Commander-in-chief of our ships, you are hereby required to communicate these instructions to him, as he is directed to communicate those he shall receive from us, to you.”

Towards the end of June the whole embarkation reached the Isle of Orleans, without having experienced any of those difficulties and dangers which, as it was reported, usually attend the navigation of the river St. Lawrence. Their success, in this particular point, was owing to some excellent charts of the river which they had found in vessels captured from the enemy.

The troops were no sooner landed upon the island of Orleans

CHAP. than Wolfe distributed the following manifesto amongst the colo-
XV.
1759. nists :

“ The formidable sea and land armament which the people of Canada now behold in the heart of their country, is intended by the King, my master, to check the insolence of France, to revenge the insults offered to the British colonies, and totally to deprive the French of their most valuable settlements in North America. For these purposes is the formidable army under my command intended. The King of Great Britain wages no war with the industrious peasant, the sacred orders of religion, or defenceless women and children : to these, in their distressful circumstances, his royal clemency offers protection. The people may remain unmolested on their lands, inhabit their houses, and enjoy their religion in security. For these inestimable blessings, I expect the Canadians will take no part in the great contest between the two crowns. But if, by a vain obstinacy and misguided valour, they presume to appear in arms, they must expect the most fatal consequences ; their habitations destroyed ; their sacred temples exposed to an exasperated soldiery ; their harvest utterly ruined ; and the only passage for relief stopped up by a most formidable fleet. In this unhappy situation, and closely attacked by another great army, what can the wretched natives expect from opposition ? The unparalleled barbarities exerted by the French against our settlements in America, might justify the severest revenge in the army under my command. But Britons breathe higher sentiments, and listen to the merciful dictates of the Christian Religion. Yet, should you suffer yourselves to be deluded by an imaginary prospect of our want of success ; should you refuse those terms, and persist in opposition ; then surely will the law of nations justify the ravages of war, so necessary to crush an ungenerous enemy ; and then the miserable Canadians must in the winter have the mortification of seeing the very families, for whom they have been exerting a fruitless and indiscreet bravery, perish by the most dismal want and famine. In this great dilemma, let the wisdom of the people of Canada shew

itself. Britain stretches out a powerful, yet merciful hand; faithful to her engagements, and ready to secure her in her most valuable rights and possessions. France, unable to support Canada, deserts her cause at this important crisis, and, during the war, has assisted her with troops, who have been maintained only by making the natives feel all the weight of grievous and lawless oppression.

“ Given at Laurent, in the island of Orleans, this 28th day of June, 1759.

“ JAMES WOLFE.”

This manly and humane declaration produced no adequate effect.

Quebec is situated at the confluence of the rivers St. Lawrence and St. Charles, in lat. 46. 55. N. in long. 69. 48. W. The river St. Lawrence, upon which it stands, from its mouth as far as the isle of Orleans, is no where less than four or five leagues broad. After it passes that island it contracts, and, opposite to Quebec, its breadth does not exceed a mile. It is from this contraction of the river that Quebec derives its name, the word, in the Algonquin language, signifying a strait. The harbour is so extraordinarily large that it will contain 100 ships of the line. It is partly formed by a basin, into which the river St. Charles discharges itself from the North-West. Quebec consists of an upper and lower town. The former is situated upon a lofty rock, the latter upon a strand beneath it. This rock, presenting a bold and steep front, extends itself westward for a considerable distance along the St. Lawrence. On the North-West it is washed by the river St. Charles. The difficulties which the general had to encounter were now presented to his view. On one side of Quebec he saw a precipice, defended by the whole force of the enemy. On the other side he knew the country to be extremely rugged, broken by gullies and ravines, and intersected by numerous rivulets. The position of the enemy's forces was no less impregnable. The whole north shore of the river St. Lawrence, for many leagues above and below Quebec, is extremely bold. A sand bank, of great extent,

CHAP.
XV.
1759.

prevents the approach of large vessels, and the few points which nature has left unguarded were most strongly defended by the French general Montcalm. The main body of Montcalm's army, amounting to 14,000 men, was encamped at Beauport, on the North-East side of Quebec, having the river and the sand bank in their front, and impervious woods in their rear. Their right extended to the river St. Charles, and their left towards the falls of Montmorenci. Greatly superior as was the army of Montcalm, the strength of his position, and the hope of exhausting the patience of his adversary, determined him to act wholly upon the defensive.

Such a combination of difficulties would have induced a general of less firmness, ardour, or resources than Wolfe, at once to abandon the enterprise. But although he determined to persevere, the mental and bodily agitation to which he was exposed preyed upon his health, and threatened his existence. A complication of bodily disorders, fever, flux, and stone, each of them the bitter enemy of life, all united, with a mind ill at ease and disappointed, to depress and overwhelm him. It was when he was recovering from these cruel maladies that he despatched the following most elegant and perspicuous letter to Mr. Pitt.

*" Head Quarters at Montmorenci,
in the River St. Lawrence, Sept. 2, 1759.*

" SIR,

" I wish I could, upon this occasion, have the honor of transmitting to you a more favorable account of the progress of his Majesty's arms; but the obstacles we have met with, in the operations of the campaign, are much greater than we had reason to expect, or could foresee; not so much from the number of the enemy, (though superior to us,) as from the natural strength of the country, which the Marquis de Montcalm seems wisely to depend upon.

" When I learned that succour of all kinds had been thrown into Quebec; that five battalions of regular troops, completed from the best inhabitants of the country, some of the troops of the colony, and

every Canadian that was able to bear arms, besides several nations of
 savages, had taken the field in a very advantageous situation, I could
 not flatter myself that I should be able to reduce the place. I sought,
 however, an occasion to attack their army, knowing well, that with
 these troops I was able to fight, and hoping that a victory might dis-
 perse them.

CHAP.
 XV.
 1759.

“ We found them encamped along the shore of Beauport, from the river St. Charles to the falls of Montmorenci, and entrenched in every accessible part. The 27th June we landed upon the isle of Orleans ; but receiving a message from the Admiral, that there was reason to think that the enemy had artillery, and a force upon the point of Levi, I detached Brigadier Monckton, with four battalions, to drive them from thence. He passed the river the 29th at night, and marched the next day to the point ; he obliged the enemy's irregulars to retire, and possessed himself of that post. The advanced parties, upon this occasion, had two or three skirmishes with the Canadians and Indians, with little loss on either side.

“ Colonel Carleton marched with a detachment to the westernmost point of the isle of Orleans, from whence our operations were likely to begin.

“ It was absolutely necessary to possess these two points, and fortify them, because, from either the one or the other, the enemy might make it impossible for any ship to lie in the basin of Quebec, or even within two miles of it.

“ Batteries of cannon and mortars were erected with great despatch on the point of Levi, to bombard the town and magazines, and to injure the works and batteries. The enemy perceiving these works in some forwardness passed the river with 1600 men to attack and destroy them. Unluckily they fell into confusion, fired upon one another, and went back again ; by which we lost an opportunity of defeating this large detachment. The effect of this artillery had been so great, (though across the river,) that the upper town is considerably damaged, and the lower town entirely destroyed.

“ The works, for the security of our hospitals and stores on the

CHAP. isle of Orleans, being finished, on the 9th July, at night, we passed
XV. the north channel, and encamped near the enemy's left, the river
1759. Montmorenci between us. The next morning Captain Dank's company of rangers, posted in a wood to cover some workmen, were attacked and defeated by a body of Indians, and had so many killed and wounded, as to be almost disabled for the rest of the campaign. The enemy also suffered in this affair, and were in their turn driven off by the nearest troops.

“ The ground, to the eastward of the falls, seemed to be, (as it really is,) higher than that on the enemy's side, and to command it in a manner which might be made useful to us. There is, besides, a ford below the falls, which may be passed for some hours in the latter part of the ebb and beginning of the flood tide; and I had hopes that, possibly, means might be found of passing the river above, so as to fight M. Montcalm upon terms of less disadvantage than directly attacking his entrenchments. In reconnoitring the river Montmorenci, we found it fordable at a place about three miles up; but the opposite bank was entrenched, and so steep and woody that it was to no purpose to attempt a passage there. The escort was twice attacked by the Indians, who were as often repulsed; but in these rencounters we had forty (officers and men) killed and wounded.

“ The 18th July, two men of war, two armed sloops, and two transports with some troops on board, passed by the town without any loss, and got into the upper river. This enabled me to reconnoitre the country above, where I found the same attention on the enemy's side, and great difficulties on ours, arising from the nature of the ground, and the obstacles to our communication with the fleet. But what I feared most was, that if we should land between the town and the river Cape Rouge, the body first landed could not be reinforced before they were attacked by the enemy's whole army.

“ Notwithstanding these difficulties, I thought once of attempting it at St. Michael's, about three miles above the town; but perceiving that the enemy were jealous of the design, were preparing against it, and had actually brought artillery and a mortar, (which being so near

to Quebec, they could increase as they pleased,) to play upon the shipping; and, as it must have been many hours before we could attack them, (even supposing a favorable night for the boats to pass by the town unhurt,) it seemed so hazardous that I thought it best to desist.

CHAP.
XV.
1759.

“ However, to divide the enemy’s force, and to draw their attention as high up the river as possible, and to procure some intelligence, I sent a detachment, under the command of Colonel Carleton, to land at the Point de Trempe, to attack whatever he might find there, bring off some prisoners, and all the useful papers he could get. I had been informed that a number of the inhabitants of Qubec had retired to that place, and that probably we should find a magazine of provisions there.

“ The Colonel was fired upon by a body of Indians the moment he landed, but they were soon dispersed and driven into the woods. He searched for magazines, but to no purpose, brought off some prisoners, and returned with little loss.

“ After this business, I came back to Montmorenci, where I found that Brigadier Townshend had, by a superior fire, prevented the French from erecting a battery on the bank of the river, from whence they intended to cannonade our camp. I now resolved to take the first opportunity which presented itself of attacking the enemy, though posted to great advantage, and everywhere prepared to receive us.

“ As the men of war cannot, (for want of a sufficient depth of water,) come near enough to the enemy’s entrenchments to annoy them in the least, the Admiral had prepared two transports, (drawing but little water,) which upon occasions could be run aground, to favor a descent. With the help of these vessels, which I understood would be carried by the tide close in shore, I proposed to make myself master of a detached redoubt near to the water’s edge, and whose situation appeared to be out of musket-shot of the entrenchments upon the hill; if the enemy supported this detached piece, it would necessarily bring on an engagement, what we most wished for; and if not, I should

CHAP. have it in my power to examine their situation, so as to be able to
XV. determine where we could best attack them.
1759.

“ Preparations were accordingly made for an engagement. The 31st July, in the forenoon, the boats of the fleet were filled with grenadiers, and a part of Brigadier Monckton's brigade from the point of Levi. The two brigades under the Brigadiers Townshend and Murray were ordered to be in readiness to pass the ford when it should be thought necessary. To facilitate the passage of this corps, the Admiral had placed the *Centurion* in the channel, so that she might check the fire of the lower battery which commanded the ford. This ship was of great use, as her fire was very judiciously directed. A great quantity of artillery was placed upon the eminence, so as to batter and enfilade the left of their entrenchments.

“ From the vessel which run aground nearest in, I observed that the redoubt was too much commanded to be kept without very great loss; and the more as the two armed ships could not be brought near enough to cover both with their artillery and musketry, which I at first conceived they might. But as the enemy seemed in some confusion, and we were prepared for an action, I thought it a proper time to make an attempt upon their entrenchment. Orders were sent to the Brigadiers-General to be ready with the corps under their command. Brigadier Monckton to land, and the Brigadiers Townshend and Murray to pass the ford.

“ At a proper time of the tide the signal was made, but in rowing towards the shore many of the boats grounded upon a ledge that runs off a considerable distance. This accident put us into some disorder, lost a great deal of time, and obliged me to send an officer to stop Brigadier Townshend's march, whom I then observed to be in motion. While the seamen were getting the boats off, the enemy fired a number of shells and shot, but did no considerable damage. As soon as this disorder could be set a little to rights, and the boats were ranged in a proper manner, some of the officers of the navy went in with me to find a better place to land. We took one flat-bottomed boat with us to make the experiment, and as soon as we had found a fit part of the

shore, the troops were ordered to disembark, thinking it not yet too late for the attempt.

CHAP.
XV.
1759.

“ The thirteen companies of grenadiers, and 200 of the Second Royal American Battalion got first on shore. The grenadiers were ordered to form themselves into four distinct bodies, and to begin the attack, supported by Brigadier Monckton's corps, as soon as the troops had passed the ford, and were at hand to assist. But whether from the noise and hurry at landing, or from some other cause, the grenadiers, instead of forming themselves as they were directed, ran on impetuously towards the enemy's entrenchments in the utmost disorder and confusion, without waiting for the corps which were to sustain them, and join in the attack. Brigadier Monckton was not landed, and Brigadier Townshend was still at a considerable distance, though upon his march to join us in very great order. The grenadiers were checked by the enemy's first fire, and obliged to shelter themselves in or about the redoubt, which the French abandoned upon their approach. In this situation they continued for some time, unable to form under so hot a fire, and having many gallant officers wounded, who, (careless of their persons,) had been solely intent upon their duty. I saw the absolute necessity of calling them off, that they might form themselves behind Brigadier Monckton's corps, which was now landed and drawn up on the beach in extreme good order.

“ By this new accident, and this second delay, it was near night, a sudden storm came on, and the tide began to make; so that I thought it most advisable not to persevere in so difficult an attack, lest, (in case of a repulse,) the retreat of Brigadier Townshend's corps might be hazardous and uncertain.

“ Our artillery had a great effect upon the enemy's left, where Brigadiers Townshend and Murray were to have attacked; and it is probable, that if those accidents I have spoken of had not happened, we should have penetrated there, whilst our left and centre, (more remote from our artillery,) must have borne all the violence of their musquetry.

“ The French did not attempt to interrupt our march. Some of

CHAP. their savages came down to murder such wounded as could not be
XV. brought off, and to scalp the dead as their custom is.
1759.

“ The place, where the attack was intended, has these advantages over all others hereabout. Our artillery could be brought into use. The greatest part, or even the whole of the troops, might act at once; and the retreat, (in case of a repulse,) was secure, at least for a certain time of the tide. Neither one or other of these advantages can any where else be found. The enemy were indeed posted upon a commanding eminence. The beach upon which the troops were drawn up, was of deep mud, with holes, and cut by several gullies. The hill to be ascended, very steep, and not every where practicable. The enemy numerous in their entrenchments, and their fire hot. If the attack had succeeded, our loss must certainly have been great, and theirs inconsiderable, from the shelter which the neighbouring woods afforded them. The river of St. Charles still remained to be passed, before the town was invested. All these circumstances I considered; but the desire to act in conformity to the King’s intentions induced me to make this trial, persuaded that a victorious army finds no difficulties.

“ Immediately after this check, I sent Brigadier Murray above the town with 1200 men, directing him to assist Rear-Admiral Holmes in the destruction of the French ships, (if they could be got at,) in order to open a communication with General Amherst. The Brigadier was to seek every favorable opportunity of fighting some of the enemy’s detachments, provided he could do it upon tolerable terms, and to use all the means in his power to provoke them to attack him. He made two different attempts to land upon the north shore without success; but in a third was more fortunate. He landed unexpectedly at De Chambaud, and burnt a magazine there, in which were some provisions, some ammunition, and all the spare stores, clothing, arms, and baggage, of their army.

“ The prisoners he took informed him of the surrender of the fort of Niagara; and we discovered, by intercepted letters, that the enemy had abandoned Carillon and Crown Point, were retired to the

isle Aux Noix ; and that General Amherst was making preparations to pass the lake Champlain, to fall upon M. Bourlemaque's corps, which consists of three battalions of foot, and as many Canadians as make the whole amount to 3000. CHAP.
XV.
1759.

“ The Admiral's despatches and mine would have gone eight or ten days sooner, if I had not been prevented from writing by a fever. I found myself so ill, and am still so weak, that I begged the general officers to consult together for the public utility. They are all of opinion, that, (as more ships and provisions have now got above the town), they should try, by conveying up a corps of 4 or 5000 men, (which is nearly the whole strength of the army, after the points of Levi and Orleans are left in a proper state of defence,) to draw the enemy from their present situation and bring them to an action. I have acquiesced in their proposal, and we are preparing to put it in execution.

“ The Admiral and I have examined the town, with a view to a general assault ; but after consulting with the chief engineer, who is well acquainted with the interior parts of it, and, after viewing it with the utmost attention, we found, that though the batteries of the lower town might be easily silenced by the men of war, yet the business of an assault would be little advanced by that, since the few passages that lead from the lower to the upper town, are carefully entrenched ; and the upper batteries cannot be affected by the ships, which must receive considerable damage from them and from the mortars. The Admiral would readily join in this, or in any other measure for the public service ; but I could not propose to him an undertaking of so dangerous a nature, and promising so little success.

“ To the uncommon strength of the country, the enemy have added, (for the defence of the river,) a great number of floating batteries and boats. By the vigilance of these and the Indians round our different posts, it has been impossible to execute any thing by surprise. We have had almost daily skirmishes with these savages, in which they are generally defeated, but not without loss on our side.

“ By the list of disabled officers, (many of whom are of rank,)

CHAP. you may perceive, Sir, that the army is much weakened. By the na-
 XV. ture of the river, the most formidable part of this armament is de-
 1759. prived of the power of acting, yet we have almost the whole force of
 Canada to oppose. In this situation, there is such a choice of diffi-
 culties, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of
 Great Britain, I know, require the most vigorous measures ; but then
 the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only, where
 there is some hope of a favorable event. However, you may be as-
 sured, Sir, that the small part of the campaign which remains, shall
 be employed, (as far as I am able,) for the honor of his Majesty and
 the interest of the nation ; in which I am sure of being well seconded
 by the Admiral and by the Generals. Happy if our efforts here can
 contribute to the success of his Majesty's arms in any other parts of
 America. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, Sir, your
 most obedient, and most humble servant,

“ JAMES WOLFE.”

“ Return of the killed, wounded, and missing.

	Killed	Wounded	Missing
Officers	11	46	0
Serjeants	9	26	0
Drummers	0	7	0
Rank and file	162	572	17
Total	182	651	17

Three days after Mr. Pitt had received Wolfe's letter, “ an express arrived that Quebec was taken,—a conquest heightened by the preceding gloom and despair. The rapidity with which our arms had prevailed in every quarter of the globe, made us presume that Canada could not fail of being added to our acquisitions ; and however arduously won, it would have sunk in value if the transient cloud that overcast the dawn of this glory had not made it burst forth with redoubled lustre. The incidents of dramatic fiction could not be conducted with more address to lead an audience from despondency

to sudden exultation, than accident prepared to excite the passions of a whole people. They despaired—they triumphed—and they wept—for Wolfe had fallen in the hour of victory ! Joy, grief, curiosity, astonishment were painted in every countenance ; the more they enquired, the higher their admiration rose. Not an incident but was heroic and affecting ! Wolfe between persuasion of the impracticability, unwillingness to leave any attempt untried that could be proposed, and weariness and anxiety of mind and body, had determined to make one last effort above the town. He embarked his forces at one in the morning, and passed the French sentinels in silence that were posted along the shore. The current carried them beyond the destined spot. They found themselves at the foot of a precipice, esteemed so impracticable, that only a slight guard of 150 men defended it. Had there been a path, the night was too dark to discover it. The troops, whom nothing could discourage, for these difficulties could not, pulled themselves and one another up by stumps and boughs of trees. The guard hearing a rustling, fired down the precipice at random, as our men did up into the air ; but, terrified by the strangeness of the attempt, the French picquet fled—all but the captain, who, though wounded, would not accept quarter, but fired at one of our officers at the head of 500 men. This, as he staked but a single life, was thought such an unfair war, that, instead of honoring his desperate valour, our men, to punish him, cut off his *croix de St. Louis* before they sent him to the hospital. Two of our officers, however, signed a certificate of his courage, lest the French should punish him as corrupted ; our enterprise, unless facilitated by corruption, being deemed impossible to have taken place. Day-break discovered our forces in possession of the eminence. Montcalm could not credit it when reported to him—but it was too late to doubt, when nothing but a battle could save the town. Even then he held our attempt so desperate, that being shewn the position of the English, he said, ‘*Oui, je les vois ou ils ne doivent pas être.*’ Forced to quit his entrenchments, he said, ‘*S’il faut donc combattre, je vais les écraser.*’ He prepared for engagement, after lining the bushes with

CHAP.
XV.
1759.

CHAP. detachments of Indians. Our men, according to orders, reserved
 XV.
 1759. their fire with a patience and tranquillity equal to the resolution they
 had exerted in clambering the precipice—but when they gave it, it
 took place with such terrible slaughter of the enemy, that half an
 hour decided the day. The French fled precipitately, and Montcalm,
 endeavouring to rally them, was killed on the spot. General Monck
 ton was wounded early, and obliged to retire.

“ The fall of Wolfe was noble indeed. He received a wound in the head, but covered it from his soldiers with his handkerchief. A second ball struck him in the belly, that too he dissembled. A third hitting him in the breast, he sunk under the anguish, and was carried behind the ranks. Yet, as fast as life ebbed out, his whole anxiety centred on the fortune of the day. He begged to be borne nearer to the action; but his sight being dimmed by the approach of death, he entreated to be told what they who supported him saw; he was answered, that the enemy gave ground. He eagerly repeated the question, heard the enemy was totally routed, cried, ‘ I am satisfied!’—and expired ‘.”

General Wolfe being killed, and General Monckton wounded, and compelled to retire from the field, the command of the army devolved upon General Townshend, who exerted himself with great activity and judgment in completing the victory. Our loss, considering the great advantages resulting from the battle, was, in point of numbers, few; fifty men being killed and 500 wounded. But the single death of Wolfe was, perhaps, more than a balance to our success. What might not have been hoped for from the maturity of such a general, had his life been spared! In five days subsequent to the battle, Quebec surrendered. Thus, after a campaign of three months, not exceeded by any in point of severity, the capital of French America fell into our hands. The glory of the conquest will be seen from a recapitulation of the difficulties which attended it. Quebec, wonder-

‘ Lord Orford’s Memoires, page 484. I have extracted the whole passage from the Memoires, and a more animated and beautiful description is rarely to be found in any author.

fully strong by nature and by art, was defended by an army greatly superior to our own, and entrenched under the walls of the city, in an impregnable position. That army was to be compelled to engage us contrary to the determination of its sage and experienced commander. The operations on our side were necessarily extended over more than five leagues of country, and were all of them admirable specimens of courage and military science. Nothing but the genius of the General, and the enthusiasm with which the troops fought under his command, could have enabled them to overcome such various obstacles to success.

CHAP.
XV.
1759.

Early in the month of October intelligence was received from Asia of the same glorious description with that which had arrived from the three other quarters of the globe.

In the account which I gave of the transactions of the last year, I mentioned that the French government had sent M. De Lally, with a strong squadron under D'Achè, to the East Indies, with the same intention that the English minister had sent such large forces to America—to strike an effective blow at the possessions of their great European adversary by dint of superior numbers. The French general, De Lally, was by no means deficient in abilities, but his passions overmastered his judgment. He had no other idea of separating the Gordian knot of Eastern policy than by the sword. He seemed to suppose that Indians and Europeans must submit alike to the same rigid rule of military obedience. Disregarding the prejudices and customs of particular castes, he compelled the natives to act as pioneers to his army, and to perform offices which many of them considered as utterly degrading. Such conduct, of course, rendered him highly unpopular, and was most injurious to the interests of the French.

The first enterprise of Lally was almost his only successful one. He besieged and took possession of Fort St. David. Had he thence immediately marched to Fort St. George, there is little doubt that it would have proved an easy conquest. But his proceedings were greatly impeded by want of money; and his delay

CHAP. enabled Governor Pigott to complete and extend the fortifications of
XV. Madras.
1759.

In the mean time Admiral Pococke, with a far inferior fleet, encountered D'Aché, and had he been bravely supported by all his captains, there is little doubt that he would have gained a decisive victory. As it was, he compelled the French squadron to retire with considerable loss. M. de Lally, after having been severely repulsed by the native forces of the King of Tanjore, retreated to Carical. A few months after his former engagement, and with even a lesser force than before, Admiral Pococke again encountered D'Achè, and again obliged him to retire with heavier discomfiture and loss. On the 14th December, 1758, M. De Lally commenced the siege of Madras. The place was defended, for upwards of nine weeks, by the governor, his officers, and men, with unwearied perseverance and zeal. On the 16th February, 1759, their gallantry was rewarded by the arrival of reinforcements. The siege was raised, and with the next day's dawn De Lally and his forces withdrew.

The great force which the French had sent to the East Indies had naturally excited much alarm in England; the intelligence of its failure, therefore, occasioned the most lively satisfaction. The note of triumph now seemed to be full. But these repeated successes had not rendered the King, his minister, or his people unmindful of that Almighty Being who is the only giver of victory. Whilst the streets of the metropolis resounded with the exulting shouts of the populace, and the illuminated windows exhibited the signs of conquest, the temples of the land were ordered to observe a solemn and public day of thanksgiving.

Parliament met on the 13th November. Mr. Beckford having passed some warm eulogiums upon the Secretary of State, Mr. Pitt disclaimed particular praise, and professed his determination of keeping united with the rest of the ministers. Fidelity and diligence, he said, were all he could boast, though his bad health, perhaps, had caused him to relax somewhat of his application. Not a week had passed in the summer but had been a crisis, in which he had not known whether he

should be torn to pieces, or commended, as he was now by Mr. Beckford. The more a man was versed in business, the more he found the hand of Providence every where. Success had given us unanimity, not unanimity success. For himself, however, he could not have dared, as he had done, but in these times. Other ministers had hoped as well, but had not been circumstanced, (not so popular,) to dare as much. He thought the stone almost rolled to the top of the hill, but it might roll back with dreadful repercussion. A weak moment in the field, or in council, might overturn all; for there was no such thing as chance; it was the unaccountable name of nothing. All was Providence, whose favor was to be merited by virtue. Our allies must be supported; if one wheel stopped, all might. He had unlearned his juvenile errors, and thought no longer that England could do all by itself; he who had never been subject to a panic, was not likely to be terrified now^e. He stated that Prince Ferdinand's army contained but 60,000 effective men. France the next year would have 100,000; was Prince Ferdinand, therefore, as strong as we wished him? He did wish 10,000 more could be found for him; believed France meant to invade us, though he should not look on the attempt as dangerous if she did. He balanced his attention between the landed and the monied interest; said he did not prefer the monied men and the eighty millions in the funds to the landed interest, though he thought our complaisance for the former ought to increase as public credit became more delicate. He ended with a mention of peace. Any body, he said, could advise him in war: who could draw such a peace as would please every body? He would snatch at the first moment of peace, though he wished he could leave off at the war^h.

This glorious year was not to close without another victory, even more splendid than those which preceded itⁱ. The invasion of Great

^e Alluding to Prince Ferdinand.

^h Lord Orford's Memoires, vol. iv. p. 389, &c.

ⁱ The following very singular incident which preceded Sir E. Hawke's victory is thus related by a French author:

“ Le Duc de Newcastle étoit dans le ministère depuis plus de trente ans, et se trouvait alors

CHAP.
XV.
1759.

Britain, which the French had long projected, although it was retarded by the defeat of their fleet under De la Clue, was by no means relinquished. They hoped that, as the winter season approached, the British fleet would be compelled to retire to their own harbours, and thus afford them an opportunity of executing their great design. Their expectations were in some degree fulfilled, for, on the 9th November, Sir Edward Hawke was driven from his station by a violent gale of wind, into Torbay. On the 14th M. de Conflans ventured to sail from Brest. The English Admiral had himself put to sea on that very day. On the 15th, Sir E. Hawke was informed that the French

chef de la trésorerie, département qui, en Angleterre, dispense tous les emplois, d'où découlent, (sous le Roi,) toutes les grâces, et de là constitue le premier ministre; mais M. Pitt avoit subjugué tous les esprits, formoit tous les plans pour la guerre, et laissoit au Duc de Newcastle le soin de trouver l'argent pour les mettre en exécution, ainsi que l'agrément de donner les places qui ne dépendoient point de ses mesures. Ils avoient souvent des démêlés ensemble pour soutenir leur crédit; et M. Pitt l'emportoit toujours sur le Duc, qui étoit forcé de céder, malgré qu'il en eût. Il arriva un jour un trait assez plaisant, dans une contestation qu'ils eurent ensemble: il étoit question d'envoyer l'Amiral Hawke en mer, pour observer M. de Conflans; c'étoit dans le mois de Novembre, temps orageux, et dangereux pour une flotte. M. Pitt, étant retenu au lit par la goutte, se trouvoit obligé de recevoir ceux qui avoient à lui parler, dans une chambre à deux lits, où il ne pouvoit souffrir d'avoir du feu. Le Duc de Newcastle, qui étoit fort frileux, vint le trouver au sujet de cette flotte, qu'il répugnoit à envoyer en mer. A peine fut-il entré, qu'il s'écria tout grelottant de froid: 'Comment, vous n'avez point de feu?' 'Non,' dit M. Pitt, 'je ne puis le souffrir quand j'ai la goutte.' Le Duc de Newcastle, obligé d'en passer par là, s'assit à côté du malade, enveloppé dans son manteau, et commença à entrer en matière; mais ne pouvant résister long temps à la rigueur de la saison 'Permettez,' dit-il, 'que je me mette à l'abri du froid dans ce lit qui est à côté de vous;' et sans quitter son manteau, il s'enfonce dans le lit de Lady Esther Pitt, et continue la conversation sur le sujet qui l'avoit amené. Le Duc n'étoit point du tout d'avis de risquer la flotte dans le mois de Novembre; M. Pitt vouloit absolument qu'elle mît à la voile; et tous deux s'agitoient avec chaleur. 'Je veux absolument que la flotte parte,' disoit M. Pitt, en accompagnant ses paroles des gesticulations les plus vives: 'Cela est impossible, elle périra,' répliquoit le Duc, en faisant mille contorsions. Le Chevalier Charles Frederick, du département de l'artillerie, arrivant là-dessus, les trouva dans cette posture ridicule; et il eut toutes les peines du monde à garder son sérieux, en voyant les deux Ministres d'Etat délibérer sur un objet aussi important, dans une situation si nouvelle et si singulière.

"La flotte partit cependant; et M. Pitt avoit eu raison, car l'Amiral Hawke défit M. de Conflans; et ce fut la victoire la plus décisive que les Anglois remportèrent sur la France pendant cette guerre."—*Mémoires d'un Voyageur qui se Répose.*

fleet had quitted their harbour. This was most important, and as he hoped to overtake them, most joyful intelligence. An English sailor is not apt to decline the combat when inferior to his enemy in point of numbers. But in this case, owing to the admirable manner in which the naval as well as the other departments of government were administered, Sir Edward's fleet was rather superior to that of Conflans.

CHAP.
XV.
1759.

Sir Edward, rightly judging that Conflans would steer for Quiberon bay, thither directed his course^k. But he was long thwarted by contrary winds, and it was not till the 20th November that one of his ships made signal that the French fleet was in sight. He came upon them most opportunely, for they were themselves then giving chase to a small English squadron under Commodore Duff, whom they would quickly have overpowered. The pursuers, to their great consternation, now found themselves pursued. They recalled their ships which were in chase of Commodore Duff's squadron, and endeavoured to form a line of battle. As there was but little inequality in the two squadrons, all now supposed that a long, and most furious encounter was about to ensue. But whilst every English heart beat high in anticipation of a glorious victory, the courage of Conflans began to fail. He made dispositions to retire. In doing this, he was probably actuated by a double motive. He knew the difficulties and dangers of the French coasts, and whilst he thought his own knowledge would enable his fleet to escape them, he hoped they would prove fatal to the English ships should they venture to pursue him. But the English squadron was too near upon him, and Sir Edward Hawke was too determined a sailor to suffer an enemy to escape him thus. He ordered the master of his ship to reserve his fire, to pass by all the rest of the enemy, and to lay him alongside of the *Soleil Royal*, the finest ship in the French navy, and commanded by Conflans. The master pointed out the extreme and almost inevitable danger of the coast. "You have done your duty

^k Sir Edward Hawke's letter to the Admiralty after the engagement.

CHAP. by this remonstrance," replied Hawke, "now obey my orders¹." A
 XV.
 1759. French seventy-four gun ship interposed between them. Hawke was
 here obliged to bestow the fire which he had reserved for a greater purpose, and with one broadside sunk her to the bottom. The battle now raged with the greatest fury. Captain Digby, in the *Dunkirk*, received the fire of twelve of the enemy's ships, yet lost not a man^m. Captain Keppel's ship was full of water, and he thought her sinking—a sudden squall emptied the ship, but he was informed that all his powder was wet—"Then," said he, "I am sorry, I am safe." They came and told him, that a small quantity was undamaged—"Very well," said he, "then attack them againⁿ."

At five o'clock, two ships of the enemy had struck, and two others had been sunk; the approach of night saved the rest from capture or destruction. The most pitchy darkness, and the most violent tempest now succeeded. The elements seemed to imitate the warfare of men. Sir Edward, unable to pursue his victory through the night, made the signal for his fleet to anchor. From the gross defect in the night signals then in use, the judicious measure now adopted by the English Admiral might have been attended with fatal consequences to his fleet. The signal to anchor by night, was, at that period, the discharge of two guns from the Admiral's ship, unaccompanied with lights, or any thing to distinguish them from other guns which might be firing at the time^o. Now it is clear, that, towards the conclusion of a battle, terminated only by the absence of day, there would be firing on every side, and consequently, that two guns fired from the Admiral's ship, would be lost as a signal, in the multitude of other sounds. The result was such as may be imagined—very imperfect obedience to the order. A few only of his ships were acquainted with the Admiral's directions, the rest stood out to sea, or anchored in various places, as expediency or necessity urged.

¹ Annual Register, 1759.

^m Lord Orford's Memoires.

ⁿ Idem.

^o Beatson's Naval and Military Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 331.

Had the French Fleet availed themselves of this circumstance, had they, from a knowledge of the coast, kept together, they might on the morning of the 21st, have fallen upon Sir Edward Hawke and the few ships which were with him, and fully have retrieved the disaster of the previous day. But their fears prevailed over all other feelings. That night was indeed terrible both to the victors and to the vanquished. The dangers of the coast, the darkness of the night, the fury of the tempest, all united to perplex the scattered fleets both of England and France. Although minute-guns were heard on every side, yet none could afford relief either to friend or foe^p. To the bellowing of the waves from below, and the thunders of the heavens from above, was added the constant roar of cannon from the ships. The next day's dawn brought no comfort to the French Admiral. He then found that he had anchored in the midst of the English fleet^q. He instantly endeavoured to effect his escape, and was nearly as instantly pursued. Finding it impossible to preserve his ship, he burned her on the shore to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy. L'Heros, one of his seventy-four gun ships also run on shore, and was there destroyed by the English. Unfortunately two of our own ships, the Resolution of seventy-four and the Essex of sixty-four guns were wrecked upon the Four Bank, and, although their crews were preserved, were irrecoverably lost. The remainder of the French squadron took shelter in the river Vilaine.

Such was the fate of that armament which the French fondly hoped was to retrieve their previous disasters, and strike an effectual blow at the welfare of Great Britain.

^p Sir Edward Hawke's letter to the Admiralty.

^q ——— sensit medios delapsus in hostes

Obstupuit, ———

Improvisum aspris veluti qui sentibus anguem

Pressit humi nitens, trepidusque repente refugit,

Attollentem iras, et cærule colla tumentem :

Haud secus Androgeus visu tremefactus abibat,

Irruimus, densis et circumfundimur armis.

Virgil, Æneid, lib. ii.

CHAP.
XV.
1759.

The anxiety which prevailed in England when it was known that Conflans had quitted Brest, may easily be imagined. But it was an anxiety far different to that unmanly feeling of despair which the fear of invasion produced in the year 1756. Now every man ranged himself under the banner of the minister, and prepared to exert his best energies to repel the enemy should they dare to land upon our shores. Now every man considered himself a soldier. The measures adopted by Mr. Pitt well merited the confidence of the people. I have mentioned the great and spirited exertions which were previously made by all classes of the community to reinforce the army and navy. These exertions were now redoubled. The militia, throughout the kingdom, were carefully inspected. Ireland and Scotland were placed in the best posture of defence. Public notice was given, by beat of drum, that all soldiers and seamen belonging to his Majesty's ships at Spithead, or in the harbour, should repair on board their respective ships, and all the ships in the harbour received orders to proceed to Spithead. Rear-Admiral Geary, with a strong squadron, was sent to reinforce Sir Edward Hawke. But such was the patriotic spirit of the age, that the zeal of the officers, in some cases, outwent the orders of the government. Vice-Admiral Saunders, returning from Quebec in triumph, entered an English port immediately after Sir Edward Hawke had sailed. He had already endured a long and severe campaign. He had effected the most essential services for the nation, and his countrymen were eager to testify their sense of his deserts. But he heard that an enemy was at sea, and he thought Sir Edward Hawke might want reinforcements. Obedience he knew to be the soul of all military and naval operations, but the circumstances were pressing, and there was no time to wait for the orders of his government. Impelled by the highest zeal for his country, he sailed at once in quest of Conflans. Admiral Saunders was not so fortunate as to arrive in time to participate in the action, but conquest could scarcely have added to the heroism of his intention^r.

^r Annual Register, and Gent. Mag. for 1759. Smollett's England.

To what a fearful state was France now reduced ! The measure of her misfortunes appeared, before, to be full : this added disaster caused it to overflow. She had fallen from that lofty eminence on which she had formerly given law to Europe, and was now plunged into the deepest distress. Within the last year she had been unfortunate in her military and naval operations in every quarter of the globe. Her armies had marched only to be defeated ; her fleets had sailed only to be taken or destroyed *. Nor was her internal condition at all more prosperous. To raise the necessary supplies for the ensuing year, the public faith was violated, and payment ceased upon several of the national funds †. A King addicted to ease and luxury, a nobility fond of display, a clergy devoted to the ornaments and pomps of religion, were all obliged to sacrifice the objects of their pride and splendour to the pressing emergencies of the state. A vanquished army, a ruined navy, a bankrupt nation ! Such was the spectacle which France presented towards the conclusion of the year 1759.

CHAP.
XV.
1759.

It was at this season of depression with France, that the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia proposed an accommodation. On the 25th November, Prince Lewis of Brunswick delivered, in their names, a declaration respecting the establishment of a general peace ‡. This was answered by the respective powers of France, Austria, and Russia in the same amicable tone. But however sanguine many persons

* Voltaire thus describes the deplorable state to which the navy of France was reduced :

“ Ce royaume n’a pu essuyer de si grands désastres sans perdre encore tous les vaisseaux qu’il envoyait pour les prévenir ; à peine une flotte était-elle en mer qu’elle était ou prise ou détruite : on construisait, on armait des vaisseaux à la hâte ; c’était travailler pour l’Angleterre, dont ils devenaient bientôt la proie.”—*Voltaire précis du Siècle de Louis XV. tome cinquième.*

† The French court stopped payment of the following public debts, viz. 1. The three kinds of rents created on the posts. 2. Those constituted upon the chest of redemptions. 3. The coupons of bills on the same chest. 4. Those of the two royal lotteries. 5. The reimbursement of bills drawn to bearer on the same chest. 6. The bills of the two royal lotteries. 7. The rents created on the two sols per pound of the tenth penny. 8. The reimbursements of the capitals of rents. 9. The payments of bills dischargeable in nine years known under the name of annuities. 10. Those of the new actions on the benefit of the farms. 11. All the bills drawn by the colonies upon the government amounting to 1,333,000*l.*

‡ See Appendix, No. III. paper 5.

CHAP. might be in their hopes of peace, the few who were capable of form-
 XV. ing a dispassionate judgment, saw with what difficulties the overtures
 1759. were fraught. The situation of France was, indeed, most depressed, but, on this account, she could only expect a peace upon the most humiliating conditions. Than submit to these, it were almost better for her to continue the war. Fortune might at length befriend her, and the successful issue of another campaign in Germany might once more place her in a formidable position. In addition to this, there is little doubt that France entertained the warmest hopes of obtaining the co-operation of Spain, should the war be continued against England and Prussia.

The vindictive feelings which prevailed between the Empress-Queen and Frederick II^d, offered little prospect of a speedy adjustment of their quarrel. Maria Theresa had commenced the war, and continued it through every change of fortune, with the determined resolution to persist till she recovered Silesia. But even supposing that Frederick was now reduced to the necessity of relinquishing that country for which he had undergone such astonishing labours, the single cession of Silesia would by no means satisfy the demands of others upon his treasury and his dominions. The Russians had obtained possession of Ducal Prussia, and it was little likely that they, whose character was so mercenary, would resign their conquest without an adequate equivalent. But of all the allies of Austria, the King of Poland was the greatest claimant of compensations, and Maria Theresa could never hope for assistance from other powers unless he was now indemnified for the cruel losses which his Electorate of Saxony had sustained.

Such and other considerations which Mr. Pitt derived from his own penetration, and from the information conveyed to him by the English ministers employed in several of the courts of Europe, impressed him with a conviction that peace, upon a permanent basis, was not then to be expected.

I shall conclude this chapter by inserting three letters from Mr. Pitt to the Earl of Bristol upon various important subjects.

“ Whitehall, November 2d, 1759.

CHAP.
XV.
1759.

“ His Majesty has observed with great attention the very interesting anecdotes transmitted by your Excellency concerning the interior of the court of Spain, and your Excellency will not fail to be particularly watchful of the supposed very important consequences which you think may probably sooner or later happen.

“ In preference to the other matters which I have to mention to your Excellency, I cannot but begin with the affair of the Guerrero, and the pretended disregard shewed to the Spanish flag. The King sees, with the greatest concern, that the arguments used by your Excellency have had no weight with M. Wall, or any way tended to change his opinion on this unfortunate incident; and as your Excellency perceives that that minister has writ in very sharp terms to M. D’Abreu, in relation to this business, as well as very strong ones to the court of Naples, too much attention cannot be given to endeavour to prevent a pretension so untenable and so subversive of the common right of war, from strengthening in the mind of the Spanish ministers, and perhaps finally fixing in a fatal notion at the court of Spain that they ought to expect a satisfaction where, in effect, were we disposed to complain, they owe one to us. The strong impressions which M. Wall has taken on this point are most truly lamented here, where that minister is so particularly esteemed and honored, and where the real interests of Spain have so many sincere well-wishers. I must add, that it cannot but occasion some surprise that so respectable and enlightened a minister should have taken up conclusions, as fixed and unalterable, as your Excellency represents them, upon reasonings and distinctions so loose and precarious which must open the door to endless collusions, and upon facts not only unascertained, but variously and contradictorily stated, in the several representations that have been made of this incident in two memorials of M. D’Abreu, and in one delivered by Prince Sanseverino; and this too in opposition to the clearest and most indispensable right of war, namely, that no flag of a neutral power has a right to protect the ships of one belligerent party against

CHAP. another, unless in support of the immunities of their own harbours, or
XV. of the territorial jurisdiction of their coasts. Your Excellency is
1759. already in possession of the first memorial of M. D'Abreu; and in
order to prove what is here advanced of the discordancy and contradiction in regard to all the essential facts which constitute this supposed insult upon the Spanish flag, I here further send, for your Excellency's information, the memorial delivered by Prince Sanseverino, and that since delivered by M. D'Abreu, communicating to me copy of the letter which the Captain of the *Guerrero* wrote to Don Andres de Peggio on this subject. With regard to another most material fact, on which M. Wall has laid so much stress, namely, Moorish ships taking shelter under the English colours, your Excellency will, with candour and openness, which a clear cause dictates, demand of his Excellency two things: first, as to the fact itself; that he will be so good as to tell you what instances of this kind have authentically come to his knowledge. Next, if the thing has ever happened, which I have not yet been able to discover, whether the court of England has ever made claim to a pretension so untenable, and, as I believe, so totally unheard of.

“ It is unnecessary to recommend to your Excellency the utmost temper in discoursing on this most important matter with the Spanish Minister, of whose wisdom and upright intentions I think too highly not to hope that his opinion may alter, upon a more mature consideration of the principles and the facts which decide this great question. I will only add on this subject, that the coolest and ablest heads, as well as the most learned and respectable authorities in this country, consider such a prerogative claimed by the flag of Spain as founded in no right, and as totally inadmissible.

“ I now come to matters of a more agreeable nature, and that is, to execute the King's commands in transmitting to your Excellency his Majesty's letter in answer to one from his Catholic Majesty, notifying his donation of the kingdoms of the two Sicilies to Don Fernando, his third son: and I herewith send, for your Excellency's information, a copy of the King of Spain's letter on that subject, conceived in terms

most handsome and friendly to his Majesty. Your Excellency will take the first opportunity of presenting his Majesty's letter to the King of Spain, accompanying the same with the strongest assurances of his Majesty's sincere and cordial sentiments towards that Monarch. Your Excellency will further acquaint the King and Queen of Spain, (whom his Majesty hopes are long since arrived, in perfect health at Madrid,) that the King not only continues Sir James Gray at the court of the King of the Two Sicilies, but that his Majesty has been graciously pleased to grant to that minister the character and additional appointments of Plenipotentiary.

CHAP.
XV.
1759.

“ I am further commanded by the King to acquaint your Excellency that Prince Sanseverino has, in a conference with me, verbally made a communication, on the part of the King of Spain to his Majesty, to the following effect: that his Catholic Majesty had thought proper, upon his departure from Naples, to give ear to repeated offers on the part of the court of Vienna, and that his Catholic Majesty had consented to an agreement, whereby the court of Vienna cedes, in perpetuity, all right of reversibility to the Duchies of Parma and Guastalla in favor of the infant Don Philip, his Catholic Majesty ceding on his part to the Emperor all the Allodials of the House of Medicis, and a portion of the Presidii, (not specifying what that portion comprehends). To this communication I have been ordered to make an answer in substance as follows: That the King receives with satisfaction, as a fresh mark of friendship on the part of his Catholic Majesty, a participation of whatever concerns his interests and those of the Princes of the House of Spain, the King having constantly desired to see the repose and prosperity of Italy secured upon solid and durable foundations, and no way doubting of the equitable intentions to satisfy entirely the rights of the King of Sardinia, so clearly expressed and guaranteed by the last treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and recognized by his Majesty in virtue of his engagements as a contracting party to that treaty.

“ The very long and extraordinary memorial, together with the extract of a letter annexed, herewith transmitted to your Excellency

CHAP. for the information of the King and Queen of Spain, and which were
 XV.
 1759. found among Prince Xavier of Saxony's papers, taken in Germany,
 will serve as a further proof of the King's particular confidence in their
 Catholic Majesties, and must, at the same time, shew how far his
 Majesty carries his attentions to whatever touches the interior and
 domestic scenes of personages, so near by blood to her Catholic
 Majesty. Your Excellency will employ all possible precaution and
 delicacy in conveying to their Catholic Majesties this most singular
 and affecting matter; and you will endeavour to find the properest
 means of letting the Queen of Spain understand that no motive less
 powerful than the King's extreme consideration for her royal person
 could have prevailed to have kept such an authentic detection of the
 unlimited designs of France so long privileged from the public eye,
 nothing being more evident than the utility which the cause of his
 Majesty and of his ally the King of Prussia must have derived in
 Europe from making known the contents of this extraordinary and
 dangerous memorial*."

" Whitehall, Nov. 20th, 1759.

" My letter of the 14th September will have informed your Excellency, in substance, of all which then passed between Prince Sanseverino and me, in consequence of that minister's opening, by order of his court, and which professed to take rise from Prince Yaci's relation of Lord Marishal's suggestions at Madrid, but which evidently had its foundation in a purpose long before meditated, and much wished at the court of Naples, of interposing in order to reconcile the powers engaged in the present war, and restore peace to Europe.

" I am now commanded by his Majesty to inform your Excellency of what has since passed on this very interesting subject, in itself sufficiently embarrassing, and rendered still more so both by

* The forbearance of the English government, with regard to Prince Xavier's papers, was as handsome and as delicate a compliment as one court can pay to another, and must have been truly gratifying to the Queen of Spain.

the very undefined and varying manner of conveying it, and from pressing expectations of categorical answers even before a distinct proposition has been made.

CHAP.
XV.
1759.

“ I am to acquaint your Excellency, then, that Prince Sanseverino, having received instructions by a courier from Naples, in consequence of his relation of what had passed between us, and which has been communicated to your Excellency, informed me, after the strongest assurance on the part of the Catholic King of friendship for his Majesty, that the King of Spain had received the most sensible satisfaction in the assurances of the particular confidence which his Majesty reposed in him, and thereupon that his Catholic Majesty might have thought himself sufficiently encouraged to have offered his mediation. But as his only object was to conciliate, he did not judge it consistent with his prudence, uninformed as he is of the views of Great Britain in a future peace, to take a step, which, if accepted, might lead to his being charged with propositions which might irritate instead of tending to reconcile : that it was therefore much to be desired that his Catholic Majesty should have an idea, pretty nearly, of the conditions which might, in the opinion of Great Britain, serve as a basis for peace. All this was accompanied with many reasonings, which it would be long and superfluous to transmit to your Excellency.

“ I had, in consequence, his Majesty’s commands to express to Prince Sanseverino, in the strongest terms, the just sense which the King had of his Catholic Majesty’s friendship and pure intentions, and to reiterate in the amplest manner the confidence the King reposes in the court of Madrid. But at the same time to let that minister understand how very delicate a matter at all times, and even in a congress formed, the first overture of conditions for a peace to be concluded, had ever been held by all powers at war : that in the present case the King would refer to the consummate lights of his Catholic Majesty, how very premature and rash it would be, before the final conclusion of the campaign, to form, even to ourselves, an idea of the conditions of a future peace : how much more so, then, to

CHAP. make any communication of such a nature? That this surely cannot
 XV.
 1759. possibly be attributed to want of confidence in the court of Spain, or to a repugnance on the part of Great Britain, to entertain thoughts of peace, in conjunction with the King of Prussia, on solid and durable foundations, and upon conditions safe and honorable, and proportioned to the successes of our arms. Nor can it be reasonable for France to expect, at the hands of the other powers of Europe, that she should be suffered, at the conclusion of all her successful wars, to reap the fruits of the prosperities of her arms, and never to pay the price of disturbing the peace of the world when Providence favors the cause of others. That with regard to recurring to formal mediations at any time, especially where many powers are concerned, the delicacies and difficulties must ever be extreme, and often insurmountable; but that I would venture to observe to him, as from myself, that there is something less formal, though perhaps not less real, and consequently free from many of the above difficulties—that is, good offices, and that good offices can never be understood to be declined or precluded by any first steps relative to peace, which powers at war may find it most expedient for their prudence and their dignity to take.

“ Having now deduced, in substance, whatever has passed with the court of Naples and the Catholic King, relative to the subject of peace, I am commanded by his Majesty to communicate in great secrecy to your Excellency, for the confidential information of their Catholic Majesties, the important measure which his Majesty and the King of Prussia have come to a resolution conjointly to take, in order to make known to the belligerent powers and to all Europe the justice and purity of their intentions. For the particular detail of this great measure, I am to refer your Excellency to the protocolle inclosed, which is sent *in extenso* for your own more full and entire information of every circumstance relative thereto⁷. At the same time, your Excellency will understand that the declaration, to be made word for word as contained in the protocolle referred to, and the channel by

⁷ See Appendix, No. III. paper 5.

which it is proposed to make the same, namely, Prince Lewis of Brunswick, in his private capacity, (in case his Serene Highness shall be willing to charge himself therewith,) are the only parts of the said CHAP.
XV.
1759. protocolle which constitute the object of communication to the court of Spain, or which, in effect, tend to mark to their Catholic Majesties the King's particular confidence and attention. The very critical situation of the court of Turin is so fully known to your Excellency, that you will of yourself see the delicacy of their name being in any way brought in question.

“ It is unnecessary to add, what your Excellency's discernment will abundantly suggest, that in case you should perceive the court of Spain to conceive the least dissatisfaction at this first general step towards peace, your Excellency will, in order to dissipate any such cloud, avail yourself of the indispensable motives of prudence and of dignity, touched in the protocolle, with regard to the determination of his Majesty and of the King of Prussia, to offer peace, not to demand it; and you will not fail to resort to, and, as far as may be, inculcate the observation contained in the former part of my despatch, namely, that good offices can never be understood to be declined or precluded by a first step of this nature.”

It will be seen that circumstances induced Mr. Pitt to depart somewhat from the friendly sentiments towards Spain expressed in the above letter.

“ *Whitehall, December 14th, 1759.*

“ The King was impatiently expecting the news that the King of Spain with his Royal Family had reached Madrid; and also an account from your Excellency of the effect which my despatches of the 2nd past, by Maddoch, (not received by your Excellency when you last wrote,) and the confidential communication you was directed to make of their contents, should have produced at the court of Spain, when M. D'Abreu received a courier despatched by the Marquis Squillace from Saragosa, in consequence of which, he, in a very few

CHAP.
XV.
1759.

hours after, delivered to me a memorial, whereof I inclose to your Excellency a copy. I also send you a copy of the answer thereto, which after being very maturely weighed by all his Majesty's servants, who are consulted in his most secret affairs, the King was pleased to direct me to return. This answer so fully shews his Majesty's sentiments that it is unnecessary to enter into any particular explanation on the subject, I will therefore only observe, that it could not but administer matter of no small surprise here, that before his Catholic Majesty had reached his capital, or so much as seen the ministers of Spain, as well as before an ambassador had been appointed for the court of England, M. D'Abreu should receive orders of so delicate and important a nature. But, above all, I am to let your Excellency understand that that part of the memorial which declares his Catholic Majesty cannot see with indifference our successes in America, seems very little consistent with the expressions in other parts of that piece, where Spain desires to be considered as in a pure neutrality, and as a disinterested equal friend, and, in that quality, to become an object of confidence to both belligerent powers.

“It would be totally superfluous to extend myself on that supposed balance, established by the treaty of Utrecht between Great Britain and France in North America, nothing being more evident both from the circumstances of that memorable æra, and from the whole tenor of the treaty itself, that the minister, who sent M. D'Abreu such instructions, must either not have duly considered the general scope and expressions of the said treaty; or that he is but little acquainted with the wisdom, stability, and firmness of his Majesty's counsels wherever clear justice warrants, and the indispensable preservation of his people is essentially concerned.

“It is the King's pleasure that your Excellency should be extremely attentive to discover what may have given rise to a measure of such high moment, taken as it were at a start and upon the road; and whether this step may not be the result of the French Ambassador's infusions since their Catholic Majesties left Naples; and your Excellency will be particularly watchful to penetrate the dispositions

of M. Wall and M. Squillacci to each other, and to what degree the last of these ministers may be understood to possess or aim at the chief confidence of the King and Queen of Spain, and whether the former, M. Wall, may not in consequence of French intrigues be struck at in this measure taken while the court was at so great a distance, and perhaps without the previous participation of that able minister, of whose wise and upright intentions for the well-being of two countries so naturally connected by mutual interests, the King has always entertained the justest sentiments.”

CHAP.
XV.
1759.

CHAPTER XVI.

1760.

Letter from Mr. Pitt to General Amherst—Severity of the Winter of 1759 and 1760—Expedition and death of Thurot—Dr. Warburton is elevated through Mr. Pitt's interest to the Bench of Bishops—General Murray sallies out of Quebec and is repulsed by the French—Correspondence with Mr. Pitt respecting the Disaster before Quebec, and the subsequent happy turn of affairs—Situation of England with regard to Spain—Extracts from two letters from Mr. Pitt to the Earl of Bristol—Death of George II.—Review of his Character.

CHAP. THE events of the year 1760 are not to be compared with those
XVI. which so brilliantly distinguished the year 1759. So much, indeed,
1760. had then been done, that few objects, comparatively, remained to be
accomplished. We had captured or destroyed so many of the ships of France, and taken so many of her possessions, that no activity on our part could have enabled us to obtain successes equal, in point of number or splendour, to those of the preceding year. Our operations, however, were by no means relaxed. Nearly 16,000,000*l.* were granted by Parliament for the service of the year. Our fleets were maintained in the same degree of strength, and our armies continued to receive reinforcements. At the same time, great judgment was observed in the distribution of the forces, none being allowed to remain where the nature of the service did not imperatively require them^a.

^a See two letters in the Appendix No. iv. from Mr. Pitt and from Lord Ligonier, on the subject of the demolition of the fortifications of Louisburg, and of the removal of the garrison.

The following letter from Mr. Pitt to General Amherst will shew that the previous successes of the campaign in America only stimulated him to fresh exertions ^b.

CHAP.
XVI.
1760.

“ Whitehall, January 7th, 1760.

“ The King having nothing so much at heart as to improve the great and important advantages gained the last campaign in North America, I am now to inform you that his Majesty has judged it expedient to despatch his orders to the several governors in North America, for levying the same or a greater number if possible of men than they did for the last campaign; and the King’s directions on this subject are so fully stated in the enclosed copies of my circular letters to the northern and southern governors, that I have only to add, that it is the King’s pleasure that you should exert your utmost endeavours to incite and encourage the several provinces to the full and due execution of the King’s commands in a matter so essential to their own future welfare and prosperity; and the success of the ensuing decisive, and it is greatly hoped last, campaign in North America, depends so much on commencing the several operations as early as shall be practicable, and thereby preventing any efforts of the enemy to prevent the remainder of their possessions in those parts from falling under the arms of his Majesty, that you cannot be too urgent with the provinces to quicken and expedite the levies, so as that the provincial troops may be assembled at the rendezvous, and be in every respect ready, in conjunction with the regular forces, to open the campaign by the 1st May, as nothing can contribute so much to the success of the operations to be undertaken in different parts of North America, as the putting the forces early in motion. You will also particularly enforce that part of my letters to the governors, which relates to the collecting and putting into a proper condition, all the serviceable arms that can be found in America, and not to allow the

^b See also letter 3, in No. IV. of the Appendix.

CHAP. service there to suffer from a dependance on those to be supplied from
XVI. England.
1760.

“ In my letter of the 11th past I observed to you that the reduction of Montreal was evidently the great and essential object which remained to complete the glory of his Majesty’s arms in North America ; and I am now to signify to you his Majesty’s pleasure, that you do immediately concert the properest measures for pushing the operations of the next campaign with the utmost vigour early in the year by an invasion of Canada with such part of his Majesty’s forces, in conjunction with so many of the forces of the northern provinces as you shall judge proper, which latter, you will see by the copy of my letter above mentioned to the governors thereof, it is hoped will in consequence of those pressing orders to that effect, be ready to join in this most important service. And to this great end, it is his Majesty’s pleasure that you do attempt the invasion of Canada with the forces under your command, either in one body or by different operations at one and the same time by a division of the said forces into separate and distinct bodies, according as you shall from your knowledge of the countries through which the war is to be carried and from emergent circumstances not to be known here, judge the same to be most expedient ; and that you do proceed to the vigorous attack of Montreal and exert your utmost efforts to reduce that place, as well as all other posts belonging to the French in those parts, and farther to annoy the enemy in such manner as you shall judge most proper.

“ As a very considerable number of boats and vessels were built for the service of the last campaign, it is not doubted but that the necessary care will have been taken to preserve and secure them, so as that the greater part thereof may, by proper repairs, be rendered again serviceable for the ensuing campaign ; and it is the King’s pleasure that you should not lose a moment’s time in having not only such as are remaining refitted, but in building an ample and sufficient quantity of boats to replace those which may have been lost or destroyed, and in providing such an additional number as shall be judged necessary. In the performance of which most essential ser-

vice, you will see by the enclosed copy of my letter to the Lieutenant-Governor of New York, that his Majesty's orders are renewed to him in the strongest manner to give you all possible assistance; and you will also procure such a number of battoe men as you shall judge necessary for the boats attending the troops, and men sufficient for navigating the vessels.

CHAP.
XVI.
1760.

“ His Majesty is further pleased to empower you, and has commanded me strongly to recommend to you to keep up and raise as considerable a number of rangers as may be practicable for the various operations of the campaign.

“ With regard to the southern operations, I am to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure that you do direct such officer to whom you think fit to entrust the command of such forces as you shall judge proper to leave in the southern provinces, to proceed without loss of time to Pennsylvania or such other of the southern provinces as shall be judged most expedient, in order to concert any operations to be undertaken by the said troops, who, in conjunction with the forces directed by my letter of this date to the southern governors to be raised in those provinces or such part of the same as you shall judge necessary, are to be employed under the command of such officer whom you shall appoint as above, on any such offensive operations as you shall judge most expedient for annoying the enemy, and most efficacious towards removing all future dangers from the frontiers of any of the southern colonies on the continent of America; and it is his Majesty's pleasure that you should early take into consideration and duly weigh what operations in those parts may be undertaken with the most reasonable prospect of success, whether by endeavouring to carry some operations against Cayahoga or any other parts of Lake Erie, in case it shall be judged that their distance as well as various other circumstances not to be known here, shall not render the same impracticable; all which his Majesty is pleased to leave to your judgment and determination, the King relying on your approved zeal for the honor of his arms and on the sense you must have of the great utility of pressing the enemy in different parts, as far as may be without prejudice to the

CHAP.
XVI.
1760.

main and decisive objects of the campaign, prescribed in this letter, that you will not neglect any opportunity of concerting and causing to be carried into execution any such operations to the southward as you shall judge may be most conducive effectually to distress and reduce the enemy.

“ You will observe by my letters to the Governors, that his Majesty has been pleased to promise, that his Commissioners shall issue provisions to the men raised by the several provinces in the same proportion and manner as is done to the rest of the King’s forces ; I am therefore to signify to you his Majesty’s pleasure, that you do give the necessary directions to all the Commissaries and other officers who may have the charge of the provisions, to furnish the said men with the same in the proportion and manner above mentioned ; for which purpose, the contractors have received directions to have constantly in store a sufficient quantity of provisions, as well for the regular national troops as for the provincials, which shall be raised in consequence of his Majesty’s orders ; and it is the King’s pleasure that you should keep a particular account of the same ; and that no provisions should be delivered to the provincial troops, but in consequence of an order from you, or from the Commander-in-chief of his Majesty’s forces in those parts where the said provisions may be wanted ; and you will, in case of necessity, draw bills for any extraordinary expenses incurred for this service. And I am particularly to recommend to you, as a principal means to preserve the health of the men, that you do cause them to be furnished with fresh meat, whenever the situation and circumstances of the troops shall make the same any ways practicable. And you will take care, that for so long time as fresh meat shall be provided for the forces, the enclosed clause of the contract be duly observed on the part of the contractors or their agents ; and that the delivery of provisions of beef and pork by the contractors be accordingly in part or in the whole suspended, and a proportionable allowance only made for the several other species as shall be agreed upon and certified by you.

“ Such a considerable number of arms and tents have been

already sent to North America, that it is hoped a sufficient quantity will be found there for the service of the next campaign. I am, however, to acquaint you that the King has been pleased to order some supply of arms and tents to be forthwith sent to New York for the service in North America, which you will cause to be distributed according as the same shall be necessary.

CHAP.
XVI.
1760.

“ The King entirely approves the due care you have taken, agreeably to the orders you received last year, for causing sufficient respectable forts to be erected at the Oneida carrying-place, Oswego, Lake George, and on the Ohio. His Majesty farther sees with great satisfaction, in your several despatches, how justly sensible you are of the high importance of Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point ; and the King relies on your utmost attention for the effectual security of those most essential posts, by strengthening and establishing such forts as you shall have judged most proper and adequate for that purpose. I am also commanded by the King to recommend to your attention the establishing such other forts and posts as you shall judge necessary for securing effectually, in all times to come, his Majesty’s rights and possessions in North America, now happily recovered from the encroachments and usurpations of the enemy. And it is the King’s pleasure that you take effectual measures to secure, by a proper chain of posts, the communication from the forts on the Ohio to the Lake Erie, and to Niagara on the Ontario ; and you will accordingly give such orders thereupon, as you shall judge most proper, whether by repairing the forts which the enemy abandoned at River Aux-bœufs and Presqu’isle, or by erecting new ones at such other places as you shall think most expedient.

“ It is his Majesty’s pleasure that you should give, as far as the distance will permit, a constant and particular attention to the state and situation of Quebec, and of the large body of troops at that important place ; and you will not fail to send the officer there timely information of your operations, as well as such directions for his conduct as you shall judge most expedient for his Majesty’s service.”

CHAP.
XVI.
1760.

One of the severest winters which had for centuries occurred in Europe, succeeded the memorable campaign of 1759. The season, during which the fury of war was necessarily stayed, was not less destructive to the human species by the joint ravages of cold, pestilence, and famine. The severity of the season was felt alike by man and beast. Ten centinels were frozen to death at Leipsic. Birds were seen to drop dead in their flight. The extreme sufferings of the German peasantry was one temporary cause of the increase of the armies, for the allowances of food and payment to the soldier, scanty as they were, offered him an alternative to the horrors of famine.

The French army was now commanded by Marshal Broglio, and, by dint of the utmost exertions, amounted nearly to 100,000 men. The efforts of England, considering her maritime strength, were in proportion greater than those of France. Six regiments of foot, commanded by Major-General Griffin, were sent to reinforce the allied army in Germany. To these, Elliot's regiment of light horse were soon added. The continent, perhaps never before, had seen so powerful a British army.

But whatever advantages we had gained, the war in Germany, upon the whole, did not promise any satisfactory consequences. Our ally, the King of Prussia, had suffered such terrible shocks, that whilst Europe saw him with astonishment at the head of another very numerous army, his best friends perceived that the chances of war were continually increasing against him. They could not but tremble for the result of the present campaign.

But the attention of the British was at this time more particularly fixed upon Ireland, and Mr. Pitt thought it necessary to caution the Lord Lieutenant against a threatened invasion by Thurot. In the month of October, 1759, that brave adventurer succeeded in escaping the vigilance of the British fleet, and put to sea from the harbour of Dunkirk. He first arrived at Gottenberg in Sweden, and thence proceeded to Bergen in Norway. His instructions from the French government were to facilitate the operations of Conflans, by making descents upon the coasts of Ireland.

The force which he commanded was originally inadequate to any great undertaking; it was subsequently much reduced by sickness; but Thurot performed every thing within his power with the greatest gallantry and conduct. The humanity which marked his proceedings reflects the highest honor upon his character, and gives a deep interest to his fate. After learning the defeat of Conflans's squadron, he was in vain entreated by several of his friends to desist from all attempts upon the coast of Great Britain and Ireland, and at once to return to France. With the trifling force of 600 men he landed in the bay of Carrickfergus in Ireland, and, after overcoming the troops under Colonel Jennings, who came out to oppose him, he took possession of the town. But his triumph was short. The Irish people came forward in great numbers to repel his invasion, and after having laid Carrickfergus under a moderate contribution, he was compelled to re-embark. Captain Elliot, who commanded three frigates at Kinsale, gave chase to Thurot, and on the 28th February overtook and engaged him. A very severe action now ensued, in which Thurot, after exerting himself with the most heroic gallantry, was killed. His ships then struck to Captain Elliot.

CHAP.
XVI.
1760.

The name of Thurot had become terrible in all the trading sea-ports of Great Britain and Ireland, and the defeat and capture of his squadron were celebrated with the highest demonstrations of joy.

With the exception of one great event^c, the domestic occurrences of this year were by no means important. The parliamentary proceedings were characterised by the same unanimity. The minister interfered but little with the distribution of places and appointments. The bench of Bishops, however, owed one ornament to his interposition. I say ornament, because, however we must condemn the violence of Dr. Warburton's character, his astonishing learning must command our admiration. At the beginning of the year, this celebrated person, then Dean of Bristol, was advanced, through Mr. Allen's interest with Mr. Pitt, to the Bishopric of Gloucester. This ecclesiastic was

^c The death of George II.

CHAP. the friend of Lord Hardwick and of Lord Mansfield, but Mr. Pitt
 XVI.
 1760. admired his erudition, and, in a letter to a friend, declared, "that
 nothing of a private nature, since he had been in office, had given him
 so much pleasure, as his bringing Dr. Warburton upon the bench."

The first operations of the campaign in America were unsuccessful. The French had determined to make a vigorous effort to recover Quebec, and M. de Levi, the successor of Montcalm, undertook, with nearly 14,000 men, to reduce the town.

Upon the first arrival of the enemy, General Murray, (upon whom the command of the English forces had devolved,) sallied out to attack them. But the numbers of the French were thrice as many as his own, and, after sustaining considerable loss, he was compelled to retire within the walls of Quebec. Had the enemy pursued their advantage, and immediately proceeded to assault the town, the glorious conquest of Wolfe had probably proved abortive, and the place again had fallen into their hands. But the opportunity was neglected by the French, and the garrison was enabled to protract the defence till the arrival of Commodore Swanton, and subsequently of Lord Colville, obliged M. de Levi to abandon the siege.

As any reverse of fortune on the part of the English arms was at this period of rare occurrence, I shall here insert extracts from six letters relating to the repulse experienced by General Murray, and to his subsequent success. The language of the minister, upon both occasions, will be found as temperate as it is firm.

General Amherst to Mr. Pitt.

"Albany, May 19, 1760.

"This instant that I am preparing my despatches to send by Colonel Montresor in the Harriott packet, I receive a letter from Governor Murray of the 30th April, at Quebec, acquainting me of his having marched out and attacked the enemy on the 28th April, and being forced to retire under the musketry of our block-houses, abandoning his cannon to the enemy.

“ Governor Murray’s letter is sent to me by Governor Lawrence from Halifax, who very judiciously on the report of Captain M’Cartney of the Race Horse bomb, of what had happened at Quebec, determined upon opening the letters, and taking copies to transmit them to you, if it appeared necessary, by the Richmond which was to sail in a few days for England.

CHAP.
XVI.
1760.

“ For your full information of every thing I have received on this head, I enclose to you the copies of Governors Murray and Lawrence’s letters, as likewise one from Governor Pownall, who forwarded the other letters to me from Boston, and a return of the officers and men killed and wounded on the 28th April, as sent to me by Governor Murray.

“ On the receipt of the above I have weighed with myself what would be the best for me to do, and have determined to send instantly Major Christie, D. Q. M. G. to Boston to take up two thousand ton of transports to go to Louisburg, and I write to Governor Whitmore to embark his regiment and late Barrington’s to reinforce Governor Murray, and to Governor Pownall to send three hundred pioneers to Louisbourg in the vessels to assist in the demolition of the works of that place.

“ This is every thing I judge can at present possibly be done.

“ The last letter I did myself the honor of writing to you was on the 28th April from New York by the Leicester packet-boat, and as every thing was prepared for sending the recovered officers and men belonging to the garrison at Quebec to their destination, I put them under the command of Colonel Howe, and ordered the captain of the Lizard man of war to convoy them.

“ On the 2d May I set out for this place and arrived here on the 8th, where I have been forwarding provisions, artillery and stores, to Crown Point and Oswego, that I may be ready to move forward so soon as I can get the provincial troops assembled.

“ I have had a meeting with Sir William Johnson, who promises me as many Indians, if not more, than what we had the last campaign.

“ The brig and sloops we took from the French are sailed down Lake Champlain, and seamen are sent to the vessels on Lake Ontario to forward every thing there.

CHAP.
XVI.
1760.

“ As yet but twelve companies of the Massachusetts troops and forty-six men of the Rhode Island are arrived here, and three companies of the New York troops that are raised in this district.

“ My present intentions are that the Inniskilling and Moncton’s regiments, the four companies of Independents, the Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire troops, with the rangers and Stockbridge Indians shall form the corps to the northward, and make hard against the Isle aux Noix.

“ Abercrombie’s regiment, which I intend to relieve at Niagara, the Royal Highland, Murray’s, Oughton’s, 4th battalion of Royal Americans, Gage’s, and the remains of the Royal and Montgomery’s regiments, with the New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey provincials, and Sir William Johnson’s Indians, I purpose taking post at La Galette, and attacking Montreal.

“ Oughton’s regiment and the remains of the Royal are arrived here, and the remains of Montgomery’s in the environs, so that I only wait the junction of the provincial troops to move forward, when I intend to press upon the enemy in the manner I have before said, and you may be assured, Sir, I shall exert myself in pushing on the operations of the campaign with as much expedition as possible.”

Governor Murray to General Amherst.

“ *Quebec, April 30th, 1760.*

“ The intelligence I had the honor to communicate to you by Lieutenant Montresor of the enemy’s designs proves true.

“ The 17th of this month I was informed that they had every thing in readiness to fall down the river with eight frigates the moment it was cleared of ice, and it did not break up here sooner than the 23rd ; consequently, as the country was covered with snow, and the earth was impenetrable, it was impossible for me to attempt entrenching myself on the heights of Abraham, which I formerly told you was my plan of defence, before the 25th, and even then it will no doubt appear, by the journal of the chief engineer, it was hardly

possible to drive the first piquets, the thaw having reached no farther than nine inches from the surface.

CHAP.
XVI.
1760.

“ As the river was clear above, and I had reason to think the enemy would take the first opportunity of making themselves masters of the embouchure of the river Caprouge, the most convenient place for disembarking their artillery and stores, and for securing their retreat, I took possession of that post the 18th, with the light infantry commanded by Major Dalling, which obliged them to land their army twenty miles higher up, and to risk a battle without artillery, after a march of thirty miles. At three o'clock in the morning of the 27th instant, I knew they had marched from the Point au Tremble, with an intention to take post at St. Foix, and so cut off our communication with Major Dalling and the post I had established at Lorette; I instantly, with Amherst's regiment, the grenadiers and piquets of the army, commanded by Colonel Burton, marched and took post so advantageously as to frustrate their scheme, and to withdraw all my posts with the loss of two men only.

“ They had begun to form from the defile they were obliged to pass, but thought proper to retreat on reconnoitring our position, and receiving some shot from the two field pieces I had with me.

“ About four that afternoon I marched back to town without the loss of a man, though the enemy's irregulars did every thing in their power to harass my rear.

“ As the place is not fortified and commanded every where towards the land, my garrison, which was now melted down to three thousand fighting men by the most inveterate scurvy, were daily mouldering away, and it was now impossible for me to fortify the heights of Abraham, though fascines and every requisite material had been provided long ago; I could not hesitate a moment about giving the enemy battle, as every one knows the place is not tenable against an army in possession of the heights. I therefore this night gave the necessary orders, and by seven o'clock next morning marched with all the force I could muster, and formed the little army on the heights in the following order. Amherst's, Anstruther's, the second battalion

CHAP. of Royal Americans, and Webb's^d composed the right brigade, com-
 XVI.
 1760. manded by Colonel Burton; Kennedy's, Lascelles's, Highlanders,
 and Bragg's the left brigade, commanded by Colonel Fraser; Otway's
 and the third battalion of Royal Americans were formed as a corps
 de reserve.

“ Major Dalling's corps of light infantry covered the right flank, and Captain Hazzen's company of rangers, with a hundred volunteers, under the command of Captain Donald M'Donald, a brave and experienced officer, covered the left.

“ The battalions had each two field pieces. While the line was forming I reconnoitred the enemy, and perceived they had begun to throw up some redoubts, though the greatest part of their army was on the march. I thought this was a lucky moment, and marched with the utmost order to attack them before they were formed. We immediately beat them from the works they had formed, and Major Dalling, who cannot be too much commended, forced their corps of grenadiers from a house they had occupied to cover their left. Here he and several of his officers were wounded. His men, however, pursued the fugitives to their second line, which soon checked our light infantry, who dispersed along the front of our right wing, and prevented Colonel Burton from taking the advantage of the first impression they had made on the enemy's left flank. They had immediately orders to clear the front, and regain the right flank, but in attempting this they were charged, thrown into confusion, retired to the rear, and could never again be brought up during the action. I no sooner perceived this disorder than I sent to Major Morris, who commanded Otway's regiment in the second line, to wheel to the right and support our right flank. This soon recovered every thing there; but the left a little after began to retire, though they had early made themselves masters of some redoubts. I ordered Kennedy's regiment and the third battalion to sustain them, but they

^d This regiment had been commanded by General Webb who conducted himself so ill in America previous to Mr. Pitt's ministry, but who was not related to General Richmond Webb who, in Queen Anne's reign, defeated the French in the memorable battle of Wynendale.

were too late. The disorder of the left soon communicated to the right, and the whole retired under the musketry of our block-houses, abandoning their cannon to the enemy.

CHAP.
XVI.
1760.

“ As we have been unfortunate, I am sensible I may be universally blamed at home, but I appeal to every officer in the field if any thing was wanting in the disposition or my endeavours to animate the men during the whole affair. The superiority these troops had acquired over the enemy ever since the last campaign, together with the fine field train we were furnished with, might have tempted me to an action, supposing I had not been thoroughly convinced of the necessity of it.

“ We lost in the battle about one-third of our army, and I have certain intelligence the enemy had not less than ten thousand men in the field. They have already completed their first parallel, but I am in hopes we shall not be reduced to extremities till the arrival of the fleet, which we expect daily. In that event I shall retreat with what I can to the island of Orleans, and wait the arrival of reinforcements, unless I can do better. Had we been masters of the river, in which it is evident ships may safely winter, they never would have made the attempt.

“ I must do the justice to Colonel Burton in particular, and to the officers in general, that they have done every thing that could be expected of them. To reward them as far as in my power, as well as from the necessity of such a measure, so many being absent, I have ventured to appoint to the vacancies officers to act till your pleasure is known; and as I shall take care to do the utmost justice, hope you will think proper to confirm them.”

Mr. Pitt to Governor Lawrence.

“ *Whitehall, June 20th, 1760.*

“ On the 17th instant Captain Elphinston delivered to me your letter of the 11th May, together with the very unhappy account from Quebec, which was immediately laid before the King; and I have the

CHAP. satisfaction to acquaint you that his Majesty entirely approves your
 XVI. very prudent foresight in having taken upon you to open the despatch
 1760. from Brigadier-General Murray to General Amherst, and your diligence in transmitting in the most expeditious manner a copy thereof to England, as it cannot but be of great utility to his Majesty's service that advices of such high importance should be communicated to the King before there was a possibility of their reaching France."

Mr. Pitt to Major-General Amherst.

" Whitehall, June 20th, 1760.

" A copy of Brigadier-General Murray's letter to you dated Quebec, the 30th April, which Governor Lawrence will have informed you he had for expedition-sake judged necessary to despatch to England, (which precaution in such an emergency his Majesty has entirely approved,) arrived by his Majesty's ship the Richmond, on the 17th instant, and brought us the account of an event, no less unexpected than unfortunate.

" The King observes with great concern that Brigadier Murray, as he expresses himself in his letter to you, only hopes he shall not be reduced to extremities till the arrival of the fleet which he daily expected. By this representation, the possession of so important a post, and the preservation of so many brave troops, seem to depend on a very uncertain and precarious navigation; the gulf of St. Lawrence continuing to be encumbered with ice a considerable time after that river is open.

" In this state of things the King will wait with the most anxious expectation for the final issue at Quebec, trusting however in the providence of God, that from the spirit of his troops, and by the timely arrival of his ships, no fatal catastrophe will have happened there.

" In the mean time, his Majesty persuades himself that this late unhappy check which has been given to his arms, will but have animated the more your known zeal for his service; and that your abi-

lities will have been the more particularly exerted in pushing with the utmost vigor, the important and decisive operations on your side ; and it is hoped that before this letter reaches you, you will, by the blessing of God, have the glory of having put his Majesty's arms into possession of Montreal, and of having completed the reduction of Canada.

CHAP.
XVI.
1760.

“ The King doubts not but you will have sent to Brigadier Murray all necessary orders and have taken the properest measures with respect to Quebec, and to the circumstances of the troops of that garrison ; and in case, as it is to be hoped, that place still continues in his Majesty's possession, the King relying on your judgment and thorough knowledge of America, commits it to you on the spot to make such farther dispositions, whether for reinforcing or completing the garrison of Quebec, or for changing any part of the same as you shall judge necessary and most expedient for his Majesty's service ; as well as for supplying that body of troops with artillery, arms, ammunition, clothing, utensils, and all other requisites of any kind whatever that they may stand in need of. And as the demolition of Louisbourg will probably be by this time very far advanced if not completed, it is supposed the troops of that garrison will be at liberty to supply the above-mentioned service if you shall find it necessary, without breaking into the destination of any of the forces employed in the great operations under your own immediate command, or of those allotted for the services towards the Ohio and the lakes on that side.

“ As we have the satisfaction to understand by the most authentic accounts, that the ships under Lord Colville as well as those under Captain Swanton were so far advanced as to be undoubtedly before any French ships with provisions or other succours for Canada, I have further to add, for your information, that orders go by this conveyance to Lord Colville, directing his Lordship that whatever shall happen to be the event of Quebec, he is to continue with the utmost vigilance to shut up the River St. Lawrence, and to prevent all possibility of succour passing that way to Canada, in order to render your operations more effectual and decisive for the final reduction of the

CHAP. enemy this campaign, and to remain with the ships on this service as
 XVI. long as ever the season of the year will in any way admit.”
 1760.

Mr. Pitt to Major-General Amherst.

“ Whitehall, July 23d, 1760.

“ You will have seen by my letter of the 20th June, that an account of the check which the garrison of Quebec met with on the 28th April had reached England before your despatch above mentioned ; and on the 27th June Major Maitland arrived with the news of the happy turn of affairs in those parts, and of the enemy having abandoned the siege of Quebec with a very considerable loss. This fortunate event makes it unnecessary for me to do more than to acquaint you of his Majesty’s approbation of the orders you gave, on receiving Governor Murray’s letter of the 30th April, for sending to Quebec the succours of two regiments from Louisbourg, which you will have seen was agreeable to what was pointed out to you in my letter of the 20th June.”

Mr. Pitt to Governor Murray.

“ Whitehall, July 23d, 1760.

“ On the 27th past Major Maitland delivered to me your despatch of the 25th May, which was immediately laid before the King ; and as his Majesty had received, ten days before, from Governor Lawrence, an account of the unfortunate check which the garrison under your command had met with on the 28th April, I need not express to you the satisfaction your despatch above mentioned gave to the King ; and his Majesty has commanded me to take the earliest opportunity to acquaint you with his particular approbation of the zeal and activity you showed for his service in defence of the important conquest of Quebec, and for the preservation of so many brave men ; and you will, in the manner you shall judge most proper, acquaint the officers and men under your command with his Majesty’s entire satisfaction

at their good behaviour, and at the distinguished alacrity and resolution with which they carried into immediate execution the vigorous measures you so prudently concerted during the siege of Quebec.”

CHAP.
XVI.
1760.

The other great objects of the campaign were steadily pursued. Without effecting any one dazzling exploit, the whole progress of General Amherst was marked by the greatest ability. The English had to contend with most serious difficulties, arising from the nature of the country and the brutal disposition of the natives.

Mr. Pitt kept his eye steadily fixed upon their proceedings, and, finding that the valour and perseverance of our troops, and the conduct of our commanders were thwarted by certain mercenary persons who supplied the French with provisions, he addressed a letter to the several governors and councils in North America on the subject^d.

Both the language and character of Mr. Pitt were too decided to admit of mistake or compromise. The letter induced the governors to act with the greatest vigilance and circumspection, and the campaign closed with the entire conquest of Canada.

The following congratulatory letter from Mr. Pitt must have been highly gratifying to General Amherst.

“ *Whitehall, Oct. 24, 1760.*

“ I cannot sufficiently express to you the satisfaction of his Majesty on the further successes of his arms under your command, and the happy completion of the great work entrusted to your care, by the reduction of Montreal and all Canada under a capitulation highly becoming the humanity, magnanimity, and wisdom of his Majesty, which most important and extensive conquest, effected with so little loss, stands almost without example, and justly merits the universal applause and approbation of that well-combined and masterly plan, which you had with such unwearied application and diligence formed and concerted; and in the execution whereof, in all its parts, you have been so ably seconded by the zeal and activity of the

^d This letter, and an answer to Mr. Pitt from Governor Hamilton, are in the Appendix, No. IV.

CHAP. officers under your command, and by the indefatigable constancy and
 XVI. intrepidity of the troops. It only remains that I should now signify
 1760. to you the King's pleasure, that you should, in the strongest terms, and
 in the manner you shall judge most proper, acquaint Brigadier-General
 Murray, Colonel Haviland, and all the officers and soldiers under
 your command, as well the provincials as the regulars, and likewise
 his Majesty's faithful Indian allies under Sir William Johnson, with
 the just sense the King has of the spirit and perseverance they have
 exerted on all occasions in his service; and his Majesty has learnt,
 with sensible pleasure, that by the good order kept by Sir William
 Johnson among the Indians, no act of cruelty has stained the lustre of
 the British arms*.

“The King will impatiently expect further accounts from you with regard to the state of the several forts and posts in North America, and particularly the disposition of the forces which you shall have thought proper to make for the defence of the same; and whatever else you may judge expedient to be further done for effectually maintaining the possession and securing the quiet of the important acquisitions you have added to his Majesty's dominions in that country; and it is not doubted that you will have had all due regard to South Carolina under the present alarms of that province from the Cherokees and other Indian nations.

“I am to acquaint you that we are not without hopes here, that consistently with all the essential and indispensable purposes above mentioned, it may appear by your disposition of the forces, (an account of which is soon expected,) that a part of the troops under your command, adequate to some important enterprise, may be spared in order to be employed, either in some farther attempt against the French islands in the West Indies, or against the French forts and possessions on the Mobile or Mississippi, according as it may, on due consideration, be found most practicable and expedient; and in the

* Great minds are generally humane. The indignation which Mr. Pitt expressed, seventeen years afterwards, at the horrible practices of the Indians employed in our service, harmonizes with the feeling manifested in this passage of his letter. See Chap. XXVIII, vol. ii.

mean time it is the King's pleasure that you should use the utmost diligence in procuring the fullest information with regard to the navigation of the two said rivers, Mobile and Mississippi, as well as to secure, if possible, pilots experienced in the same ; and also to obtain the best and most authentic intelligence concerning the state of the several forts, and the strength and resources of the French in those parts of America.

CHAP.
XVI.
1760.

“ With regard to what you mention in your letter of the 21st June, relative to an article in his Majesty's instructions to you of the 16th November, 1759, as Governor of Virginia, I am to acquaint you that that article is not to be understood as having any force with respect to yourself, unless you shall go to Virginia, and take upon you the office of governor ; in which case, it would become necessary in form, for you to obtain his Majesty's leave of absence in the manner prescribed in the article above mentioned, before you could return to Europe, which you may be assured the King would immediately grant, it never having been intended that your appointment to the government of Virginia should confine you to reside in America, any more than it did your predecessors in that employment. You may be further assured, that there has never been a thought of protracting your return to England a moment beyond the continuance of the war.

“ I cannot conclude this letter, without assuring you of the most sincere part I take in the honor you have acquired, and the successes with which your operations have been attended ; and I have the further pleasure to acquaint you that all ranks and degrees of people here have unanimously testified their sense of the many and great services you have rendered your King and country.”

The intelligence from the East Indies was equally satisfactory. Admiral Pococke a third time encountered and repulsed the more numerous squadron of D'Aché ; and the military successes of Colonel Coote were almost equal to those which had so distinguished Clive.

The situation of Great Britain with regard to Spain remained unaltered. Desirous as Mr. Pitt was, that Charles III. should not

CHAP. engage in the war against us, he yet strenuously maintained one even
XVI. course, and refused to accede to the claims of Spain, in points where
1760. he conceived that justice and expediency alike opposed them.

The following letters are important, not only with regard to the subjects discussed, but also with reference to the conduct of Spain in the subsequent year. Both letters are addressed by Mr. Pitt to the Earl of Bristol.

“ Whitehall, September 5, 1760.

“ I have deferred troubling your Excellency with a copy of a long memorial relating to captures made by his Majesty’s ships and privateers which the Conde de Fuentes delivered to me in the month of June last, till I could, at the same time, transmit the answer which the King should be pleased to direct me to make thereto. Your Excellency will easily suppose, that the collecting the necessary informations on a variety of complaints many of which are of old date, as well as attended with much obscurity from the nature of them; and the forming an answer to so serious and important a matter, urged as your Excellency will see by the Spanish memorial, not without much exaggeration and national invective, must unavoidably take up long time, and therefore I was not able till last Monday to return an answer to the Spanish Ambassador, a copy whereof[†], together with his Excellency’s memorial, and the recapitulation therein referred to, I now enclose. Your Excellency will observe, that the independent and impartial course of proceedings of our courts of Admiralty in general, and in particular, not only the uprightness and equity of the court of Appeals, but even the great indulgence shewn by their Lordships in favor of Spanish claimants, are fully and clearly stated, and that fair answers are made as far, as the nature of the cases would admit, to the several heads of the recapitulation and abridgment. To this I have to add that the Spanish ship laden with oats for Ostend, taken by the *Venus* man of war, which case is mentioned in the recapitulation under No. 8, has been actually restored. I also enclose to

[†] See Appendix, No. IV. paper 11.

your Excellency copies of two letters I had the King's orders to write to the Lords of the Admiralty ; the one with regard to the courts of Admiralty, to which is joined Sir Thomas Salisbury's answer ; and the other, renewing and enforcing in the strongest terms the repeated orders already given to the commanders of his Majesty's squadrons and ships of war, to pay all due regard to the territories of neutral powers, and not to interrupt or disturb such lawful navigation and commerce of the subjects of the crown of Spain, as they are entitled to by the treaty of 1667.

CHAP.
XVI.
1760.

“ I am further to add on this subject the extract of a letter from Admiral Boscawen, with a paper of orders therein referred to, containing his reasons for having detained a vessel under Spanish colours, and I am to inform your Excellency, that notwithstanding the strong grounds there are to believe that the said vessel is French property, the immediate restitution thereof has been recommended to the captors, and it is hoped will be complied with ; and the enclosed copy of a letter from the Lords of the Admiralty gives an account of the same Admiral having suffered a ship to pass as Spanish, though there was no doubt that she was one of the French transports so long blocked up at Vannes, which after many fruitless attempts to elude the vigilance of his Majesty's ships, had been at last collusively sold to the Spanish Consul at Bordeaux, (whose conduct merits the severest animadversion,) in order by that means to get to sea.

“ The several papers above mentioned, which have all been communicated to the Conde Fuentes, together with his Excellency's memorial and my answer, will fully inform your Excellency concerning this disagreeable subject of captures, and it is hoped that they will not only convince his Catholic Majesty and the Spanish Ministers of the uprightness and sincerity of our proceedings, but will at the same time, shew them the collusions and irregularities practised by many Spaniards to cover the actual ships and property of the enemy.

“ The King has commanded me to send your Excellency for your information the inclosed extracts of three letters from Sir James Gray, relating the conversations he had had with the Marquis Ta-

CHAP. nucci on the subject of the Plaisantine, and the inclosed copy of my
 XVI. answer to Sir James Gray will shew your Excellency his Majesty's
 1760. sentiments on this very delicate matter, and on the extraordinary and
 not a little embarrassing method which has been taken of conveying to
 the King his Catholic Majesty's ideas concerning it, and your Excel-
 lency will observe that the above answer has been almost extorted
 from the King by the repeated and pressing instances of M. Tanucci.

“The King took particular notice of the account your Excellency gives in your letter of the 21st July, of the candid and seemingly friendly manner in which the Marquis Squillace had opened himself to you, and the sentiments expressed by that minister could not but be very agreeable to his Majesty, with which your Excellency will take some proper opportunity to acquaint M. Squillace.

“The King was sorry to observe, by your Excellency's letter of the 4th past, that the orders sent to M. Carasco for his conduct with regard to the keeping open the communication with Gibraltar had not had the intended effect, from the obstinacy of that commander ; but his Majesty hopes, that in case M. Carasco should persist in so strange and equivocal a behaviour, that his Catholic Majesty will, as your Excellency mentions he seems not disinclined to do, remove a person so improper for that station.

“The several papers now transmitted to your Excellency, making this despatch too large for the ordinary conveyance by the post, I have taken this opportunity to send a messenger by the Corunna, by which means your Excellency will have two with you, and be able to redespach one on any occasion that may arise.

“I return again to the subject of M. Tanucci's conversation, more fully to inform your Excellency, by his Majesty's commands, that I have the strongest grounds to believe, even beyond the least room for doubt, that the King of Sardinia will never accept a sum of money as an equivalent for his rights on Placentia, which rights Spain, as well as the other contracting parties to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, has guaranteed to his Sardinian Majesty, and that the King of Sardinia thinks he does enough for the satisfaction of his Catholic

Majesty in giving way to some reasonable arrangement which Spain may propose to him, in order to serve as an equivalent in territory for Placentia. CHAP.
XVI.
1760.

“ I am further to inform your Excellency that Count Viry has communicated here some discourses which M. Wall has held to the Count de la Tour, about the beginning of February last, and another, still more positive, on the 22nd of March, wherein M. Wall declared that the Catholic King was disposed to fulfil all engagements of guarantee contracted by the late King of Spain, his brother, and that he would do rights to all the world, and with still greater pleasure to the court of Turin, with whom his Catholic Majesty had always lived in perfect good intelligence, and whose friendship he valued so highly.

“ The Conde de Fuentes still continues indisposed, and consequently I still remain in ignorance as to the instructions his last courier brought. I am not a little impatient to learn whether his Excellency is authorised to suggest such an expedient with regard to our privilege of cutting logwood, as may be admissible, and to the satisfaction of both courts.”

“ *Whitehall, September 26th, 1760.*

“ Your Excellency is already fully informed on this last-mentioned important point, and you are possessed of the amplest and strongest proofs whereof any title is capable, of his Majesty’s most unquestionable right to the sole fishery of that island[§], exclusive of all other nations, excepting only the liberty to take and cure fish there, granted to the French under certain limitations and restrictions by the treaty of Utrecht. It is almost needless to repeat to your Excellency, that his Majesty’s paternal concern for his people, and just sense of the dignity of his crown, will not suffer a right so clear to be broken into ; nor permit an interest so essential as the Newfoundland fishery, one great nursery of our seamen, and a principal basis

[§] Newfoundland.

CHAP. of the maritime power of Great Britain, to be in any degree pared off
XVI. and divided. I have therefore no farther instructions to send your
1760. Excellency on a matter held so sacred, than that you should let M. Wall understand the utter impossibility of a concession on the part of his Majesty, so destructive to the true interests of Great Britain. You will at the same time insinuate, that it is greatly hoped, from the prudence as well as the justice of that upright minister, that the court of Spain will cease to expect, as a consideration of an union, which it is at least as much her interest as ours to maintain inviolate, a sacrifice which can never be made.

“ I am to observe to your Excellency, that the Spanish ambassador, in delivering the memorial relating to Newfoundland, added, that his court does not insist on so immediate an answer on this point as they do to the demands contained in the memorial relating to their logwood coasts in America. The first-mentioned piece, however, containing a circumstance, I believe unexampled, and not a little offensive, I was immediately commanded by his Majesty to make thereupon (September 16) the verbal answer which I herewith enclose for your Excellency’s information. Though this answer be conceived in terms less strong than the occasion might too well have warranted, I trust it will have the necessary effect to make the court of Madrid sensible of the imprudence as well as indecency of so strange a step ; and that the Spanish ministers will receive, before it is too late, an useful hint, given with no unfriendly intention, namely, that hoping to intimidate, they will only indispose a court, which in general most sincerely means every thing that is just and friendly towards Spain, cordially wishes the prosperity of that crown, and has so essentially contributed to the increase of its consideration, and to the extension of its influence in the disposition of the kingdom of Naples.

“ With regard in particular to the complaints concerning the logwood coasts which are now pressed with such uncommon vehemence and warmth, your Excellency will let M. Wall know that his Majesty is desirous and ready to give all just satisfaction to the Ca-

tholic King with regard to fortifications and establishments erected there, and at the same time to adjust and terminate amicably and equitably disputes about cutting logwood, if the court of Spain will enter into negotiation on this last-mentioned point; but you will observe to him that the memorial of the Count de Fuentes on this subject, far from proposing to open a negotiation, absolutely shuts the door to any; and denying to the subjects of Great Britain all colour of privilege or liberty to cut logwood on the American coasts of his Catholic Majesty, as directly as it complains of the fortified establishments there, demands in the most peremptory and arbitrary tone, that his Majesty should send immediate and positive orders for evacuating indiscriminately and entirely every part of the said coasts.

CHAP.
XVI.
1760.

“ This extraordinary memorial farther exacts that the King should formally declare that he will no longer consider as his subject whoever shall be found there, though in effect for the purposes only of cutting logwood.

“ I forbear to enter by way of answer here into the vehement and very inconclusive deduction of proofs offered by Spain in support of her absolute demand, which is accompanied too with the imputation of breach of promise and of that good faith, with which it is pretended, the British ministry at the time the court of Spain desisted from the intended expedition in 1754, had given to understand that this affair should be terminated. With regard to that transaction I will only say, that I have dispassionately compared, and I desire M. Wall will do the same, the present demand as well as this imputation with the express and remarkable words of that Minister’s own letter on this subject of the 15th September, 1754, to the King’s Ambassador at Madrid, Sir Benjamin Keene; a copy and translation whereof I herewith transmit to your Excellency. M. Wall therein acquaints that Ambassador, that the Catholic King had directed orders to be sent to the Spanish Viceroys and Governors in America, that they should immediately desist from putting in execution measures for destroying our settlements on those coasts. Then follow these words, ‘ on account of the firm persuasion his Majesty is in that all

CHAP.
XVI.
1760.

such points, as deserve to be discussed, will be amicably adjusted with the King of Great Britain ; these orders have already been despatched, with which his Majesty commands me to acquaint your Excellency that you may inform the King your master of it, and that his Britannic Majesty, being convinced by this fresh proof of the sincerity of the King's intentions, may in return on his part recal whatever orders he may have given to his Commanders by sea and land in America, contrary to the good harmony and friendship which subsists between the two nations, and which the King on his side is desirous to preserve and increase, adjusting amicably all such differences and accidents as might otherwise interrupt it.'

" Such were the views and motives of the court of Spain declared in the above letter in 1754. They were equitable and amicable. All such points as deserved it were to be discussed ; all such differences and accidents as might otherwise interrupt good harmony and friendship were to be amicably adjusted. This, beyond all contradiction, supposes negotiation and something to be agreed between the two powers.

" What language does the present memorial now hold on the same subject ? It precludes all discussion, proposes to adjust nothing, imperiously demands every thing, and insists, moreover, on an immediate answer to all this in writing. All observations become superfluous, where things themselves speak so strongly. It is then inevitable, should Spain continue to insist on the terms of the above memorial, that is, that England *must* do every thing, and Spain *will* do nothing, that the answer of his Majesty can in that case be such only as the dignity of his crown, and the just care of the essential interests of his subjects suggest. Interposing this delay therefore in such a circumstance, is not only wise in his Majesty, but surely it is friendly, in order to give time thereby for sounder policy and more temperate councils to prevail at Madrid. If the desired effect follows, the conclusion may be happy for both countries ; if otherwise, England will not have to reproach herself.

" All this your Excellency will let M. Wall most clearly under-

stand, and at the same time you will as expressly declare, that his Majesty has most sincerely at heart to maintain and cultivate the closest friendship and union with Spain; and this not from temporary considerations of the present conjuncture, but in the lasting views of a permanent system for the mutual happiness of both nations; that from these motives alone, worthy of the magnanimity and wisdom of his Majesty, the King is desirous and ready entirely to remove with all good faith every just cause of complaint on the part of his Catholic Majesty, with regard to all fortifications and establishments on the logwood coasts of America, belonging to the crown of Spain. But at the same time, your Excellency will on the other hand explicitly declare, that merely resorting to the less inhabited parts or rather wastes of those immense provinces, only for the cutting of logwood, cannot be admitted by England as violations of the territory or insults on the crown of Spain, as long as the treaties of Utrecht, which placed Philip V. on the long contested throne of that monarchy, are acknowledged to remain in force. For at the peace of Utrecht, this ancient usage, though begun indeed in connivance and frequently interrupted by Spain, received at last the countenance of a solemn treaty. If, nevertheless, the loose and undefined manner in which the enjoyment of this privilege was at that time provided for, shall be found on a due discussion liable to abuse, or susceptible of real mischiefs to the crown of Spain, his Majesty is ready to listen to any just overtures on the part of his Catholic Majesty for amicably adjusting the same, and for effectually removing every source of reasonable complaint or dispute on this head, by regulating to mutual satisfaction by some equitable agreement the exercise of a privilege inconvenient perhaps to Spain on the present foot, but in some shape or other indispensable to Great Britain.

“ Your Excellency will confer and expostulate on this most interesting occasion without reserve or disguise, and do it in a spirit equally friendly and firm as is the steady purpose of his Majesty; at the same time making M. Wall sensible how much it really is that the King is disposed to do for preserving union with Spain, and com-

CHAP.
XVI.
1760.

CHAP. plying with the desires of his Catholic Majesty, as well as what it is
XVI.
1760. impossible for the King ever to submit to.”

With the exception of a battle lost by the allied army in Germany, all things were proceeding in a prosperous course when George the Second suddenly expired at Kensington^b. His character, as King of England, has been the subject of so much discussion, that little can be added by me. His mind was not an enlarged one, and the prejudices which he brought from Germany influenced his conduct throughout his reign; still he most sincerely desired to promote the interests of this kingdom; and the sacrifice he made of Hanover, rather than relinquish any British rights in America, redound much to his honor. He was extremely fond of business, and read with the greatest interest and attention the despatches of his ministers. He had no taste for literature, and the little encouragement he extended to learned men is one of the reproaches upon his name. His reign was long, and many of its events anxious and afflicting. But the evening of his days was gilded by success, and his sun set in glory. It is indeed one of the proudest eulogiums upon the administration of Mr. Pitt, that notwithstanding the civil dissensions and foreign disasters which marked the former part of the reign, the annals of George II. are associated in the minds of Englishmen with the ideas of triumph and renown.

^b His Majesty died on the 25th October.

CHAPTER XVII.

1760.

Accession of George the Third—Lord Bute contrasted with Mr. Pitt—His Majesty's wise and upright measure respecting the twelve Judges—Dismissal of Mr. Legge—Character of Mr. Legge—Lord Bute appointed Secretary of State—Affairs of Spain—Extracts from Mr. Pitt's correspondence with the Earl of Bristol—Renewal of the negotiation for Peace—Plenipotentiaries respectively appointed by France and England—Mr. Stanley despatched to Paris, and M. de Bussy to London—Instructions from Government to Mr. Stanley—Letter from Mr. Pitt to Mr. Stanley—Letter from Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt—French Memorial of 26th March, minutely considered—Firmness of Mr. Pitt—Siege and Surrender of Belle Isle—Extracts from Mr. Stanley's correspondence with Mr. Pitt.

THE intelligence of George the Second's death was instantly communicated to the Secretaries of State. Mr. Pitt's carriage was waiting at his door to convey him to his country-seat, but its direction was now changed, and he drove immediately to Kew. The Prince of Wales had been apprised of his grandfather's death before the arrival of Mr. Pitt, and, after an interview with the minister, proceeded at once to London.

CHAP.
XVII.
1760.

No man ever wished to discharge his duty as a sovereign and to advance the best interests of his country more cordially than George the Third. Few men in private life have been so distinguished for honor, morality, and religious principle. It is, however, to be regretted that he had been so much secluded from the world, and that his knowledge of mankind was necessarily contracted within such narrow bounds. From these causes, with the purest intentions, he was led to pay too

CHAP. much deference to the opinions of unenlightened and inexperienced
 XVII. men, and to think that he was promoting the public welfare, whilst
 1760. he was but gratifying the desires of selfish individuals.

Attachment to a favored servant of his father's, partiality towards his own companion and adviser, operated very powerfully in his breast, and, two days after his accession to the throne, he introduced Lord Bute into the privy council. Soon afterwards the rangership of Richmond Park was conferred upon the same nobleman. There could scarcely be two more opposite characters than Mr. Pitt and Lord Bute. There were, however, some points in which they resembled each other, for the habits of both were retired, and the hearts of both were sensible to the throbs of ambition. But the retirement of Mr. Pitt was the necessary consequence of his devotion to the affairs of state, to a fondness for literature, and to a want of health. The retirement of Lord Bute resulted from a mixture of pedantry and pride: a pedantry which contented itself with superficial accomplishments, and a pride which precluded him from that knowledge of the world which is often a useful substitute for books. The ambition of Mr. Pitt was the impulse of a vast and generous mind to render England the first country in the world. The ambition of Lord Bute was a vain and indefinite desire to engross the favor of the Sovereign, and to hold the reins of government, which, (like the fabulous Phaeton in his father's chariot,) he had neither strength to restrain, nor judgment to guide. At the court of Frederick Prince of Wales, and at that of his son, Lord Bute had necessarily associated with Mr. Pitt. But there was no sympathy in their dispositions, and little intimacy ever subsisted between them^a. The great object which Lord Bute professed with his master was to emancipate the crown from that dependance upon a few great families which, during the preceding reign,

^a In relating the occurrences of the year 1759, Lord Orford says, "their mutual haughtiness and reserve had early impaired the connection of Lord Bute and Pitt. The Prince's court had secrets of their own; nor was Pitt more communicative to the successor of his grandfather's measures. The affair of Lord George Sackville, who was patronized by the Prince, widened the breach."

had so shamefully prevailed. None who considered the domination under which George II. was brought by the Pelhams and their partizans, in the year 1746, and who apprehended that his grandson might be subject to the same humiliation, could blame a faithful servant for struggling to free his Sovereign from that state of servility in which the constitution never intended to place him. But if the object of Lord Bute was just and reasonable, it was attended with difficulties far beyond his power to overcome. Although he was descended from a very ancient line in Scotland, he wanted family connexion in England to enable him to break the strength of family connexion in others. He was, moreover, utterly inexperienced in the conduct of public affairs, and any attempt on his part to direct or amend the system of government would, of course, be regarded as extremely presumptuous. The favor with which he was regarded by the King, although it gave him influence with the worshippers of power, rendered him an object of jealousy with the greater number of the ancient and powerful families in the kingdom. From the first moment of George the Third's accession, Lord Bute desired and projected the removal of Mr. Pitt from office. But the talents and popularity of the minister rendered that measure then impracticable. It appeared safer, at first, to foment the dislike which the country had partially manifested to the German war, and to form a connexion with those who were known to dislike or to envy Mr. Pitt. Accordingly, the greatest encouragement was given by Lord Bute to those writers who deprecated the continuance of the war, and a close intimacy was formed with Mr. Fox and the Duke of Newcastle. Ever since Mr. Pitt had refused to unite with Mr. Fox in 1756, the latter had regarded him with feelings of personal animosity. As to the Duke of Newcastle, he had been borne down by the commanding talents of the secretary of state, and for a length of time had implicitly acceded to his measures ; but he looked back with regret to the time when the conduct of the government was vested in himself and his followers, and would willingly have broken with Mr. Pitt could he have hoped by so doing to obtain any accession of power.

CHAP.
XVII.
1760.

CHAP.
XVII.
1760.

Lord Bath was another of Lord Bute's political associates. This nobleman, in acquiring a peerage, had lost the public esteem, which he never afterwards regained. Although he occasionally produced a pamphlet upon public affairs, he had for many years possessed no influence with the government, and his chief pleasure consisted in the accumulation of his enormous fortune.

1761. On the 3d March, 1761, a measure most important to the country, was thus recommended to parliament by the Sovereign.

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ Upon granting new commissions to the Judges, the present state of their offices fell naturally under consideration.

“ In consequence of the act passed in the reign of my late glorious predecessor King William III., for settling the succession of the crown on my family, their commissions have been made during their good behaviour ; but, notwithstanding that wise provision, their offices have determined upon the demise of the Crown, or at the expiration of six months afterwards, in every instance of that nature which has happened.

“ I look upon the independency and uprightness of the Judges of the land as essential to the impartial administration of justice, as one of the best securities to the rights and liberties of my loving subjects, and as most conducive to the honor of the crown ; and I come now to recommend this interesting object to the consideration of Parliament, in order that such farther provision may be made for securing the Judges in the enjoyment of their office during their good behaviour, notwithstanding any such demise, as shall be most expedient.

“ GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

“ I must desire of you, in particular, that I may be enabled to grant and establish upon the Judges such salaries as I shall think proper, so as to be absolutely secured to them during the continuance of their commissions.”

Provisions were immediately made by Parliament to enable his

Majesty to carry into effect the purposes specified in his speech. To dilate upon this subject is wholly unnecessary. The great importance and utility of the measure is universally acknowledged : a measure which reflects high honor upon the monarch who adopted it, and upon Mr. Pitt, in whose liberal and enlightened policy it is said to have originated.

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

After the termination of the session on the 19th, Parliament was dissolved on the 21st March, 1761.

Mr. Legge was then dismissed from the Chancellorship of the Exchequer.

Henry Bilson Legge, descended from an ancient and noble family, was born on the 29th March, 1708. Although not educated at any of those schools which have produced so many ornaments and supporters of the country, he cultivated his talents with great diligence and success. The quotations, which he occasionally introduced into his speeches, evince both the justness of his taste, and his intimate acquaintance with the Greek and Roman classics. Mr. Legge was at first designed for the naval profession, and made one or two voyages at an early age. But becoming known to Sir R. Walpole, he quitted the navy, and was domesticated in the family of the minister. For several years he was the confidential secretary of Sir R. Walpole. He then obtained a seat in parliament, and, in the course of a few years, was advanced to several offices of honor and emolument in the state. The assiduity with which he attended to the duties of the House of Commons, and to those of the various departments in which he was employed, is mentioned by a writer not generally remarkable for flattery, and by no means partial to Mr. Legge^b. It must be admitted, that the popularity which Mr. Legge at one time so largely enjoyed was in a great degree owing to the association of his name with that of Mr. Pitt. But he possessed many qualities to recommend him to general esteem. During Mr. Pitt's glorious administration, the talents of Mr. Legge, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, were most usefully exerted in supporting the gigantic plans of the Secretary of State. Patient, laborious, and acute, a perfect

^b Horace, Earl of Orford.

CHAP. master of the minutiae of business, never attempting to affect the
 XVII. imagination or the passions of his hearers, he was well calculated to
 1761. supply the deficiencies which the mighty orator had purposely or
 undesignedly omitted. The praise which the poet assigns to Mene-
 laus may be ascribed to Mr. Legge :

“ He spoke no more than just the thing he ought.”

To him also the words of Tacitus apply : “ *raro incaluit : pauci sensus aptè et cum quodam lumine terminabantur ; nihil excerpere, nihil referre potuisses.*”

As to moral character, Mr. Legge was a man of acknowledged integrity, affable and engaging in his manners, and exemplary in the relations of domestic life. The abrupt dismissal of such a man from office is certainly to be regretted. The conduct of Mr. Legge, respecting the Southampton election in the year 1759, and the declaration which he made in answer to an application from Lord Bute, relative to his conduct upon a future election, however honorable and firm, were certainly calculated to offend the heir apparent.

Upon the death of George II. a feeling of resentment against Mr. Legge still existed in the mind of the youthful sovereign. But it would well have become the favorite to soften a prejudice in the royal mind which himself had produced, and I have ever considered the loss which the country sustained by the dismissal of Mr. Legge, as a reproach to Lord Bute^c.

Mr. Pitt has been severely censured for remaining in office after the dismissal of Mr. Legge. But the charge is unreasonable. The spirit of party had carried the principle of resignation to a disgusting and alarming excess during the late King's reign, and it would have ill become Mr. Pitt, at this time, to sanction and renew it. There was no party, besides, with whom he had ever been strictly identified,

^c Mr. Legge had refused to pledge himself to support, upon the Prince of Wales's solicitation through Lord Bute, Mr. (afterwards Sir Simeon) Stuart at the next Hampshire election. It was this refusal, according to Mr. Legge's statement, which occasioned his subsequent dismissal. See some account of the character of the Right Hon. Bilson Legge, by Dr. Butler, Bishop of Oxford.

and the only individual, whose resignation or dismissal would have caused his own, was his brother-in-law, Lord Temple.

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

Lord Barrington succeeded Mr. Legge in the Chancellorship of the Exchequer.

Two days afterwards Lord Holderness retired upon a considerable pension; and Lord Bute was made Secretary of State. Mr. Pitt, I have said, continued in office.

The liberality of Parliament far exceeded any thing which had been formerly known. Upwards of nineteen millions were voted for the service of the year. The same activity continued to pervade the various departments of government. The armies and fleets of the country were maintained in the same degree of strength, and nothing seemed to indicate any relaxation of national exertion.

Our connection with Prussia was preserved as strictly as it had been during the three previous years^d.

Our position with regard to Spain continued upon the same precarious footing. That country required certain cessions on the part of England, whilst we demanded others on the part of Spain. The uncompromising character of Mr. Pitt, wherever he thought the just interests of his country concerned, was plainly manifested in his despatches to the Earl of Bristol. His letter of the 26th September, 1760^e, had given offence to the Spanish minister. The unpleasant feeling excited in the mind of General Wall, and the measures adopted by Lord Bristol with respect to the points of difference between the two countries, are the subject of the two following letters.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Pitt to the Earl of Bristol.

“ Whitehall, April 24, 1761.

“ In order to introduce such a friendly spirit of transaction, it was that my letter of the 26th September was calculated, and I am at a loss, on the most careful review, to find in all that despatch any of

^d The treaties between the Kings of Britain and of Prussia, from January, 1756, to December, 1760, will be found in the Appendix, No. IV. papers 6, 7, 8, &c.

^e See Chapter XVI.

CHAP. those words which M. Wall conceives to carry throughout the whole
XVII. of it such a sense and air as has induced that minister to say, in his
1761. letter to your Excellency of the 24th January, that he is even ashamed
to make use of in his turn. I will not dwell on, much less will I
imitate, the peevishness of the Spanish Secretary of State, but will
acquaint your Excellency, by the King's command, that the sub-
stance, as well as the whole turn of expression of that piece, still con-
tinues to be thought here to contain nothing but the result of his
Majesty's equity and justice towards his own subjects, the sincerest
dispositions for conciliation and amicable accommodation of disputes
with the crown of Spain concerning logwood, and an indispensable
regard to his Majesty's own dignity.

“ In this salutary view the court of Spain has been again and again invited, on the part of England, to temperate and candid negociation, in order to some happy expedient to regulate, to mutual satisfaction, our enjoyment of the privilege of cutting logwood, authorised under the treaty of Utrecht ; his Majesty having at the same time constantly and invariably declared that he is ready to remove all the establishments of an undue nature which shall be found to have been made in violation of the territorial jurisdiction of the crown of Spain.

“ Such are the pure and upright sentiments in which his Majesty remains, and however fruitless the above invitations, on the part of the court of England, have hitherto proved, there is still room to hope, that unless some change in the political system of Spain has to a considerable degree already taken place at Madrid, that court will, on mature reflection, cease to think it reasonable, (in matters referred by the Spanish Secretary of State's own letter, in 1754, in the name of the King his master, to future discussion and amicable adjustment,) that England should, on demand, do every thing, and Spain, on her part, do nothing.”

*Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Bristol to Mr. Pitt.*CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

“ Aranjuez, May 20, 1761.

“ After mentioning with what regret you had expressed yourself to find, (in resuming our correspondence, which had been so long interrupted by your illness,) the disputes between the two crowns were as far from drawing to a happy conclusion as they had appeared to be some months ago, I acquainted the Spanish minister, that upon the strictest review of your letter of the 26th September, the whole tenor of it was judged by our court to contain only what was the result of the King's equity towards his own subjects, at the same time that it plainly demonstrated, on the part of England, the most cordial as well as the sincerest dispositions for an amicable adjustment of the differences still subsisting with Spain concerning the logwood trade. I appealed to his Excellency whether the bent of each proposal from England had not been to enter into an amicable negotiation, as the safest and most friendly manner of conciliating, to mutual satisfaction, what had been so long a subject of variance between the two nations, and I desired the Spanish Secretary of State to recollect the substance of his own letter in 1754 to Sir Benjamin Keene, wherein, by command and in the name of his late Catholic Majesty, he, Monsieur Wall, acquainted the English ambassador that all matters relating to our differences in America concerning the Campeachy wood, should be referred to a future discussion and to a friendly adjustment.

“ No arguments which my various instructions had pointed out, nor any expostulations that my own mind could suggest remained unemployed upon this delicate occasion. I repeated all I had formerly advanced in support of our claim, I endeavoured to refute what the Spanish minister advanced concerning the pretensions of the court of Madrid, I took care to renew the assurances of the upright sentiments of his Majesty by recapitulating the constant and uniform declarations I had been ordered to make of the King's resolution to

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

remove all establishments of an undue nature which had been made in violation of the territorial jurisdiction of Spain, and I earnestly recommended to his Excellency not to permit the frequent invitations made by Great Britain to remain unsuccessful, since there could not be a more favorable opportunity than what now offered itself for putting an entire stop to all altercations by an amicable negotiation, the single method that ought to be observed by two great powers, (I would hope,) alike disposed to live in the closest correspondence and the most cordial friendship. I dwelt upon our long enjoyment of the privilege of cutting logwood, authorised, (though not explicitly,) by the treaty of Utrecht, and pressed General Wall to give me some light into the manner it was intended to settle a convention for ensuring that valuable and indispensable trade to us; for, as his Excellency had frequently acquainted me, the Catholic King was determined to let England, in some shape or other, reap the benefit of a commodity we had been in possession of for near a century, I wished to be able to communicate to my own court some favorable overture of that kind from hence, and to know what idea had been adopted in Spain for settling a convention towards an equitable and reasonable regulation on this important head. Whilst I was enumerating a variety of arguments in confirmation of the several rights which we claimed in America, our conversation naturally led towards the Newfoundland fishery, but I only dwelt enough upon that particular branch of business to have it understood the King's paternal concern for his people was such that his Majesty would never suffer that clear right to be in any degree infringed upon or divided, and, recurring to the article of logwood, I concluded by saying, it was as much the interest of Spain, as it was the desire of England, finally to adjust the exercise of a privilege, perhaps susceptible of inconvenience to Spain upon the present foot, yet in some shape absolutely necessary to England, confirmed to us by a former treaty, and acknowledged by his Excellency to be the present intention of this court to continue us in the possession of.

“ You will easily imagine, Sir, that I did not continue to hold the above discourse with the Spanish minister without various inter-

ruptions from his Excellency, yet I hope you will approve of my placing together the substance of all I alleged and comprehending in another paragraph the several replies I received from M. Wall together with his observations and the result of the whole, rather than to intermix our reciprocal answers, which might render the recital of the conferences prolix and not quite void of confusion. General Wall listened to me for a long time with attention, and when I pressed the entering into some negociation for settling our right to the logwood trade, he said, the first proof the court of London ought to give of its good faith, as well as of its sincerity, in desiring to accommodate our disputes concerning that branch of commerce, was destroying all the forts and establishments the British ministry allowed to be illegal, without which, no effectual stop could be put to the repeated acts of violation of the territorial jurisdiction of Spanish America ; and by our relinquishing those usurpations upon the coasts of Yacatan already made, it would be the surest means to prevent any others from being undertaken, since hitherto as fast as the logwood cutters had been drove from Campeachy, Honduras, or the Musquito shore, they had only changed the situation of their encroachments by removing either to the river Wallis, Rio Tinto, or the Loguna Agal. He proceeded with the most explicit assurances in the name of his Catholic Majesty that it was the King of Spain's firm resolution upon his royal word to concur with Great Britain in finding out some expedient to secure to the English the enjoyment of logwood, provided the British ministry would but give the single testimony required of its upright intentions, which was sending orders for the removal of all fortified establishments, and withdrawing from thence the artillery and other warlike stores that could only be destined to maintain an unauthorised possession of what we ourselves owned to be illegal. General Wall even went so far as to promise, in case these orders were issued out, that till the time some agreement could be completely made for regulating to mutual satisfaction our enjoyment of the logwood trade, the settlers already fixed in huts upon that vast extent of coast wherever they were employed in cutting the wood should, upon no pretence whatever, be

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

interrupted either on the shore, or molested at sea, when they were carrying off a commodity which his Excellency acknowledged we should never be deprived of in some shape or other. The Secretary of State spoke to me with the most friendly openness, and neglected no expression which might tend to obviate all doubts that might arise of this court's not being in earnest to fulfil what his Excellency so solemnly advanced, if England would only consent to transmit those orders which would at once put a stop to the clamorous reports of our enemies, both in and out of Spain, of our persisting to re-establish the ancient illegal forts, and persevering in the construction of additional ones which we meant to retain as pledges of our security where he made no scruple to own we had no right to be fixed. In relation to the fishery upon the coast of Newfoundland, M. Wall only repeated what he had formerly insisted upon, yet brought no new proof to support the pretensions of the Guipuscoans or Biscayners to that claim they had so constantly asserted but without any legal foundation.

“ When I touched upon what was mentioned in your despatch concerning a change in the political system of the court of Madrid, I added that the style of his Excellency's letter to me of the 24th January, together with many other circumstances at that time, had appeared to corroborate the reports propagated even in these kingdoms of the intention of Spain's taking a share in the present disturbances, and as it was my duty to give an account of what was passing in this country, I had not concealed from the King's ministers the unpromising aspect and the gloomy politics which seemed to be prevailing at that period, yet I had been as ready afterwards, upon the disappearance of those clouds, proceeding from his Excellency's conversation, as well as the slackening their naval preparations, to dispel whatever impressions might have been received in England of the probability of an interruption in our friendship and good correspondence, which would not fail of subsisting for ever between these crowns if an amicable negotiation could be brought about to adjust the disputes in question.”

A short time before the date of Mr. Pitt's letter to Lord Bristol, the propositions of a general peace, which had terminated so abruptly in 1759, were again renewed with a much greater prospect of success.

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

With the exception of Prussia, France had suffered infinitely more by the war than any other of the leading belligerent powers. There was this advantage, also, on the side of Frederick II. that whilst he received considerable subsidies from England, Louis XV. had not only been obliged to maintain his own armies, but also to supply those sinews of war, money, for several of his allies. Humbled by a series of disasters, and exhausted by enormous burthens, France was now foremost to propose a general peace. As she had done and suffered so much on account of her allies, they could not with propriety oppose her inclinations. Accordingly, the five parties to the war, on the one side, signed their respective declarations on the 26th March, 1761, and England and Prussia, on the other side, signed their counter-declarations in the beginning of April^e. Whilst it was proposed to discuss the general affairs of Germany by Plenipotentiaries at Augsburg, it was determined to argue the particular points in dispute between France and England separately at Paris and in London.

The King of England nominated the Earl of Egremont, a nobleman of considerable talents, Lord Viscount Stormont, Ambassador in Poland, and General Sir Joseph Yorke^f, Ambassador at the Hague, to act as his Plenipotentiaries at Augsburg. The Count de Choiseul^g was appointed by Louis XV. to act in the same capacity in support of the interests of France.

Mr. Hans Stanley was also despatched to Paris, and M. De Bussy to London, to treat more particularly of the preliminaries of peace between France and England.

^e See Appendix, No. V. papers 1, 2, 3, &c.

^f Son of the Earl of Hardwicke, and afterwards Lord Dover.

^g Brother of the Duc de Choiseul.

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

The following are the principal articles of the instructions given to Mr. Stanley. They are dated,

“ *St. James's, May 18, 1761.*

“ 3. On your arrival at Paris, you are to notify the same to the Duc de Choiseul, Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and to desire an audience of him; at which you are to deliver to the said minister, agreeably to what has been regulated in the Duc de Choiseul's letters of the 4th of May, and the answers thereto of the 11th of the same month, our credential letter to the most Christian King, with a copy thereof; and you will accompany the same with all proper expressions of our regard for the most Christian King, and of our sincere desire to see an happy end put to the evils of a war, which has so long subsisted between the two crowns; and you will likewise acquaint the Duc de Choiseul, that conformably to what has been agreed between the two courts, you have a full power from us, a copy whereof you will deliver to that minister, at the same time declaring that you are ready to produce the original when desired.

“ 4. For your better guidance and direction in this important negociation, we have judged proper to lay down and fix two things, as main and essential points, by which you are to govern yourself in your conferences with the Duc de Choiseul. First, you are to acquaint that minister, that we, having accepted the proposal made by order and in the name of the most Christian King, as contained in the memorial of the 26th of March, namely, *to agree that, relatively to the particular war of England and France, the two crowns shall remain in possession of what they have conquered the one from the other, and that the state wherein they shall find themselves to be at certain epochs, shall be the position which shall serve as a basis for the treaty, which may be negotiated between the two powers*^b, which epochs are, by the following part of the said memorial, offered to be made an object of negociation; and it being further therein expressed that the proposal of France means to say, *that the most Christian*

^b Mr. Pitt here gives the spirit, but not the exact words of the memorial. See Appendix, No. V. paper 3.

King, from motives of humanity, will make a sacrifice of the restitutions which he has room to claim, at the same time that he will retain what he has acquired upon England during the course of this war : CHAP. XVII. 1761.

which proposal, made as above, having been by us already accepted, you are to declare that you are come ready and desirous to learn any ideas and intentions of the court of France, for carrying into effect with more speed and certainty this salutary offer for happily restoring peace and amity between the two crowns; and in case you shall be asked if you are ordered to make any proposal on this subject, or that you should be ever so much pressed on this head, you will not find it difficult to maintain, without harshness, either in appearance or reality, constant possession of the strong ground, which the Duc de Choiseul's memorial of the 26th of March has given, viz. that the most Christian King, having made a proposal which we have accepted, it cannot, with any colour of reason, be expected, that you should be charged to make any other on our part.

“ The second point which we have judged proper to lay down and fix for your conduct is, that you are to make known to the Duc de Choiseul, that we having in view to avoid rendering precarious the mutual blessings of peace between the two crowns, by subjecting the same to the eventual success of objects, whose nature, it is agreed, is totally foreign to the causes of our particular war; and we also judging that nothing can so much accelerate the general pacification of the other belligerent powers as a speedy conclusion of the peace between Great Britain and France by a sincere and efficacious negotiation, our intention is, that whatever shall be happily agreed between us and the most Christian King, relative to the particular war between the two crowns, be rendered binding, final, and conclusive, independent of the issue of the negociations at Augsburg for adjusting and terminating the disputes of Germany, and for restoring the general peace thereof.

“ 5. With regard to any explanations which the Duc de Choiseul may give to the propositions already made by France, as well as with regard to any new openings, insinuations, or ideas which may be

CHAP. thrown out by that minister, either relative to the particular peace of
XVII. the two crowns, or in reference to any views or notions France may
1761. entertain for conciliating the other belligerent powers, our will and pleasure is, that you do receive all such matters *ad referendum*, promising to transmit the same faithfully to your court, and taking care to hold such a language as may best avoid giving room to the court of France to take umbrage or offence at your reserve; and making use of all those arguments which your prudence and address will suggest, and which you will be able chiefly to derive from the two points laid down and fixed in the fourth article of these instructions.

“ 6. If the Duc de Choiseul shall touch upon the subject of the war of the King of Prussia, or even although that minister should be silent on this head, you will take care to express our constant resolution to fulfil the engagements of our crown towards that Prince, and to continue as an auxiliary to support his interests with the cordiality and efficacy of a sincere and faithful ally.

“ 7. Notwithstanding you are by our full power authorised to conclude and sign any thing that may be agreed on between the two courts, it is our express will and pleasure that you do not, in virtue of the said power, proceed to the signature of any act whatever with the court of France, without first having our special orders for that purpose from one of our principal Secretaries of State.

“ 8. Whereas, it is agreed between the two crowns, that you and the Sieur de Bussy shall respectively enjoy in France and in England all the rights, prerogatives, franchises, and liberties belonging to your characters, as if the two courts were in full peace, you are to be duly attentive to maintain our dignity in all things touching the same, and to take care that you be treated in the same manner as ministers of your rank from Spain, or any other crowned head, except as to the form of not delivering our credentials yourself to the most Christian King in an audience.

“ 9. You shall use your particular endeavours to inform yourself of the interior situation of the court of France, and of the actual state and dispositions of the French nation. You will also give a watch-

ful attention to the conduct and motions of the Spanish Ambassador there; and of all matters which may be of consequence and worthy our knowledge you shall constantly give an account to us by one of our principal Secretaries of State, from whom you will receive such further instructions and directions as we shall think fit to send you, which you are to observe accordingly.”

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

The first steps of the negotiation on the part of the French envoy, would in a heathen country have been considered as ominous of an ill event. M. Bussy, contrary to arrangements previously made, did not reach Calais till two days after Mr. Stanley had arrived there. Whatever were the causes of his delay, it produced a bad impression upon the mind of Mr. Pitt, who in a letter dated Whitehall, May 31, 1761, expresses himself thus :

“ As to your ulterior conduct under a circumstance not a little delicate and embarrassing, I am to acquaint you that since M. de Bussy is, though with a very ill grace, actually arrived in England, but not yet at London, the King judges proper, that without any farther delay, (which before this can now reach you, will have been sufficiently protracted, to be thoroughly marked,) you should prosecute your journey to Paris, according to your first instructions.

“ Whatever purpose there may be in this tardy arrival of M. de Bussy, supposing so poor a subterfuge to be really directed to any, his Majesty does not in his royal wisdom judge it proper, especially considering the great and superior situation of his kingdoms in the present prosperous war, to suffer France to interpose an incident, just at the eve of a negotiation, all the circumstances whereof are so honorable to the crown of Great Britain, that the court of Versailles, feeling perhaps too late the humiliating extent of her own propositions for peace, may thus wish to put off the evil hour by working up a squabble to prevent entering into matter.

“ Notwithstanding these considerations of prudence, his Majesty can by no means suffer his dignity to remain unasserted on such an

CHAP. occasion. It is the King's pleasure therefore, that to this end you
 XVII. should in your first visit to the Duc de Choiseul, and before you
 1761. deliver your credentials, let that minister know, in terms of politeness but of gravity, that you on your part, in consequence of the arrangements fixed between the two crowns, had fulfilled the orders of your court with the utmost punctuality, by not only repairing to Dover on the 25th May, but by passing over to Calais in the course of the same day, in full and entire confidence, that M. de Bussy would on his part have proceeded with equal good faith; but as that minister had, by a total inobservation of formal engagements, left you to remain two days in the town of Calais before his arrival there, your court had therefore not thought it proper that you should put the same empressement into your journey from Calais to Paris, as you had done in that from London to Dover, and in your passage to France. If upon this, the Duc de Choiseul shall disown or excuse this failure, you will let his Excellency know, that you then can venture to deliver your credentials, which you will accordingly do, and proceed as directed by your instructions. But if on the contrary, which it is hardly possible to suppose, that minister should avow this proceeding of M. de Bussy, you are in that case to acquaint his Excellency, that you must suspend the delivery of your credentials till you hear again from your court."

The first letter received by Mr. Pitt from Mr. Stanley is dated Senlis, June 3, 1761. The following extract is replete with interest :

"I did not arrive at St. Omer's," writes Mr. Stanley, "till ten that night. I was received there by the Lieutenant du Roi, who met me at the gates, and pressed me extremely to sup and lay at his house, but I excused myself from the lateness of the hour. When I came to my inn an officer waited on me, who said he had orders to mount a guard for me : I begged he would not give himself that trouble, and we at last compounded the affair for a single sentinel. I received, both here and at Calais, all military honors.

“ As I was determined to take a very high tone with M. de Bussy, I have observed, in all other instances, to behave myself with the utmost modesty and humility, always seeking to make the first visits, and avoiding every mark of ostentation. I find I have not displeased the persons I have hitherto met with in my progress.

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

“ With regard to my observations upon the country, so cursory a view of it as mine has been, could not furnish many. At Calais I was shewn a fort, which an officer there present said he remembered formerly surrounded at all times by the sea : there was then at least five hundred yards of sand between this fort and the water. Another officer added, that the same alteration had happened along the whole coast, and that the harbour of Dunkirk had been thereby in a great measure choaked up, so as not to receive vessels of near the burthen it formerly contained.

“ The College of Jesuits at St. Omer's contains at present 260 British and Irish students.

“ Except at Calais there are no regular troops along this whole frontier. St. Omer's, Arras, Aire, Bethune, &c. are garrisoned only by militia ; Peronne and the inner places are guarded by burghers ; the former appear to be composed of good, bad, and indifferent men, their officers are taken from among the townsmen and farmers, they serve for the present pay, and have no hopes of promotion : the latter are miserable in their figure, clothes, arms, and accoutrements.

“ The country of Artois, which I left at Bapaume, is a very rich soil ; the subsidies are levied by their own states : the country is well cultivated, and the commonalty appear at their ease. But in Old France I found nothing but bad agriculture, scanty crops, and all the signs of poverty. This subject reminds me of what I was told at Calais from a very good hand, that the Duc de Choiseul has under consideration, and is inclined to follow, a plan for annulling these privileges in the several provinces, who now possess them, and putting the whole kingdom *en Regie*. The leases to the farmers-general might be so managed as to produce a large sum in the first instance, but upon the whole this would be wretched policy : it would occasion

CHAP. XVII. 1761. most violent discontents, and prove a most dangerous resource even in the utmost extremity.

“ There are at Paris companies that undertake the renting of farms in all parts of the kingdom, from the Rhine to the Pyrenees. This establishment has arisen from the misery of the peasants, who soon wanting money to buy seed-corn, horses, cattle, manure, &c. were not able to go on with their bargains. The institution, and the regularity observed in all payments, seem at first sight advantageous to the landlord, but, in reality, nothing can be more destructive to the state than this usage. The consumption and population of the farmer’s family, his love and attachment to his native fields, his dutiful connexion with the gentlemen, so useful and creditable to both, the transition and degree in society which he fills up between the former and the poor labourer, all this œconomical as well as truly beautiful gradation of ranks is set aside, and sinks into a single bailiff sent there by the company, who spends as little money, and impoverishes the estate as fast as he can.”

To this letter the following curious postscript is attached :

“ I think it proper to inform you, that it was the opinion both of the generals and all the other officers at Calais, and I find it the same at Paris, that the defeat at Minden would have been decisive if the French army had not been saved by Lord George Sackville’s cowardice.”

The firmness and decision of Mr. Pitt were early manifested in the course of the negociation for peace. By a reference to the state papersⁱ it will be seen that the French memorial of the 26th March, although it proposed certain epochs for the determination of the *uti possidetis*, added, that as the periods proposed might be considered either as too near or too remote for the interests of the British crown,

ⁱ See Appendix, No. V. paper 3.

the King of France was willing to enter into negotiation upon that subject. From the latter proposition the French court subsequently wished to recede. For when Mr. Pitt, accepting the *general* terms, proposed an alteration in the epochs, the French memorial of the 19th April states, *that the basis of the proposition is necessarily connected with the epochas proposed ; for it is easy to conceive that such events may happen on either side, as may absolutely prevent an acquiescence to the uti possidetis, if the epochas are distant ; and his most Christian Majesty has the more reason to recal the whole proposition, if the King of England does not acquiesce to the epochas annexed to it, since no one can doubt but that those periods were proposed at a time, when they were not advantageous to France*^k.

Such a departure from their former concessions was not tolerated by Mr. Pitt, who, in a memorial dated the 28th April, urges and establishes the right of his master to alter the epochs originally proposed by France.

Mr. Pitt, of course, supported the same right in his conferences with M. de Bussy, as we shall find expressed in the following letter to Mr. Stanley, dated June 10th, 1761.

“ I had, at the desire of that minister^l, another conversation with him yesterday morning, the sum of which was much to the same effect as the preceding referred to in my enclosed letter of the 5th instant, with one difference however, which seems not inconsiderable, viz. that M. de Bussy urged much more faintly than before the same weak arguments which he employed on the former occasion, in order to prove that the proposition of France had not been accepted, and was consequently not to be considered as subsisting. To all this reasoning I continued to hold the same firm language as before ; and gave that minister most explicitly to understand that the King’s intention was fixed, not to depart from the offer which France had made, and which his Majesty had accepted. In this state of things I have

^k See Appendix, No. V. paper 8.

^l M. de Bussy.

CHAP. nothing to add, but that you are to govern yourself agreeably to the
XVII. orders contained in the enclosed letter.
1761.

“ I must not omit to acquaint you for your information that M. de Bussy has not been at court ; and he has given me to understand that it is not the intention of his court that he should appear there.

“ We expect shortly to hear of your arrival at Paris, and how your first conferences shall have passed.”

Mr. Stanley begins his second letter to Mr. Pitt, dated Paris, June 8th, 1761, with an account of the steps he had taken to obtain an explanation as to the delay of M. de Bussy in departing for London, after taking leave of his own court ; and states that the Duc de Choiseul disclaimed all knowledge of the motives by which that delay was occasioned.

“ On the 4th instant,” continues Mr. Stanley, “ I proceeded to Paris, and immediately despatched a letter to the Duc de Choiseul desiring an audience, as the court was then at St. Hubert on a party of pleasure, and all business of course suspended till their return, which was on the 6th at night. He was not able to see me till yesterday the 7th, for which he made me many very civil excuses.

“ During this interval, I found the opportunities, by means of a person of the first rank, whom I know very intimately and who has a great influence over the Duc de Choiseul, to prepare him for my reception. I very firmly declared to this person the absolute necessity of a most formal disavowal of M. de Bussy’s disrespect. In this time I was likewise informed that the Duc de Choiseul had received a character of me from England, (from whom I know not,) but he had been told, that I was, though a man of talents and of strict honor, yet of a temper full of difficulties, and extremely an Englishman. I owned the last part of the charge, and that I rejoiced and gloried in it more than in any title with which the greatest prince could decorate me ; but that though Anglois, I was Homme, and had every

sentiment of humanity for foreigners, even for my enemies, of which I had given many proofs ; that as to the rest, though I had never dealt in false professions of friendship to individuals or had flattered the great, I was well known at Paris, as well as in my own country, to have conducted myself as quietly through life as most other people : all which I believe has been told him by that person.

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

“ On the 7th instant, I had my first conference with his Excellency, whom I found just then going to council ; he began by expressing his regret and concern at M. de Bussy’s delay ; to which I answered by asking him, whether he ordered me to write to my court that he formally disavowed and totally disapproved that step ? He answered in the affirmative, and even declared that he was ready to give me those assurances in writing, or to order M. de Bussy to ask pardon if I thought it necessary ; but his apology was so full, and my instructions so completely obeyed in this respect, that I thought the going further would be as unnecessary as disgraceful.

“ I therefore delivered him my letter in the manner enjoined me, and he went into the council, which, as I understood, had been waiting while this passed ; he sent his brother, the Ambassador at Augs-burg, to keep me company during his absence. This person appears to me a man of sense and good breeding ; he is much esteemed here.

“ We dined together very cheerfully in a company of about eight persons of the highest quality, before whom the Duc, without form or ceremony, expressed in all instances the greatest consideration for my person and character ; after which we retired to his closet, where we had an interview of above two hours.

“ He began the conversation by telling me, ‘ that it was the strong and determined personal resolution of his most Christian Majesty to terminate the war, if possible, and that all his ministers were in the same sentiments ; ’ he said, ‘ he had many difficulties with their allies to bring matters to such a point, as to be able to make the present overture.’

“ When we had done speaking, after the most proper introduction

CHAP. I could find relative both to what he had said, and to the method in
 XVII. which I chose to proceed, I read over to him the paragraph of his
 1761. letter exactly as it is contained in the fourth article of my instructions, and declared that as Minister Plenipotentiary I accepted the proposal therein made : he replied, ‘ that he persisted therein with the addition of the epochas.’ I answered, ‘ that in the nature of things there must be some point in which there is a transition from the state of war to that of peace, which was all the meaning I could find in the word that had been used on this occasion.’ I likewise added, ‘ that as the war had been spread over the whole globe, it had been usual to allow terms for the cessation of hostilities according to the various distances of military operations, but that I was uninstructed as to any particular ideas of his Britannic Majesty.’ I could only say, ‘ that I was equally unable to accept or reject particular days or modes of determining this article, but would communicate to my court what he chose to propose on that or any other subject.’

“ He agreed, ‘ that the epochas were still left as a matter for negociation, but he thought however that in the present state of the affair, according to the natural and usual course of business, his most Christian Majesty having already named the first days of September, July, and May, his Britannic Majesty should proceed therein, either by accepting the said days, or by naming others more agreeable to his intentions, which would probably be guided by preparations and designs to which their court was a stranger, that this appeared a more speedy method than reiterated proposals from them which could be founded only on conjecture.’

“ I thereupon took occasion to say, ‘ that I was charged with an overture which I believed might abridge many difficulties,’ and I read to him the second point of the fourth article^m of my instructions, at which he expressed very great satisfaction and declared, ‘ that it was totally agreeable to the King his master’s instructions to Monsieur de Bussy.’ I found he had been alarmed at that part of your memoir

^m See page 507.

of the 8th April in which you declare, ‘ that the disputes between the two crowns should not retard the conclusion of so salutary a work as the general peace of Germany ^a,’ and that he conceived those expressions to imply that this pacification should perhaps precede the treaty between the two crowns. I assured him, ‘ this declaration was only a proof of his Majesty’s humanity towards so many unhappy nations.’

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

“ In our conversation upon these topics we carefully distinguished that war of which the causes were merely British and French, from the war of the King of Prussia, but without entering into local particulars.

“ He attempted to discover the ideas of our court upon the quality and nature of future compensations, upon which I assured him I was totally ignorant. He endeavoured extremely to prevail with me that some overture on that head might come from our court, but I urged with so much strength and perseverance, that as the first proposal came from France, the developement of that part must inevitably proceed from them, that I have, I believe, made him totally despair that any other method will be followed in the negociation.

“ I then, according to the sixth article of my instructions, made to him in the strongest terms a declaration of his Majesty’s intentions with regard to the King of Prussia, which he agreed to upon condition that his master was to observe the same conduct in regard to the Empress Queen. He desired to take an abstract of this matter, which was the only thing he wrote down, though he left me at full liberty as to this point, of which indeed I could make little use.

“ As I was leaving him, he mentioned the captures made before the declaration of war, and the calamities they had caused to individuals, but rather as a matter submitted to the humanity of his Britannic Majesty, than as a condition of a future treaty, though he did not disclaim any right of inserting it. I replied that I had no orders

^a The precise words of the memorial are, *that the contests, which might arise between the two crowns concerning their particular differences, should not occasion the least delay to the speedy conclusion of so salutary a work as the general peace of Germany.* See Appendix, No. V. paper 6.

CHAP. whatever upon that head, and could only speak as a private person,
 XVII. that national reprisals had almost always preceded wars; that the sen-
 1761. timents of writers and the conduct of nations had been very various
 as to what might affect private property on these unhappy occasions,
 but that even according to the opinions and proceedings of those
 whose tenets and whose history were not favorable to such a preten-
 sion, satisfaction must be first made for the sufferings of British sub-
 jects in North America, which had long preceded those seizures.

“ This led us into a digression upon the causes of the war, in which he said to me, ‘ that the Governor of Canada had in many instances acted contrary to the intentions of his sovereign.’ We at last agreed, that the real sources of that war had been the leaving the treaty of peace at Aix-la-Chapelle imperfect and incomplete. ‘ What is transacted with me,’ (said the Duke,) ‘ be it good or bad, shall be absolutely clear and definite.’ I assured him of the same resolution on our part.

“ This, Sir, has been the substance of what has passed in our first conference, except that he said to me some things as a private person, which I gave him my word that I would not write; I shall certainly keep that promise, but I am at liberty to say to you, that they are not any way contradictory to what I have inserted.

“ The particular arguments I used and the stile of our conversation, does not require a very minute detail. I set forth to him, in the best manner I was able, the distresses France laboured under from the state of her trade, and the benefits which England received from enjoying a great part of it, as well as of that of the neutral nations towards whom I maintained however she had always behaved with the greatest equity and moderation, nor did he contradict me, but he urged the renewal of those advantages was a natural consequence of peace, and not to be stated as a particular compensation for any specific article, though he confessed it was a great inducement for accepting terms that otherwise would not be eligible.

“ When he spoke of the treaty as advantageous to Great Britain, I stopt him upon that expression, and said, ‘ I had no clearer moral

idea of equality than that which the terms of a treaty upon the *uti possidetis* necessarily contained: that every pacification sprung from the state of the war itself, and that the conditions thereof were regulated by that state; that therefore those treaties alone could be termed advantageous, where the negociation gave what arms had not been able to obtain.’

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

“ I reasoned with him so fully upon this point, that I think he will not return again to the same expression.

“ I have expressed our desire to accelerate the conclusion of the peace, and he has strongly professed the same inclination on the side of France.

“ I must confess that in the whole course of this conversation the Duc de Choiseul spoke with very fair appearances of candour, as well as that I think him a person of very good natural abilities. I found him much more serious and connected in his conversation than he is here generally represented. When he chose to mix any sort of pleasantry with his business, I complied with his humour, and I flatter myself that I have not displeased him.

“ The people here in general conceive a high opinion of his Majesty’s wisdom and virtues. They likewise do justice to the vigour and abilities of his ministers. This is neither compliment nor flattery, but mere matter of intelligence.

“ I shall lose no time in complying with all other parts of my first instructions, as well as those with which you shall honour me for the future; but as the mentioning of names may impede the due circulation of papers, as it likewise is very dangerous and not extremely fair, I shall beg to be excused upon that point.”

The following postscript, dated June 9th, is annexed to the above letter.

“ In talking of the Austrian Alliance, the Duc de Choiseul said to me, ‘ *Ce n’est pas moi qui l’a faite.*’

“ In some of the less grave part of our conference I told him of

CHAP. the circumstance of Monsieur de Bussy's coming over in an English
XVII. prize, to which he replied, that my attention to that circumstance
1761. must draw from him a confession that they had no vessel at Calais
or on the neighbouring coast, which could carry that minister either
with decency or conveniency.

“ This day I dined again with his Excellency at Mouli, in company with the other foreign ministers. We had a short conversation in his closet: he told me that he had imparted to the Austrian ambassador some parts of what had before passed between us. I replied, that it must be left to his honor and discretion to act in his communications with other courts, as both should dictate.

“ He likewise said, ‘ I suppose you will be told that I have a great deal of finesse: the foreign ministers, who are used to find and place a great deal of subtilty in negociations, often suspect me, when I am dealing roundly and fairly with them.’ I replied, ‘ I have not heard your Excellency accused of this, and besides, from the long conversation I had yesterday with you, I have formed too good an opinion of your capacity to think you would employ arts which could not prevail, and must prejudice the present affair, when a plain direct proceeding can alone lead to that issue you desire.’

“ He told me that he had a letter of the 5th, by which he believed that Belle-Isle was taken. I replied, ‘ that he could not expect me to express much sorrow upon the occasion, but that I could sincerely assure him, that no man wished more than myself that the day would soon come, when no events would any longer happen, in which it would be impossible for me to share his Excellency's sentiments.’ He did not express much concern or any resentment, but spoke of it as an event long expected. He had before told Mr. Sloane that he had directed Monsieur De Bussy to illuminate upon the occasion.

“ The Duc d'Aiguillon is much blamed for having neglected the defence of that island. The Duchess, with whom I supped at Ruel on the 7th, seemed to be under concern: she is most grateful for his Majesty's gracious condescensions in favour of the convent founded

by her ancestors at Quebec. I beg leave again to recommend that affair to his princely generosity; they are a most worthy family, and the Duke passes for a person of great honor and abilities. He has many friends, but I believe is not at present a particular favorite at court. The Duchess has recommended to my care some holy oils, to be used in the sacraments in Canada. If they reach you with this packet, I do not doubt their being treated with that respect which she deserves, and which even a mistaken religion has a right to claim. You will please to order them to be safely conveyed as directed.

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

“ I have enclosed some private requests: it will be much for his Majesty’s service in these parts to comply with them, as it will make me and my commission popular. That of Monsieur de Bougainville is of particular importance, because it comes from persons of high rank, well disposed towards the peace, and who have already been useful to me. M^e. Descars is a friend of Mrs. Anne Pitt’s^o, and the favour is less considerable. Monsieur Burlamaqui is well known to General Townshend, who has spoke to me of him with much esteem. A speedy answer is desired, as the persons have some thoughts of serving in other countries.

“ My presentations are deferred till the next court day. I have left the method entirely to the Duc de Choiseul. I understand he at present means it by the Introducutor of Foreign Ministers. He told me that the King had said he remembered me very well, and had asked several questions about me.

“ I have visited most of the foreign ministers, and shall conclude those ceremonies to-morrow. All has been right in that respect.

“ Since the affair of Damien the King has never been easy in his mind. If, when he is hunting, or on any occasion, he meets a person whom he is not used to see, he starts and is extremely agitated. The Jesuits are charged by the vulgar as promoters of that

^o I have already mentioned this lady. She was a sister of Mr. Pitt’s, whom she resembled in many qualities of the mind.

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

attempt. The Dauphin is esteemed much attached to that society, which does not make him beloved, as they are generally hated. The people express great joy on their having lost a law-suit of great value, and which likewise has much affected their reputation. The King is ^p into great contempt for having given up M. Argenson, who is said to have been his only real friend; that he has never had any body since who could be trusted in his honor, or has had the least esteem or regard for him. The Prince of Conti is at the head of a large party, which in some sense braves the court. Nobody knows whence he gets the vast sums which his continual feasts here, and universal reception of persons in the country, cost him. The provinces are in great misery, and though there is much luxury in this town, all persons are deeply in debt.

“The Pretender’s eldest son is drunk as soon as he rises, and is always senselessly so at night, when his servants carry him to bed. He is not thought of even by the exiles.

“The Minister is a man of lively parts, but no education for business; frank enough in talk, meaning often what he says at the time, but fickle, very indiscreet; treats all affairs, and with the highest, as matters of jest; he has got a credit with the King quite independent of the lady. He treats her often very slightly, sometimes roughly; tells her she is as handsome as an angel, when she talks of affairs; bid her throw a memoire, the other day, into the fire; did not make the Austrian Alliance, which was done by Bernis; has expressed his dislike thereof to his confidants; envious of that court’s generally-hated treaty, owing partly to Prussia’s indiscreet expressions about the mistress, and contempt of the Cardinal’s verses most certainly.

“When your first letter of the 20th March was composed, or at least wrote, there were in the room of your correspondent the late Russian and Austrian Ministers, and a fourth person, I believe a Frenchman, whose name I do not yet know:—depend on this. I

have since discovered that this fourth person was Baron Scheffer, Minister from Sweden¹.”

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

Mr. Stanley commences his letter of the 12th June, by stating, that a second conference had passed between himself and the Duc de Choiseul, who expressed some uneasiness at not having received his despatches from M. de Bussy. A recapitulation of their former conversation, with respect to the object of the mission, then took place. Mr. Stanley continues thus :

“ As the principal matters of my instructions were exhausted, our conversation became rather of a general kind ; he complained to me a second time of the great difficulties he had met with from the allies of France, which he thought the more unreasonable, because her stipulations were very express as to the aids and subsidies she was to furnish, in which points she had exactly complied with her treaties : and because France was engaged in the King of Prussia’s war merely as an auxiliary, he asked me whether his Britannic Majesty had stood equally at liberty ? I replied ‘ those engagements did not directly relate to the affair entrusted to me, I am not, therefore, minutely informed of their full tenor, but I am persuaded that his Majesty has punctually, in all respects, observed them :’ upon which he rejoined, ‘ that Prussia alone would be considered as our ally, that the rest were mere subsidiaries.’ I answered, ‘ that I could safely assure him, that the declaration made by me from the King was consistent with his Majesty’s dignity and probity, as it was fully equal to the terms of that alliance.’

“ The Duke returned again to the subject which had occasioned this discussion, inveighing, in strong terms, against the obstinacy of the Empress Queen’s temper ; to demonstrate which, he related the following story. ‘ While I was Ambassador at Vienna, the siege

¹ The conversation with the Duc de Choiseul, mentioned in this letter, is expressly referred to and quoted in the memorial of the British minister, dated 17th June, 1761. See Appendix. No. V.

CHAP. at Olmutz was formed. Just before one of my audiences, a courier
 XVII.
 1761. arrived to acquaint her Majesty that the place was hard pressed: this news she imparted to me. I told her that affairs seemed to go very indifferently, and advised her to consult some of her generals about repairing the fortifications of her capital, not then in good order.' She answered, 'that she would defend them to the utmost, and then retire from town to town till she came to the last village in Hungary;' to which she added, turning to me, 'Sir, would you follow me there?' 'My personal service, (I replied,) should attend your Majesty to the utmost, but I cannot answer that the King my master would go quite so far with you. How would your Majesty act when you were driven to that extremity?' 'I would,' she said, 'send the King of Prussia a challenge, to meet me in a post-chaise with musket, powder, and ball, thus would we decide the quarrel in person.' She would have kept her word, (added the Duke,) yet I have persuaded her to give up Regal Prussia upon the future treaty.'

"As he had disclaimed his being the author of the Austrian alliance, and had not expressed himself with an excessive tenderness for her Imperial Majesty, I chose to push him farther on this head. The style of our conversation had been easy and cheerful, which admitted my saying, without impropriety, that she was a great lady, a charming handsome lady, but that her favors were rather dear to those she honored with them, that England could shew an account of about forty millions. He laughed, saying, 'that their balance was likewise very heavy.' 'A friend of mine, (rejoined I,) when he heard of your treaty being concluded, remarked upon it, that she would often pout out her Austrian lip and cry to you, *Messieurs, subsidies*;' which I mimicked both in the German accent and in grimace. 'Ay, and so she does, (replied the Duke,) much oftener I am sure than I am glad to hear her. I believe they have not got a farthing of their own: upon the strength of which I will tell you an apologue. I knew at Rome a cardinal, who was a rich miser: he kept in drawers, round his room, coins of all the several countries of the world. After dining for a paul, (which was his usual ordinary,) it was his constant

amusement, in the first place, to empty these drawers upon his table, shuffling and mixing together what they contained. His next occupation was to sort and separate these various species ; after which he went quietly about any other business. Now, Sir, if France was to take out her louis d'ors, and England her guineas, I believe those Germans would be as quiet as my cardinal.' I told him, that as poverty frequently begot quarrels, it was likewise sometimes the mother of peace.

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

"Some very digressive discourse, remotely relative to this observation, led him to say, 'that after all battles fought, the longest purse would decide the dispute between our two nations.' I did not chuse to allow that France could ever be superior at that weapon: I therefore replied, I must confess that the German war cannot be carried on eternally, but a maritime war, with expeditions against the French colonies, lays within six or seven millions per annum, which Great Britain, fed with your trade and her own, together with that of many neutral nations, not only encouraged, but enabled by conquest and success, can for many years support. Our's is a nation, added I, composed of politicians; some few of these are so whimsical as to wish you already in that possession of Hanover, which you, however, have not yet attained. He fairly owned to me, that neither the Electorate nor Hesse were territories which France was either able or desirous to keep; but asked, how his Majesty would bear the loss of the former?

"I expatiated, upon the opportunity which he gave me, that it was true the late King felt upon this point with a sensibility which arose from his virtues; that however his reason and his love for Great Britain had, after some natural struggles, overcome that predilection with which every good man considers the place of his birth; that this victory over himself had gained him that sincere love and profound veneration of his people, which had attended him to the grave: that our present monarch had not these difficulties in his own breast to struggle with, that his heart was entirely British, that he even honored us with a partiality which we could return by nothing but the most

CHAP. dutiful affection. The Duc de Choiseul rejoined, ‘ that he supposed
XVII. Hesse and Hanover, (this was the first time of their being expressly
1761. named,) were not articles so indifferent as not to be included in the
present treaty.’

“ I replied, that on the contrary, all those matters, which arose from the British war, were designed to be the sole objects of this treaty, that his Majesty had for the Electorate those humane sentiments which their allegiance had a right to claim from a generous protector, joined to a most compassionate sense of their sufferings; that the English nation had supported, even without a murmur, the vast expenses made in a foreign soil, but indeed in her own quarrel, yet that the King of England’s innate equity and justice would alone determine his conduct, in which no prevailing inclination or fondness would ever be found.

“ I then observed to him, that our acquisitions were of a permanent durable nature, suited to our maritime situation, perfectly connected with all our other views and interests; whereas those of France were, by his own confession, transient, temporary, and such as she could in no event retain. All which he frankly acknowledged, saying, ‘ that indeed they cut more into the quick (*au vif*,) than any success on their part could do.’

“ As we converse together with very great freedom, I mentioned to him my surprise, ‘ that France, instead of improving her naval forces, strengthening her colonies, and in short defending herself by the same arms, with which she was attacked, chose to bring the quarrel to an issue in parts where we were not really vulnerable, unless we pleased to think ourselves so.’ He replied, ‘ that it was very difficult for any power to be great both by land and sea; that the method, in which the war was carried on, was not originally planned by him; that a kingdom like France could not immediately change an extensive system of politics in which she was engaged, that probably she might in course of time apply to her marine;’ ‘ This is very difficult,’ I rejoined, ‘ during hostilities, especially after that a very visible superiority is once acquired. Naval preparations

require long time, as well as open communications for carriage; nor are they ever practicable till you have that abundance of seamen which trade alone can breed up, cherish, and maintain. What is still more, when with great labour and expense your new equipment appears, its fate is that of a young plant cut off by the scythe, while we are incessantly bruizing the root from whence it springs. Here, sir, is a metaphor in return for your apologue.' He confessed, 'that without trade and colonies, no nation could, in the present state of the world, flourish at home or preserve any importance abroad. But it was a maxim,' added he, 'with the Romans not to make peace in such a situation as you have described.' 'That republic,' replied I, 'held a particular conduct suited to her general policy, which constantly aimed at universal dominion. She, therefore, in every instance risked the whole; but I do not equally admire all the principles by which she governed herself, and I think that the happiness of nations, which cannot often be found but in their tranquillity, is a nobler and a better object than even that superior splendor which Rome acquired. Besides the state of Europe is greatly altered in so many ages, and a real superiority of naval strength would, in certain cases perhaps, have baffled all her wisdom and vigour.'

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

Hence we returned to the Austrian alliance. 'The King of England,' said I, 'will support his Prussian Majesty as an auxiliary, not only with fidelity, but with the most cordial zeal; thus will he satisfy his own honor and magnanimity, whatever fortune decide upon events; meanwhile you are ruining yourselves in nursing up a future ally for us; though I believe we are a little disgusted, and shall make you a compliment of her for some time.' 'I conceive,' replied he, 'that you have more taste for the Czarina: she is a little inconstant, and her inclinations vary from one object to another.'

"I answered, 'that we northern people were not excessively delicate and jealous, and that she being likewise a very fine lady, the past successes of our predecessors would give us little pain, and her favors would at all times make us very happy.'

"He again tried to obtain from our side the first overture on the

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

subject of compensations ; his arguments were much the same as those he had before used, but more faintly and imperfectly urged, because I soon reminded him of those candid answers he had already received, to which he neither then could, nor now did make any reply. He dwelled however upon one topic that he had not touched before : viz. ‘ that as the inclinations of the nation and Parliament in England had a considerable share in the decision of public measures, and might in that light make one compensation more eligible to our ministry than another, the speedy and happy result of this negociation would be facilitated, if they would begin by declaring what part of the British acquisitions appeared to them to claim a preference of this sort, and so founded.’ He added, ‘ that even in France, where the King and whoever derives power from him is much more the master of affairs, there was a great variety of opinions, neither indifferent nor void of inconvenience and danger to a minister. Some persons,’ added he, ‘ consider Canada as a barren desert, and look on Guadaloupe as a most important source of our national riches : while others as strenuously maintain, that without the former province and without the fisheries the naval power of France is irretrievably lost for ever.’ I told him, ‘ that as without doubt he had read our printed pamphlets,’ (which he confessed,) ‘ he must be sensible that there were likewise many such differences among us, founded both on private interest and on mere speculation ; but that I most firmly believed that his Majesty would be guided in his councils by more solid motives than the mere breath of popularity, even if the fact should be better ascertained to which side it inclined ; that as to myself, I was totally uninstructed to what point the result of those solid reasons would lead his Majesty, nor could I tell, which of these conquests the King would choose to cede, whether both or neither. He complained with civility, but with anxiety, that I was too inflexible in laying constantly without remission upon France the load of speaking first, which I must be sensible was very unequal and he thought unmerited after so frank and ample a proposal as she had made.’

“ As I have never used any arguments that appeared to me fri-

volous or evasive with his Excellency, (because they suit neither my nature nor my character, and would be entirely useless,) I allowed what he asserted so far as that the making the first proposal was a real disadvantage; but I maintained that this circumstance, though a disadvantage, was not a hardship, that it arose neither from my temper, nor from any ill dispositions in those who authorised me, but that it was a consequence naturally derived from that superiority of his Majesty's arms which he had so frequently and frankly confessed.' I repeated, 'that every pacification sprung from the state of the war itself,' adding, 'that this state not only regulated the terms and conditions thereof, but directed and influenced the forms and modes of conducting negociations; that I hoped he did not think so ill of my zeal and fidelity, or of the ability and wisdom of those who sent me, as to conceive that either one or the other would from pure complaisance give up to him the better ground, on which he could not deny that we were fairly placed without any trick or artifice on our side; that in the present case, it would be doubly unreasonable to expect such concessions; first, because there could be no doubt that if we entered into the matter of compensations, fact itself had already spoken to him, since Minorca their single conquest on the crown of Great Britain was inevitably and of course the only restitution we could ask, therefore in such a case our part was now done, and what he might, whether with or without reason demand, was already complied with; that surely we could not be expected to speak on both sides; that the matter was totally different with regard to our conquests on France which were various, and that it was usual not only in public transactions but in every common occurrence, for those who had any thing to ask, (much more when a doubt must arise, what that thing was?) to apply first to those who had the power to grant it; that as a minister he must have in view the condition in which his country would stand upon the conclusion of the peace which he had proposed, and must decide whether that state of affairs was or was not in his mind preferable to a farther appeal to arms; that it was therefore easy for him to communicate through my channel, or what

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

CHAP. I greatly preferred, to convey by means of the superior abilities and
XVII experience of M. de Bussy, his farther thoughts on these subjects,
1761. which were indeed no more than necessary, and consequent explanations of his first overture, that to shew how cordially I dealt with him, though I would not part with any fair ground which afforded me purchass in treating with him, I was now pressing his Excellency to follow that method, which if his intentions were clear and ingenuous, would give him the fullest security against any insincerity on the part of the British ministry as to their real desire of peace, about which he has slightly hinted to me some apprehensions, now I believe totally removed ; because if in the present state of the negotiation they began to give their own explanation to his first overture, they then would have it in their power to defeat this treaty by offering terms to France which might appear plausible at home, but which they knew would not be accepted abroad ; whereas on the contrary if his Excellency fairly and explicitly stated the detail of a peace, which should in the present state of the war, be just and reasonable, it would be neither safe nor wise for any administration to oppose the humane and benevolent disposition of his Britannic Majesty joined to the pacific inclinations of the whole nation.'

“ This last argument will appear needless to you, Sir, and the other gentlemen to whom you communicate this letter, but as those who endeavour to defeat the separate treaty of the two crowns, study to misrepresent the councils of his Majesty, insinuating that they are full of a boundless ambition, which the universal empire of the sea and America can hardly satisfy ; it has cost me some trouble to remove opinions so false that you can hardly suppose them to have existed. I have therefore been often obliged to enforce the tenor of my instructions by assuring the Duc de Choiseul in the strongest terms, ‘ that a good peace was equally the desire of his Majesty, of all his servants, and of his people, from every motive of humanity and wisdom ;’ though at the same time I declared as strenuously to him, ‘ that I knew not a single man who would be bold and base enough to conclude a bad peace in our present superior situation.’

“ When his Excellency has preached moderation, I have told him, ‘ that England was a country of arts, manufactures, and commerce ; that her delight, her interest, and her natural state was peace ; that he would not find in us that haughty and imperious spirit which conquests inspire, although I could not guess where or how they could in future probability attack us with the least success ; and although I foresaw many blows which they could with difficulty resist ; that on the contrary France had long both by arms and treaties encroached upon her neighbours, whose very safety, void of all ambitious views, compelled them to make a prudent though not ungenerous use of present opportunities.’ I have expressly asked him, ‘ how France became possessed of Alsace, Franche Comte, Loraine, Flanders, &c. ? and what moderation she had shewn upon such occasions ?’

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

“ The Duke, in holding the discourse above mentioned, upon the preference given by some of his countrymen to Guadaloupe, and by others to Canada, fixed his utmost attention upon my countenance, aiming at the same time by signs, by pauses, by half words, and by every other subtilty to penetrate my thoughts upon the alternative ; I did not, I am sure, by a single syllable or gesture afford him any foundation for the most remote suspicion.

“ I dined this day in the country at M^e. D’Aiguillon’s, who renews to you all her grateful expressions for your good offices towards her nuns. I passed the evening at M^e. de la Valieres, where the Duc de Choiseul came with his sister, for they are inseparable. We did not see them till after the opera, where they had both been. She reproached me very obligingly with breaking my appointment with her, (I had only said I should probably go there that evening,) and told me that her brother and she had kept a place for me. Nothing can add to the civilities I received from her, which is the more remarkable, because she is in general very reserved, and takes as I observe very little notice of their Excellencies. I shall do my utmost to cultivate this acquaintance, as it may, if future disputes should arise between the Duke and myself, be a very good means of mediation ; and as I even might be able to say things to a lady in such cases, which would

CHAP. XVII. 1761. be too great marks of condescension to a minister. I do not make any very great merit of this plan; it is not the hardest of my tasks to shew my respect for a very sensible and amiable young woman.

“ I am informed of an incident which gives me pleasure: they were talking in a private party of the King’s about me; the conversation was to my advantage in general, but a person said, ‘ *Mais pourquoi est il resté à Senlis?* ’ His Majesty himself did me the very high honor to answer, ‘ *Je crois que c’est un homme d’esprit et de mérite, et il n’a fait que ce qu’il a dû faire.* ’ This I believe will quiet persons who may be inclined to traduce me, for such are not wanting.

“ The Duc D’Choiseul told me the other day that an ambassador had informed him of my having said, ‘ that if the French did not immediately make peace, we would take from them every thing they had; ’ I answered, ‘ that this ambassador had told him a lie. ’ He replied, he pretended only to know it by hearsay: I begged the Duke to tell him, ‘ that if I found out who he was, he might depend on my making him tell me his authors. ’

“ Not having been yet presented at court, I have not been able to pay my respects to M^e. de Pompadour; but I dined the other day at a house, where her brother had desired to meet me. I was a little surprised to find him there again at supper, where I was engaged with a different party. We have since visited, and I shall endeavour to improve his acquaintance when he returns out of the country, where he is gone for a few days.”

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt,
dated June 16, 1761.*

“ I had before received, from the Duc de Choiseul, a note, in which he very politely informed me of the reddition of Belle Isle: I enclose it to you, together with my answer, written *ad captandum vulgus Gallicum*, which effect it has had in the highest degree imaginable.

“ He returned, in conversation to this subject, and expressed in

words a very great disregard for this conquest; although I could very plainly perceive, from his tone of voice and countenance, that this event had greatly affected him. He told me, ‘that it would take at least twelve thousand men to garrison the island, and that he would always keep forty thousand upon the opposite coast to invade and recover it, if opportunity should serve.’

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

“I hear that this acquisition of his Majesty’s arms is likely to be attended with very great divisions in the court of France. M. de St. Croix, a considerable time before our expedition set sail, wrote to the Duc D’Aiguillon, expressing his apprehension of the danger to which that island was exposed. The latter slighted his fears upon this head, did not conceive the armament to be destined thither, and replied that the garrison actually at Belle Isle was sufficient, and as ample as the other military services which he was commanded to provide for, allowed him to send. M. de St. Croix, upon receiving this answer, wrote directly to the Duc de Choiseul, and immediately informed him how much he was alarmed at the situation in which he found himself. The Duc D’Aiguillon has considered this application as an infraction upon his command and authority. He has long since expressed a violent resentment upon the occasion, but the event has justified M. de St. Croix. It is now a doubtful point whether the latter will be given up, and the dispute ended by saying, that he had not properly defended the post entrusted to him; or whether the Duc D’Aiguillon will bear the blame of this important loss. Some persons are even so malicious as to say, that the Duc neglected the means of throwing in succours in order to ruin a subaltern officer, who had presumed to apply to the court in contempt of his authority.

“The ministers of the Imperial Court and of Russia were this day shut up together, with M. de Choiseul, for a long time. I am informed, that the latter has been extremely angry at a report that the Muscovite army had been recalled on account of the armament made at Constantinople, but that the ambassador has assured him that their troops have already crossed the Vistula. I have it from

CHAP. very good authority, however, that their further march will be ex-
 XVII. tremely slow.
 1761.

“ The Imperial Court has made a proposition to her allies, to refer their several interests to her management and direction at the future Congress; intending, at the same time, that the affairs of those who are engaged on our side should be left to the disposal and direction of his Britannic Majesty: but this overture has been rejected, in very high terms, by all of them, and Sweden, in particular, has expressed a very strong aversion to this plan, which, I believe, is likewise much discouraged by the Court of Versailles.”

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Stanley, June 19, 1761.

“ His Majesty has seen, with great satisfaction, the circumspection and ability with which you managed your long conference with the Duc de Choiseul; and the propriety, force, and address, which run through your discourse, and your answers on the several points and various matters which fell under conversation between you and that minister.

“ Upon the whole, the language of the Duc de Choiseul to you appears fair and reasonable enough to have induced a belief that the court of France really intends to proceed in consequence of their proposition to the King, were it not that the contrary and even variable language which M. de Bussy continues to hold here, affords little room as yet for taking confidence in the sincerity of the intentions of his court. The tenor of this minister's discourse here, with regard to the proposition being no longer subsisting, is still the same; and to all this he did, on Sunday morning last, add a very new and singular demand indeed, neither more nor less than that his court expected that his Majesty, *sans préalable et sans compensation*, should restore Belle Isle: to which, by the King's orders, I have returned for answer, that his Majesty had heard, with much surprize, a demand of so extraordinary a nature; and that the King could never so much as listen to an idea so void of reason and justice. I then pro-

ceeded to give M. de Bussy to understand how little conformity there appeared between his language to me concerning the proposition and the epochs, and that which the Duc de Choiseul had held to you on the same subject. I farther acquainted him, that his Excellency had, in the course of the conference with you, agreed not only that the epochs were still left as a matter for negotiation, but that that minister had suggested the naming of others on the part of his Majesty; that this reasonable and candid invitation had determined the King to order me to explain to him (De Bussy) his Majesty's intentions, with openness and precision, on several points, tending to bring the negotiation, without delay, to a due consistency, and to prove the reality on both sides of mutual intentions for peace. I then went through the matter of epochs with the conditions, on which alone the King does offer to agree upon any. The rule, also, which was to govern the restitution of captures; an explicit declaration on the part of his Majesty with regard to Belle Isle; and the reserve the King thinks fit to make to himself with regard to any farther further compensations. In the conclusion I told the French minister, that in matters where absolute precision was indispensable, I thought I could not do better, in order to prevent the possibility of mistakes, and the loss of precious moments in the passing of couriers backward and forward to set them right, than to put down upon paper, as a *pro memoriâ*, rather to aid my own memory, than in any distrust of his exactness, all that his Majesty had commanded me to say to him in that conference. Hereupon I read to him the inclosed paper; on the several points whereof he made many observations, but none of weight enough to be of any use to you; as well as demanded several explanations on some parts, which he soon admitted did not want any; and then took the paper which I had offered to him for his use.

“To this inclosed paper I am to refer you for your instruction, and to acquaint you that it is the King's pleasure that you should, in all points therein contained, conduct yourself agreeably thereto. It is quite superfluous to add any caution to excite your prudence and sagacity, not to suffer yourself ever to be drawn out of the terms of

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

reserve which his Majesty judges necessary to make to himself with regard to his intentions as to future compensations of conquests ; on which critical matter it is highly for the King's service that France should be held to the necessity of explaining her intentions *nominatim*, without reservation or ambiguity.

“ His Majesty has been graciously pleased to consent to the request made by the Princess of Conti in favour of M. de Rosbeau and his brother ; and to that of the Duc de Rohan in favour of the Sieur de Querangal : but it is not judged for the King's service that the capitulation of Canada should be frustrated, which it must in consequence be, should that door be any farther opened than it has been, in distinction to the Chevalier de Levis ; nor can the military rule admit of the Chevalier d'Escar's being permitted to serve before he is exchanged.

“ I send you inclosed a copy of the capitulation of the citadel of Palais^r ; and I most heartily congratulate you on this critical and important conquest.

“ In order the better to effect the second clause of the ninth article of your instructions, which is judged very material for the King's service, his Majesty is pleased to give you a power of employing a reasonable sum of money, and, as a mark of his royal confidence, to leave the extent of the same to your judgment and discretion.”

At the time these amicable arrangements commenced, and a short time before the ministers of the respective countries had departed upon their embassy of peace, an expedition, with very different intentions, had sailed to the coasts of France. The expectation of the English nation had been strongly excited, during the previous year, by a very considerable armament which was then equipping at Portsmouth. Several circumstances occurred to prevent it, at that time, from proceeding against any of the enemy's possessions.

^r The capital of Belle Isle.

But the design, although postponed, was not relinquished. Early in the year 1761 Major-General Hodgson was appointed to the command of an army, consisting of twelve battalions of infantry, two battalions of marines, and three companies of the regiment of artillery, which when completed, as it subsequently was, by four regiments of light dragoons, amounted nearly to 10,000 men. This force was escorted and assisted by a squadron, consisting of ten sail of the line, eight frigates, three sloops, three bomb ketches, and two fire-ships, which was commanded by Commodore Keppel. The expedition sailed from Spithead on the 29th March. It was soon discovered that Belle-Isle was the object of their attack. It is not my intention to detail minutely the operations of our army against this island. At first we were unsuccessful. But Mr. Pitt was determined that the progress of our arms should not be impeded by a want of necessary supplies, or by any deficiency of men. Upon the first intelligence of the check which General Hodgson had received, he ordered a reinforcement of four battalions of infantry, together with a supply of flat-bottomed boats, cables, anchors, and all sorts of naval and military stores, to be immediately sent to the besiegers. After the greatest exertion, and after sustaining considerable loss, the English made themselves masters of Belle-Isle on the 7th June. The reduction of the place was generally received in England with the liveliest joy. There were some persons, however, who pretended to deprecate the conquest as most offensive to the feelings of France, at a time when she was endeavouring to conciliate England, and to terminate the war. Surely such arguments were unreasonable. Mr. Pitt's system was, throughout, most vigorous. We must regard it as a whole. Had the minister allowed any little considerations of compliment or politeness to interfere with his general plan of operations, himself had been but a cypher, and his administration had now been forgotten.

CHAP.
XVII.
1761.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1761.

*Further, and very important extracts from the correspondence between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Stanley—Within three days, intelligence of as many Victories arrives at St. James's—The King announces his intention of demanding the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz in Marriage—Suspensions in the mind of Mr. Pitt respecting the conduct of France and Spain—Review of Spanish affairs—Extracts from Mr. Pitt's correspondence with the Earl of Bristol—The celebrated Memorial of France respecting Spain is returned to M. de Bussy by Mr. Pitt—Difference in the terms of Peace proposed by England and France—Letter from Mr. Pitt to the Earl of Bristol—Letters from M. de Bussy, and the Spanish Ambassador to Mr. Pitt—Family compact between the Sovereigns of France and Spain—Extract of a Letter from Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt—Letter from the Earl of Bristol to Mr. Pitt—Mr. Pitt affirms, at three different meetings of the Cabinet Council, the necessity of an immediate declaration of war with Spain—His advice is rejected—Resignation of Mr. Pitt—He receives a Pension of 3000*l.* a year, and his wife, Lady Hester Pitt, is created Baroness of Chatham—Mr. Pitt, after his resignation, is at first assailed by obloquy—His subsequent popularity—Review of his Administration.*

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

THAT the reader might more fully comprehend the state of France in the year 1761, the character of her principal minister, and the very curious circumstances which attended the negotiation then pending between the two countries, I have introduced several long extracts from Mr. Stanley's correspondence. With the same, and even with added motives, (for the despatches advance in interest,) I here insert nearly the whole of four other letters which passed between Mr. Stanley and Mr. Pitt. The first contains matter of peculiar importance.

*Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt.*CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.*“ Paris, June 18th, 1761, half past one, A.M.*

“ This morning I had a conversation of three hours with the Duc de Choiseul; I reproached him gently and respectfully about Monsieur de Bussy’s behaviour, so inconsistent with that frankness, which himself had shewn: he laid the blame entirely upon that minister, who, he said, had been frightened at your peremptory insisting on the admission of no other epochas but the signature of the treaty, and in short entirely overawed by your presence. I represented to him how fruitless this frivolous method of transacting business must prove. He shewed me almost the whole of Monsieur de Bussy’s long letter, particularly the cyphered part, which he allowed me to examine so long and so freely, that if I had the least skill or practice in that art as the interlineations were wrote, I must have made myself entirely master of this method.

“ I professed to him the utmost zeal for the peace. I assured him that our ministry would act towards him with the highest honor and sincerity. I repeatedly enforced and enlarged upon the reasons I have formerly hinted to you, why the first overture must come from him. He listened to me with the greatest anxiety and emotion: he asked me at last very solemnly, ‘ whether he might firmly depend upon my never mentioning either in France or in England what he should entrust to me?’ I gave him the strongest assurances.

“ He likewise desired to know, ‘ whether I could answer for you and for those persons to whom his overture was to be communicated?’ I said, he might equally depend upon you and upon them. I conjure you most seriously, Sir, that this engagement made by me may be strictly respected.

“ He likewise required that neither Monsieur de Bussy, nor any foreign minister whatever, nor more of the King’s servants than are absolutely necessary, should be informed of the contents of this letter; upon which I have likewise pledged my word to him.

“ Another of his conditions is, that if no effect follows from this

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

proposal, it is never to be urged against him in any future treaty, or to be communicated to any person charged with the conduct of it.

“ He then declared to me, ‘ that the necessity of a peace had made a very deep impression upon the King his master, who was the only person privy to the discourse, which he now held to me.’ He confessed to me, ‘ that the matter of epochas and compensations had been, in the letter of March 26th, stated in that chronological style for the following reasons : first, that their allies might not entirely understand it : secondly, that he might by this sort of previous velitation^a, whether his Britannic Majesty did or did not desire a peace in the present circumstances ? thirdly, that if this appeared in the negative, the ambiguity thrown by these propositions into the offer of the *uti possidetis* might furnish him with a retreat.’

“ He then said to me, that the reason why he wished that this affair might pass through my hands in profound secrecy was, that Messrs. Staremborg^b, Grimaldi^c, and Czernichen^d were acquainted with all his correspondence through Monsieur de Bussy, who had likewise orders to impart the same to Prince Galitzin^e and Monsieur de Fuentes^f ; that until my arguments and protestations had prevailed upon him, he had greatly feared the sincerity of our court ; that he had been unwilling to speak in plainer terms, because if his offers should be rejected, he, without any fruit to his country or tranquillity of mind procured to his master, should draw upon himself a general odium at home, and disregard from their allies.

“ He then verbally told me what you herewith receive enclosed. I said, that according to my instructions, I should take any proposal he pleased *ad referendum*, but begged to have it in writing for fear of mistakes on my part, whereupon we retired from his gallery ; and he dictated, walking about his closet in great agitation, this note which is the original I there wrote down, and which he read over and very much considered.

^a This is a very unusual word, of course derived from the Latin *velitatio*, a skirmish.

^b The Austrian, ^c Spanish, and ^d Russian Ambassadors at Paris ; the ^e Russian and ^f Spanish Ambassadors in London.

“ He asked me with much anxiety, ‘ whether I believed this proposal might prove the foundation of a treaty ? ’ I hesitated, till I found him so alarmed for the reasons above mentioned, that I feared my giving him no answer would deprive his Majesty of the opportunity of considering this affair, and drawing thence in future time what shall appear most right to his royal wisdom. Therefore, after entirely disclaiming my public character, and declaring that I spoke to him merely as an individual, I said, ‘ that the price set on Minorca appeared in my private opinion very high ! ’ He answered that we received a great empire in the second article which was as much in our favor. Being farther pressed by him, I judged it for his Majesty’s service, not to leave him any sanguine hopes as to Louisburg and the fisheries. I therefore said that huts became houses, houses became castles, and castles became regular fortifications. I illustrated this by the example of the neutral islands. He said, that Cape Breton afforded no bricks or other materials for building ; that he was ready to engage by treaty that none should ever be brought there ; that he merely asked that the French fishermen might live there in the season under their own laws ; that the Dutch and all other nations enjoyed a share in the fishery ; that their being excluded would be a disgrace and an inconvenience which the country could not bear ; that as Cape Breton was an island, we could have no dispute about the boundaries, that he gave up all Canada to avoid them ; that the Eaux Pendantes seemed to him the best and most natural boundaries between that country and Louisiania^g, but that if any other was desired, this would not be insisted on ; that Canada was not to be on the former terms of Acadia, but absolutely submitted to the King’s disposal ; that the regulations of all matters in the East Indies should be submitted to his royal pleasure ; that their troops should march immediately, not only out of Hesse, but from Wesel and the King of Prussia’s territories, which he considered as engaged in the British war ; and that he did not doubt that such a general peace as we should approve, would immediately follow.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

^g Sic in MS.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

“ I have always strenuously endeavoured to shift the negociation into Monsieur de Bussy’s hands ; all my entreaties that he would open himself to our court were constantly attended with the most earnest requests, that he would use that channel rather than mine, nor were they ever more pressing than this day ; but whether the reasons given are the only real motives, or whether there exists any secret diffidence towards him from the interior state of the court must be left now undetermined.

“ Under this necessity I have taken these various matters simply and strictly *ad referendum*, upon the footing merely of explanations of the Duc de Choiseul’s ideas upon the points of epochas and compensations. He gave them me as such, and it is my duty merely to transmit them ; nor have I hinted to him either dislike or approbation of the method in which he chooses at present to state his thoughts upon those two heads. You may, Sir, be fully assured, that no act or word of mine shall ever make it in the least embarrassing for you to follow closely and literally the chronological method, precisely upon the basis of the letter of the 26th March, if on your better judgment it should appear more advantageous.

“ I do by no means conclude that these terms are the best that can be made with France ; they are her first offer. I think, however, that his Excellency will struggle hard for the fisheries, and had rather part with almost any thing else. This transaction seems, at least, to shew that France is serious.

“ The Duc de Choiseul desires you will continue to talk to M. de Bussy and all other persons whatever, except the most confidential of his Majesty’s servants, exactly as you would have done if you had not received this letter. He says you have his plan laid before you as to those points which might seem to want explanation, and that if you disapprove it, he thinks you ought now to open your own, which, (he added,) has been undoubtedly long formed. I believe the King of France will be very impatient for an answer ; and I suspect that the loss of Belle-Isle makes a deep impression on his mind ; though the Duke says that he himself cares so little for it, that he leaves it upon

the *uti possidetis*, and has not mentioned it among compositions, because we may keep it if we choose. He called it to-day an estate belonging formerly to one Fouchet a financier, (you know, Sir, he hates the Belle-Isle family.) His countenance contradicts these light expressions, and convinces me that these grapes are extremely sour. I hope some good use will be drawn from a conquest, on which I most sincerely congratulate you, and of which every body here, without exception, feels the importance.”

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

The following is the paper of propositions communicated by the Duc de Choiseul to Mr. Stanley and transmitted by the latter to Mr. Pitt. It is dated June 17th, 1761^h.

“Monsieur le Duc de Choiseul propose à Monsieur Stanley : il demande la restitution de la Guadeloupe et de Mariegalante, ainsi celle de Goree pour l'isle de Minorque ; il propose la cession entière du Canada à l'exception de l'isle royale où il ne sera point établi de fortification, et fixer cette cession la France demande la conservation de la pêche de morue telle qu'elle est établie dans le traité d'Utrecht, et une fixation des limites du Canada dans la partie de l'Ohio déterminées par les eaux pendantes, et fixées si clairement par le traité qu'il ne puisse plus y avoir aucune contestation entre les deux nations par rapport aux dites limites. La France rendra ce que ses armées ont conquises en Allemagne sur les Alliés Britanniques.”

The foregoing letter from Mr. Stanley, with the accompanying note from the Duc de Choiseul, produced the following state paper from Mr. Pitt, dated June 26th, 1761, and addressed to Mr. Stanley.

“Your letter of the 18th instant has engaged the King's most serious attention ; and has, by his Majesty's particular command,

^h We shall subsequently find this paper referred to in the correspondence as the *little leaf* of propositions.

CHAP. XVIII. 1761. become the subject of the fullest and most mature deliberation of his servants consulted in the most secret affairs. I am first to acquaint you, that with regard to the peculiar secrecy required by the Duc de Choiseul, and pledged by you to that minister; the King has been pleased to order me to recommend the utmost precaution to such of his most confidential servants, as were necessarily to have communication of a matter of this high importance; and I trust that secrecy will be strictly observed, and that even M. de Bussy, if he really does not know this transaction from his own court, will never learn it here.

“ The note dictated by the Duc de Choiseul opens a most interesting scene; and I am first to remark, that this little leaf is so loose and void of precision as to the objects it does mention, and so defective from its total silence as to matters of the highest importance which must make essential parts of a future peace between the two crowns, that this paper is to be considered, not as the full plan of the Duc de Choiseul, but a first breaking of his mind, or rather a mode of feeling what may be his Majesty’s fixed and final intentions as to the conditions of our particular peace. The manner too of doing this is, perhaps, rather artificial than confidential, however well personated the anxious desire of mystery and secrecy even towards M. de Bussy may have been in the course of the Duc de Choiseul’s conversation. But be this circumstance as it may, your conclusion is certainly just, that this transaction seems at least to shew that France is serious.

“ In this situation I am commanded by the King to communicate to you, for your further instruction in the most important negotiation with which you are entrusted, his Majesty’s sentiments on what the Duc de Choiseul calls his plan, loose and imperfect as it is. The observations I shall make thereon, and which I will do with as much precision as this method, as well as the state of the negotiation can admit, will contain in effect that counter-plan which the Duc de Choiseul desires, and which it is judged more proper to convey in this mode of observations on what France has loosely offered, than by a formal proposal on the part of the King.

“ To enter then into the matter: France has explained herself

on three points. First, That by her proposal of the 26th March last, relative to conquests which were to form the *uti possidetis* on her part, she meant, and still means, to comprehend the states of his Majesty's allies in Germany. CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

“Second, She offers to treat on the foot of compensation for parts of the reciprocal conquests.

“Third, She makes an actual proposal for certain compensations and cessions to be mutually made by each crown.

“I am here first to observe, that although the King's justice and magnanimity will ever extend to his allies all equitable, generous, and benevolent protection, yet France cannot but be sensible, that conquests of portions of the Germanic body are in strictness neither conquests made on the crown of Great Britain, nor susceptible of cession on the part of his Majesty, neither are they of a nature to become permanent acquisitions to France, but by consent of the whole empire. Next, the idea of a just compensation implies a reasonable proportion of value in the objects to be compensated, and above all, it is essential and indispensable on the highest reasons, and even in order to give solidity and duration to the peace when made, that whatever objects may be stated by France as matter of cession, the same be ceded total and entire, not mutilated or dismembered; that on this unalterable principle the fixation of new limits to Canada towards the Ohio or elsewhere, or an exception of the least part of that province, or of the island of Cape Breton, can never, on any consideration whatever, be admissible.

“As to the fixation of new limits to Canada towards the Ohio, it is captious and insidious, thrown out in hopes, if agreed to, to shorten thereby the extent of Canada, and to lengthen the boundaries of Louisiana¹; and in the view to establish what must not be admitted, namely, that all which is not Canada is Louisiana; whereby all the intermediate nations and countries, the true barrier to each province, would be given up to France.

¹ Sic in MS.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

“ In addition to Accadia^{*}, belonging to the crown of England by antecedent right, entire Canada and its dependencies, the whole coasts and all the islands of the gulph and river of St. Lawrence, and all straits and passages leading thereto, together with the fishery, invariably appendant to such possession, are, by the *uti possidetis*, already vested in the King : that to admit either the fixation of new limits, or any exception of territory, or of that right of fishery inherent in the same, would be, in effect, to stipulate a restitution under the name of a cession ; that with regard to the particular privilege, in virtue of the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, allowed within certain limits and under certain restrictions to the subjects of France, to catch fish, and to dry them on shore in one part of Newfoundland, I am to observe, that a demand of this most valuable benefit, founded on a treaty which subsists no longer, cannot but meet with the utmost difficulty, nor will ever be consented to without some great and important compensation. But, whatever shall be his Majesty’s ultimate determination thereon, this arduous matter can only with propriety come under consideration, when the renewal of that treaty with regard to other material points, and most particularly the demolition of Dunkirk, shall come to be discussed.

“ I am further to observe, that the island of Minorca, though of some utility from its harbour, being of no profit, and attended with much expence, Belle Isle alone is more than a compensation for it, both in value and in utility ; that if the King consents to the restitution of the rich island of Guadaloupe, (together with Marigalante,) so valuable in produce, and so highly beneficial to France, it can only be, supposing the least proportion kept between the objects compensated, in consideration of the immediate evacuation of conquests made by France in Germany on the allies of the crown of Great Britain ; that, in this view of things, India, (the French settlement and trade whereof contain, in point of value to France, more than double an adequate compensation for all her conquests on our allies in Germany,) would

* Sic in MS.

either remain to Great Britain on the foot of the *uti possidetis*, or it is to be supposed, though not expressed in the proposal of the Duc de Choiseul, that this immense object, transcending in profit all other British conquests, is to return to France by a gratuitous restitution on the part of England, and by the spontaneous effect of his Majesty's moderation, magnanimity, and generous disposition for peace.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

“ Though the above observations, as far as they go, may convey to you, with sufficient clearness, the King's intentions with regard to the particular peace of the two crowns, I will, nevertheless, for greater precision, and for your farther ease, in a negotiation of so much delicacy, briefly sum up the whole matter ; and expressly distinguish to you what are the points fixed and unalterable in his Majesty's mind, without which he will consent to no peace with France, from those which may be treatable, and are referred to future decision.

“ First, then, the King will never depart from the total and entire cession, on the part of France, without new limits, or any exception whatever, of all Canada and its dependencies ; neither will his Majesty ever relax as to the full cession, on the part of France, of the island of Cape Breton, and of all other islands in the gulph and river of St. Lawrence, together with that right of fishery inherent in the possession of all the coasts of the same, and of the straits and passages leading thereto.

“ Secondly, Senegal, (not yet mentioned by the Duc de Choiseul,) together with all its rights and dependencies, up the river of that name, must be ceded to Great Britain in the fullest and amplest manner, as also the island of Goree, so essentially connected with Senegal.

“ Thirdly, Dunkirk must be reduced to the terms of the treaty of Utrecht, without which no peace can be admissible.

“ Fourthly, the neutral islands in America to be *bonâ fide* and effectually evacuated by the French, or an equitable partition of those islands to be fixed by the future treaty.

“ Fifthly, it is understood that Minorca is to be forthwith restored, and that Bencoolen, with all settlements on the island of Su-

CHAP. XVIII. 1761. matra, shall be evacuated without delay, if the French have not already left the same.

“ Sixthly, the immediate restitution and evacuation of the conquests of France on the allies of his Majesty in Germany ; that is to say, of all the states and places belonging to the Landgrave of Hesse, to the Duke of Brunswick, and to the Electorate of Hanover ; and also of Wesel, and of the other places and territories of the King of Prussia, possessed by the armies of France ; and a general evacuation of all her conquests on the side of Hesse and of Westphalia, and in those parts.

“ On the above points his Majesty’s intentions will be found fixed and unalterable. As to other matters, the final determination whereof the King reserves to further consideration, it is left to your judgment and discretion to let the Duc de Choiseul see, in a greater or less degree, according as the circumstances of the negociation may require, that these matters may be open to consideration ; always exerting your utmost endeavours, and employing all possible address, to render the conditions, relative to these reserved and treatable points, as advantageous to Great Britain as possible, watching at the same time, with prudence and discernment, the critical and decisive moments which occur in negociation, so as not to risk too far, by an inflexibility without any prospect of success, the certain and speedy conclusion of a peace, upon the conditions contained in those points, on which I have so expressly informed you above, that his Majesty’s intentions are fixed and unalterable.

“ It is, I am persuaded, superfluous to remind you here of the seventh article of your instructions, not to sign any act whatever in virtue of your full power, without the King’s particular directions for that purpose.

“ I must not close this despatch without acquainting you that it is his Majesty’s pleasure that you should seize the first opportunity the Duc de Choiseul will, in order to sound the King’s disposition, probably give you ; and in case he does not, you will endeavour to create a proper one, in order to give that minister to understand, in

a manner to alienate as little as may be, that the most indispensable interests of Great Britain can never allow his Majesty to acquiesce in any views of acquisition, which it has sometimes been surmised France might entertain with regard to Ostend and Nieuport.”

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt.

“ *Paris, June 23d, 1761.*

“ I had this day a long conference with the Duc de Choiseul. I began the conversation by informing that minister according to my last instructions, that his candid and handsome disavowal of M. de Bussy’s delay had left nothing to desire on this subject. His answer was extremely proper; he professed himself, (I dare say with truth and sincerity,) utterly incapable of any proceeding inconsistent with the high respect due to his Britannic Majesty.

“ I then pursued the tenor of your last directions by acquainting his Excellency, ‘ that the language he had held to me appeared to my court fair and reasonable enough to induce a belief that he really intended to proceed in consequence of his proposition to the King, were it not for the doubts that arose from the contrary and even variable discourses of M. de Bussy.’ The Duc de Choiseul enquired of me, ‘ How I had represented his sentiments?’ upon which I reminded him of the several passages in my former despatches which I had before communicated to him. I likewise explained to him how I understood and had stated his opinions upon all other matters of any consequence.

“ His Excellency very fully and readily allowed, ‘ that I had in all respects justly and fairly repeated what had passed between us.’

“ I then acquainted him in those strong terms of your letter¹, (which very properly express the astonishment which M. de Bussy’s extravagant demand has created,) that ‘ this minister had required the restitution of Belle Isle *sans préalable et sans compensation.*’ To

¹ See Mr. Pitt’s letter of June 19th.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

which he replied, ‘ that M. de Bussy had in the first of these expressions totally mistaken his meaning, as the fact itself must fully demonstrate, for that *sans préalable* implied a surrender of that island previous to every other preliminary, and even to the negotiation itself ; whereas it was very evident that the treaty had been entered upon and even had made some progress in the present situation of that affair.’ As to the second term, *sans compensation*, he repeated to me what he had before declared, ‘ that he would not give up or exchange any acquisition of their crown in lieu of that island ;’ and added, ‘ that we might keep it if we thought it worth while.’ He owned to me, however, that he had written to M. de Bussy immediately on the reddition of Palais, and that possibly some expressions of warmth might in that juncture have slipped into his letter. I took the liberty, with as much caution and delicacy as I possibly could, to rally him upon that indifference for M. Fouquet’s estate, which did not seem to be yet entirely a settled sentiment in his Excellency’s breast, since I perceived that at certain intervals this incident could discompose him. He told me, ‘ that the citadel was now become of no value, since there did not remain there one stone upon another ; and that the town was likewise so demolished, that our commanding officer left there had not been able to find a single house in which he could lodge. This,’ added he, ‘ is become the English method of treating their conquests ; they have blown up the fortifications of Louisburg, and if the King, my master, acts according to the same principles of policy, he ought to demolish those of Minorca.’ I confess it did not occur to me to reply, that the casual events of a siege are to be considered in a very different light from those measures which any power takes in premeditatedly razing the fortresses which she acquires by conquest. I shall repair this omission at our next interview. My attention was naturally carried to the other object of Minorca, with regard to which I replied to him, ‘ that if compensations came to be the question, they would totally act against their own interest by rendering the only acquisition which they could offer us in exchange for their possessions, of little or no use or value.’ His

Excellency asked me, ‘ why we had never attempted the recovery of that island ?’ I answered in general terms, ‘ that we were wiser than he imagined us, and that I myself, who had sate at the Board of Admiralty, could assure him that this post was by no means necessary to maintain a superiority in the Mediterranean, of which his Excellency might himself perhaps be not entirely unpersuaded.’

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

“ I had immediately sent M. de Bussy’s packet to the Duc de Choiseul’s at Paris, but by some accident it did not arrive at Marli till towards the end of our conversation : thus it was, Sir, that I first imparted to him the paper which you, Sir, delivered to M. de Bussy. He read it twice over aloud to me, and said, ‘ that he did not perceive in the general tenor and purport thereof any ideas that denoted, on the part of our court, such dispositions as he must look upon to be haughty and impracticable ; but that, however, as the answer to my last packet would probably not be long delayed, he thought it more expedient for both parties not to enter into a circumstantial consideration of your several proposals till this answer was received.’

“ Our discourse now took a general turn : he said that France was ready to make many sacrifices in order to restore peace, but that she could not be expected to resign every thing : to which I replied, ‘ that those objects of which we were already masters could not be considered as sacrifices made by her, that we certainly had no others in view.’ He recommended to me sentiments of moderation in a state of superiority, and represented to me the uncertainty of military successes ; saying, ‘ that the first part of the war had been favorable to France, that the present period was still more so to Great Britain, but that the end of it might possibly prove more prosperous to their side.’ I replied, ‘ that he had not yet found, nor would he find, on our part, that inflexible pride which often attends the victorious ; but that, without any boast or ostentation, I was, in my own private opinion, convinced, that future events would probably bring with them farther advantages to my country ; that it was usual for England to meet with checks on her first entrance into a state of hostilities, of which I gave him several instances ; that my fellow-subjects applied

CHAP. greatly and successfully to commerce and to the arts of peace; that
 XVIII. our constitution and our situation did neither incline us, nor make it
 1761. necessary to keep on foot those numerous armies which France at all
 times maintained; but that the nerve, spirit, and vigour of the English, together with their skill and discipline, were ever raised and confirmed by that habit and practice of arms which attends a long continuation of war.' I quoted to him, as a picture of their temper and resolution, the line of Horace, '*A duro capit vires animumque ferro.*'

"The Duc de Choiseul desired me to consider, that 'no acquisitions were sure till they received that solidity which treaties of peace carry with them;' and represented to me, 'the security which a pacification would give us for that part which we, by their consent, retained.' I allowed, that the reciprocal consent of belligerent powers was certainly a more stable title of possession than any other; if that title was not respected, war must be eternal, yet I well knew that in future hostilities all territories, however held or however acquired, were left to be disputed by the sword; that even the most solemn conventions did not always bind those who contracted, of which the Empress Queen's designs against Silesia, were a most cogent proof, but that to reason upon the actual state of affairs, England had the best security for her acquisitions that she could, in her present predicament, desire, since I could say to him, with the utmost candour and ingenuity, that as far as my poor knowledge and faculties were able to extend, I did not foresee a probability of their regaining what we now held of their's, or of their compensating our actual advantages by any successful attack upon any of his Majesty's dominions.

"I dare say you will easily perceive my reasons for holding this firm language in the present situation, and I hope my conduct will not appear injudicious to you. I carried it indeed so far, that he asked me, 'whether in my ideas the prolongation of the war appeared to me preferable to a good peace?' I gave him the strongest and fullest assurances to the contrary.

"However, for some minutes before he was sufficiently cooled,

he adopted the heroic style; and though these matters are a little foreign to my instructions, I presume, Sir, to trespass so far upon your time as to give you the notions of a French minister upon a topic that often occurs in discourse, together with such answers as I hope will not be thought entirely unworthy of an English subject.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

“ The Duc de Choiseul said, ‘ that if the war in Germany, so ruinous to both nations, were concluded, he should not be embarrassed to engage England *corps pour corps*, and that he could, whenever he pleased, land an army of 60,000 men in Great Britain, which the superiority of our fleets would not be able to prevent;’ adding, ‘ that he would lay me a wager, that he conveyed 3,000 men there at any time he pleased; that, indeed, he did not answer for the final success of his expedition, but that he should be glad to know what would become of our funds and of our national credit in case of a formidable invasion?’ I answered, that though I was morally sure of their disappointment in such an operation, no man would be more sorry than myself to see the contest between the two crowns decided by extremities, so full of horror, blood, and confusion; that I should even feel for those on their part who engaged in so desperate an attempt; that the wager he offered me was a very bad proof of the possibility of landing twenty times the number he mentioned; that the armada, vainly styled invincible, had taken the then predominating power of the world many years of preparation; that there were in Great Britain neither places of arms, nor posts, nor fortresses, in which an enemy could rest the sole of his foot; that the sea cut off every possibility of assistance from, and communication with, their native country; that there were many rivers, hills, and woods to be disputed before they could arrive at any objects worth either their or our attention, and that a brave and numerous people would, on all hands, cut off their provisions, and the necessary means of their subsistence; that these were not my crude opinions, but the sentiments of Mareschal Saxe, who was not reckoned to want the spirit of enterprise. He asked me, ‘ how that could be, since that General had been appointed to command an invasion upon Great Britain?’ I rejoined, that he obeyed

CHAP. the orders of the King his master, but that his own memorial upon
XVIII. the occasion, (which I had formerly seen,) exactly contained the
1761. arguments I had mentioned to his Excellency.

“The Duc de Choiseul said, ‘that from the mouth of the Thames to London was but a short way.’ I asked him whether he conceived we should ever be so silly as to let his transports go up the river?

“I then thought it not improper to enlarge upon this subject : I said, ‘that it was a fundamental maxim of our state, that she was insuperable at home when united, as under his present Majesty, whose birth among us we had the honor of claiming, whose endeavours to extinguish parties, whose spontaneous and voluntary tenderness upon points relative to our freedom, whose condescension and affability had equally engaged and rivetted to him the unfeigned love and duty of his subjects; that if a defiance of all foreign enemies was in such a situation, as I represented, an error, we had long lived under a very inveterate hereditary delusion; that the great Sir Walter Raleigh, as early as Queen Elizabeth, had held the doctrine I now maintained, and that if France could demonstrate that we had so grossly imposed upon ourselves, she must take us for our pains.’

“This historical and political digression gave his Excellency time to resume all his former good humour, and he entered, of his own accord, with me into a discourse about the French finances. He said, ‘he was greatly surprised that their stocks had not risen higher upon my arrival at Paris, upon the amicable language I had held, and upon the reception I had met with from all quarters.’ I replied, that if he promised not to be offended, I would repeat to him the solution of this problem, such as I had several times heard it given at Paris. He assured me, he was not captious, (which is really the case,) entreating me always to use an entire liberty of speech with him. I said, that the cause generally assigned for this fact was, that there really existed very little money in the country not already disposed of or engaged.

“I softened this reply by observing, that if England had not

been assisted by foreign wealth, she would, notwithstanding the flourishing state of her trade, not have abounded with cash sufficient to give the speculators upon stocks full play for that discernment and address upon which they pique themselves. He confessed to me, that even in France those who had the command of money were their masters, and that he himself had neither penetration nor experience enough to account for their transactions, or the principles on which they govern themselves;’ of which he gave me a singular instance, viz. ‘that he had had great disputes with M. de Silhouette, when that minister resolved to stop the rescriptions, (i. e. the terms of payment for the capital and interest of the public debt,) that he asked him only for a delay of twenty-four hours, which had been promised, but which was not complied with, that on the publication of the King’s edict, the state had certainly committed a sort of bankruptcy, (*une espèce de banqueroupe*,) that he expected their public credit to be totally and inevitably ruined, but that, to his great surprise, they raised their next supplies with more facility than they had been able to procure them before while the national faith remained entire.’ Here we were interrupted by a servant’s coming to inform us that dinner was upon the table.”

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

In a letter dated Whitehall, 26th June, Mr. Pitt acknowledges the receipt of the preceding letter, and states the satisfaction which the King had expressed at the address which Mr. Stanley had evinced in his recent conversation with the Duc de Choiseul. Mr. Pitt then relates the substance of his last conference with M. de Bussy.

“The conversation,” writes Mr. Pitt, “which was extremely long and large on his part, begun by his telling me that he had the pleasure now to be able to acquaint me that the Duc de Choiseul admitted that the proposition of the 26th March was subsisting, and that epochs were matter of negociation, and proper ones to be settled. On my saying to M. de Bussy that this was all I had ever expected

CHAP. XVIII. 1761. or desired on that subject, he fairly and readily confessed that to be the case ; and added, that there remained now only to open ourselves on the matter of compensations. Hereon I referred myself to the paper transmitted to you by Monuet, in my despatch of the 19th instant, and asked if he (De Bussy) had any instructions from his court to open himself on this head ; to which he replied, that he had not had one word to that effect ; but protesting his zeal for the advancement of the negociation, acquainted me that, in this view, his court had ordered him to let me know, that he was ready to sign any act to the following effect, viz.

“ 1st, That the *uti possidetis* was to be the basis of the negociation.

“ 2dly, That France comprehends in her conquests, which are to form that *uti possidetis* on her part, the states she has conquered on his Majesty’s allies in Germany.

“ 3dly, That the two crowns should mutually guarantee to each other their new possessions.

“ 4thly, That proper epochs were to be settled.

“ I desired M. de Bussy to explain what could be meant by *nouvelles possessions*, which England might be to guarantee to France : that I could not, in the whole extent of the objects of our peace, conceive the possibility of a new possession to France, except Minorca, which probably would not be left to her by the future treaty. Hereupon that minister, after some little essay towards giving a sense to those words, confessed that he did not very exactly see what might be the idea of his court therein. I will just observe, that it is not impossible that *nouvelles possessions* may squint towards Ostend and Nieuport, however foreign that matter strictly is to our immediate negociation.

“ I am further to acquaint you that M. de Bussy opened to me the kind of proposal as above, contained, as he said, in his last despatches, in a manner so ample and so copious, and enforced this nothing, (except the particular expression of *nouvelles possessions*,) with such emphasis and affected frankness, as bore strong marks of a

personated ignorance of the offer made through you by the Duc de Choiseul.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

“ In the course of our conference, M. de Bussy farther applied himself, not a little, to leave on me the impression that the Duc de Choiseul would never recur to the common arts of negociation, by throwing out a proposition in order to sound and feel dispositions; but that his Excellency, whenever he shall make an offer for peace, would do it so as that his first word should be his last. All this, I say, and abundance more to the same effect, leave no room to doubt that M. de Bussy’s language was totally calculated to quicken facility here towards the Duc de Choiseul’s proposition through you, be M. de Bussy or be he not in his Excellency’s secret.

“ Our conversation ended by agreeing that all must stand referred to the answer which, he said, he hoped he might soon receive from his court, to the contents of the paper I put into the hands of M. de Bussy on the 17th instant, and which was transmitted to you in my despatch of the 19th.

“ I desire you will particularly acquaint me, for the King’s information, what has been the manner of your presentation at Court, as M. de Bussy demands to take audience of his Majesty, though it is apprehended the etiquette of the court of France will not have admitted of your having had an audience of his most Christian Majesty. If this should be so, you will represent to the Duc de Choiseul what an insurmountable difficulty this constitutes; it being indispensable that both ministers, as to the honors they are to receive, should be, in all respects, on an equal footing.”

I have said that notwithstanding the negociation for peace, the operations of the war were not relaxed on the part of Great Britain. Within three days, the news of as many victories arrived at St. James’s. On the morning of the 20th July, the King was informed of the surrender of Pondicherry in the East Indies; on the evening of that day, he learned that Dominica in the West Indies was added to his dominions. On the 22nd of July despatches were received from

CHAP. Prince Ferdinand announcing his triumph over the French in West-
 XVIII. phalia^m. Such splendid successes must have been truly grateful to
 1761. the youthful sovereign. But his heart had yielded to softer impressions.

The King having summoned a Privy-council on the 8th July, declared to them his intention of demanding the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenberg-Strelitz in marriage. This Princess became Queen of England on the 8th of the following September. At this season of domestic rejoicing, it would, doubtless, have been very satisfactory to George III. to give peace to his people, and harmony to the rest of Europe. But with whatever favor the King regarded others, the negotiation of the peace, as had been the conduct of the war, was almost entirely committed to Mr. Pitt, and it must be confessed that this minister's terms were high. All the arts of French refinement were put into practice to lower them, but in vain. Mr. Pitt well knew the prodigious sacrifices which the English had made in the prosecution of the war, and he was determined that she should not lose her dear-bought conquests from motives of false delicacy or complimentary forbearance. He was intimately acquainted with the situation of France, and saw that this was the time to restrain her ambition, and to bestow permanent influence and advantage upon Great Britain. Unmoved, therefore, by the refinements of Choiseul, or by the taunts of those who reproached him with violence and pride, he consulted alone the honor and interests of his country, and he thought that her situation entitled him to prescribe the terms of a most advantageous peace. He had never ceased to contemplate the probability of a continuance of the war. The olive branch was in one hand, but the sword lay beside him, and he knew he could resume it and add to the laurels already acquired by his country. If Mr. Pitt was not at this period sincerely desirous of peace, it was because he was not convinced of the sincerity of those who *professed* to desire it.

^m At Fillinghausen. The battle lasted two days, the 15th, and 16th July. It was very severe, and ended in a most important victory.

He had for some time seen the communion of councils which prevailed in the courts of Paris and Madrid, and a strong suspicion arose in his mind that the present proposals of peace on the part of France originated chiefly in her desire to excite the sympathy and the jealousy of Spain; a sympathy towards herself, and a jealousy towards England.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

For the full information of the reader with respect to the affairs of Spain, I shall briefly retrace the conduct of that government for several years previous to the period at which I am now arrived. During the reign of Ferdinand, a prince always inactive, and latterly wholly insane, many circumstances had transpired which alarmed the court of England as to the intentions of Spain with regard to the belligerent powers. France had neglected no arts of persuasion to induce Ferdinand to take part in the war. Several times he appeared upon the point of doing so, and several indications appeared of his decided partiality to France. The prospect of his brother's accession to the throne was far from being more favorable to England. The Queen dowager, the mother-in-law of Ferdinand, and the mother of Don Carlos, was known to be friendly to France, and it was feared that her son would adopt her principles. For some time, however, after his succession to the Spanish monarchy, Charles the Third appeared desirous of preserving peace with England. But the ties of blood naturally connected him with Louis, and to this attachment from relationship was added the sense of a very important obligation. By an article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, it was stipulated, that in the event of the succession of Don Carlos to the Spanish throne, the kingdom of the two Sicilies should devolve upon his brother Don Philip, Duke of Parma, and that whilst certain districts were assigned to his Sardinian Majesty, the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastala should revert to the House of Austria. The King of Naples naturally regarded this article as injurious to his rights, accordingly he never acceded to it, and upon Ferdinand's death entirely altered the destination. His eldest son, from an infirmity of mind approaching to idiotcy, was pronounced incapable of succeeding him as King

CHAP. of Spain ; his second son was, therefore, declared Prince of Asturias
 XVIII. and his own immediate successor, and his third son was placed on the
 1761. throne of Sicily. The Duke of Parma, the King of Sardinia, and, what was of much more importance, the Empress-Queen were, with much difficulty, induced to acquiesce in these arrangements. The consent of the court of Vienna was obtained by the good offices of France. This, I have said, was a most important obligation, and the new King of Spain was not of a nature to forget it. Whilst Charles the Third regarded France with feelings of gratitude and affection, those very feelings, together with the points of difference between Spain and Great Britain, produced in him a dislike to the latter country. But his fear was greater than his dislike, and the former feeling had hitherto prevented him from taking part in the war against us.

The following extracts from the correspondence of Mr. Pitt with the Earl of Bristol are replete with interest.

Mr. Pitt to the Earl of Bristol.

“ Whitehall, July 3, 1761.

“ With regard to your letter of the 20th May^a, by Walker the messenger, I am again to repeat to your Excellency, that it continues to occasion here the most sensible regret to find, that, notwithstanding the sincerity of intentions on both sides, amicably to adjust and terminate, by a fair and equitable regulation, all disputes concerning the privilege of cutting logwood, the court of Spain still continues, unhappily, to dwell on that capital point of difficulty, which, your Excellency has so often been acquainted, is not admissible on the part of his Majesty ; namely, that the King, on his side, should do every thing for the satisfaction of Spain, while he is to rely only on general promises, on the part of that court, for securing, by some proper regu-

^a See Chapter xvii.

lation, which Spain still declines to explain, the privilege which his Majesty's subjects are entitled to enjoy by long usage, authorised by the treaty of Utrecht. Having so fully exhausted in my preceding despatches, all the arguments that arise on this subject, I will only add now, that it is the King's pleasure, that your Excellency should continue to hold to M. Wall the language prescribed by the said despatches, always observing to temper your reasonings with a true spirit of conciliation, and to urge them, though firmly, yet with the tone of friendly expostulation between two courts, who mean sincerely to live, as it is their mutual interest, in perfect amity and harmony with each other. If the court of Spain does really not meditate a change in her political system, and if they will divest themselves but for a moment, of that force of prevention which seems to shut their eyes to the equal view of both sides of the question, there is still room to hope, that M. Wall will open himself with regard to some equitable regulation for terminating, once for all, these embarrassing and long depending disputes.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

“ Having, in my secret letter of the 24th April °, transmitted to your Excellency, copies of the Duc de Choiseul's letter and memorial of the 26th March, and of my answers thereto of the 8th April, I am commanded by the King to make use of this opportunity to inclose to your Excellency the several other papers, which have passed, previous to the respective missions of Mr. Stanley, and of M. de Bussy, which will fully inform your Excellency of the state of this important transaction down to that period.

“ I am now to acquaint your Excellency what gave occasion to the enclosed paper, entitled, *Pro Memoria donné à M. de Bussy le 17^e Juin, 1761* †. That minister had, in his conferences with me, contended, that, the King not having accepted the epochs offered in the Duc de Choiseul's memorial of the 26th March, the proposition with regard to the *uti possidetis*, made by the court of France in the said memorial, was no longer subsisting. The Duc de Choiseul, at the

° See Chapter xvii.

† See Appendix, No. V. paper 13.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

same time, had held to Mr. Stanley, at Paris, a language very different from this extraordinary logic of M. de Bussy. In this situation, and in order to fix the state of a variable and contradictory negotiation, his Majesty judged proper to direct me, for greater accuracy and precision, to put the Pro Memoria above mentioned into the hands of M. de Bussy, and at the same time, to transmit a copy thereof to Mr. Stanley. The answer of the court of France to this paper will shew what consistency the negotiation between the two courts is likely to take, and I don't doubt, but I shall have the King's commands to give your Excellency an account thereof by the first safe conveyance."

The Earl of Bristol to Mr. Pitt.

"Segovia, August 10, 1761.

"The loss of Pondicherry must be an irretrievable one to the enemy's commerce in that part of the globe, and dispossessing them of the island of Dominica must make the French feel the superiority of Great Britain, wherever they are attacked by the King's troops. What contributes to the glory of these important events, is the discretionary capitulation to which General Lally was compelled to submit, and our seizing upon Fort Roseau by assault.

"Upon my acquainting General Wall with this news, he asked me how far we intended extending our conquests. I told his Excellency that I flattered myself we should not stop till we had brought our enemies to subscribe to the reasonable terms we send for a safe and honorable peace. As the Spanish Minister expressed some concern at the King's troops having taken Dominica, I could not avoid replying, that in case the Catholic King had any claim to the neutral islands, I thought the deposit of Dominica in our hands full as safe as when it was in the custody of France, and since our enemies had been suffered to build a fort there, it was equally reasonable that England should have the possession of it, since the Caribbees were not the sole possessors of the island.

"It is not difficult to perceive that the great and uncommon

success which has for so many years attended our just cause now be- CHAP.
gins to excite the jealousy of this court, from the constant apprehen- XVIII
sions infused into his Catholic Majesty by the Marquis d'Ossun, as 1761.
well as from the repeated representations made by the Duc de Choi-
seul to M. Grimaldi, and from Paris transmitted here; wherein it has
been asserted that what England aims at is to dictate to all Europe,
the commerce each nation shall be allowed to carry on, and the naval
force every sovereign will be permitted to maintain for the future."

The Earl of Bristol to Mr. Pitt.

" Segovia, August 31, 1761.

" In order to give you a thorough light into the Spanish system, I lay hold of this opportunity to acquaint you, not only with the characters of the different personages who compose this court, but also with their present connexions, or friendships, by which you will be enabled to judge of the situation of affairs here.

" I will begin with the very respectable one of the Catholic King, who has good talents, a happy memory, and an uncommon command of himself upon all occasions. His having often been deceived has rendered him suspicious. He ever prefers carrying a point by gentle means, and has the patience to repeat exhortations, rather than to exert his authority even in trifles. With the greatest air of gentleness he keeps his ministers and attendants in the greatest awe. As a branch of the House of Bourbon, the Catholic King has an affection for France, but as a Spaniard, and as a powerful Prince upon a distinct throne, he wishes not to have it thought that this kingdom during his reign is directed by French councils as it was in Philip the Fifth's time. What the Catholic King has most at heart is to secure to his son, the King of Naples, that throne where he has himself placed him. Every view, and each negociation to procure tranquillity to Spain is with the prospect of being entirely at liberty to assist to the utmost the young Sicilian monarch, in case any power should attempt to disturb him in the quiet possession of his dominions.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

“ The Queen Mother’s capacity is not equal to what it was once reputed to be. Her Majesty, one may infer from many little artifices, has not yet discovered, what every other person is convinced of, that she neither has, nor ever will obtain, any influence in affairs. The Queen Mother not only slights the three principal persons here, General Wall, Marquis Squillace, and the Duke of Lossada, but I have myself been present when she has ridiculed some of them in a manner, which was not to have been expected from one in her Majesty’s station.

“ Although the Infant, Don Lewis, constantly accompanies the Catholic King, his Royal Highness, so far from interfering in public concerns, does not even venture to ask the most trifling favor.

“ I have frequently, Sir, acquainted you with my opinion of General Wall, and his abilities are sufficiently known in England. Notwithstanding all that has past, I am persuaded he is too good a Spaniard not to be a friend to England, but, if he acted in the manner we have reason to expect he should, he thinks his conduct would be attributed to that predilection he has ever been accused of towards Great Britain, and that no one would believe he was influenced by Spanish principles; therefore, to obtain that impartiality he aims at, he is often hurried on to appear, and to conduct himself, as if he was in interests diametrically opposite to ours. His Excellency is, like every other person here, in the greatest awe of his royal master, and, I fear, does not constantly report what I advance, lest he should be suspected to be pleading our cause, whilst he was only reciting what he had heard from me.

“ Monsieur de Squillace⁹ is not bright; he is fond of business, and never complains of having too much, notwithstanding the variety of departments that centre in him. He would be averse to any war, as the royal coffers are far from being full, and the measures he has already taken to replenish them have occasioned so great a clamour against him, he thinks he never could stand his ground if the exigency

⁹ Secretary of State and of Despatch, and Superintendant General of the Finances.

of the state drove him to invent new methods for raising additional taxes: I believe his Excellency is incapable of taking any bribes, but I would not be equally responsible for his wife, the Marquise's, indifference with regard to presents. She is suspected to receive no inconsiderable remittances from France, but this, being difficult to prove, I relate it only as the general opinion; however, the Marquis D'Ossun's behaviour gives ground to these suspicions.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

“The Duke of Lossada has a moderate genius, but an incomparable character for worth and honesty; the strongest encomium of him is the King of Spain's having so invariably distinguished him for upwards of thirty years: for had there been any thing amiss in this nobleman, the discernment of his sovereign would have detected it, and that would have occasioned his Catholic Majesty's withdrawing his friendship from his confidant. The Duke of Lossada does not interfere in the political affairs of Europe, therefore my mentioning him here, is chiefly because he bears so principal a part in the palace.

“As several other persons have opportunities of talking to the King of Spain, who are, from their offices, immediately about the royal person, and, for that reason, can now and then drop words or hints about affairs, without presuming to offer advice, I will continue to give the characters of some whose names have never reached England.

“The Marquis Monte Allegre, Maÿor-Domo-Maÿor, is a thorough Spaniard; one who concerns himself only in the discharge of his office, and who will be ever inclined to peace, yet, from bigoted principles, would choose to have a war with heretics rather than against those of his own communion.

“I have, upon a former occasion, sent word that the Duke of Medina Celi was an illustrious cypher, whose great name procured him the post of Master of the Horse, in which employment he attends upon the Catholic King every day at his hunting; but this great nobleman's capacity does not reach far enough even to govern the royal stables, or those who are dependant upon himself, with propriety; and I believe, if he was to be asked where England lay upon the map,

CHAP. he would be at a loss to point out the spot, yet he is so good a cour-
 XVIII. tier, that he would clamour for any war the instant he thought his
 1761. sovereign was inclined to it.

“ Don Pedro Stuart, grandson of the late Marshal Berwick, waits upon his Catholic Majesty as regularly in the office of Gentleman of the Horse, and officiates in the absence of the Duke of Medina Celi ; he is a Lieutenant-General in the Marine, and reckoned the best sea officer in the Spanish service : he has great vivacity in his imagination, though uncultivated ; is well looked upon by the King his master, and has ever been explicit in his sentiments how prejudicial to Spain a war with England at all times must be.

“ Prince Masseran, the Dukes of Bournonville and Baños, the three captains of the body guards, have frequent occasions of being in conversation with their sovereign. The first, by descent an Italian, is most servilely attached to the French interest. The Duke of Bournonville, with excellent talents but the most corrupted morals, is by birth a Flemish man, and though he wishes well to France, there is no cause he would not either adopt or relinquish to serve any private purpose. The Catholic King likes neither of them, but distinguishes the Duke of Baños, a Spaniard of the ancient house of Ponce de Leon, who thinks of nothing but the business of his profession, and, with a moderate capacity, has conduct enough to behave unexceptionably to all parties.

“ Monsieur Arriaga, the Secretary of State for the Marine, is a quiet worthy man, but too easily led by the Jesuits ; he is convinced that the Spanish navy neither is nor can be in a situation to cope with that of Great Britain ; he would be against a war, and is from principle, as well as experience, satisfied that Spain could not be a gainer by interrupting the present peace it enjoys.

“ I cannot omit Don Joseph Agostin de Llano, (nephew to Don Sebastian De la Quadra, formerly Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,) the first Secretary to General Wall, who does almost the whole business in his Excellency’s department, and to whose opinion Monsieur Wall pays the greatest deference. Although he is young,

he has been for a great number of years in that office, and is as able a man as any in this country: I wish, for that reason, he was more inclined to England than I fear he is. As General Wall is not the most correct writer in the Spanish language, Monsieur De Llano pens all the despatches and memorials of consequence. I have discovered that the celebrated Peevish One from this court, delivered to me at the Pardo, the beginning of the present year, was of this gentleman's composition.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

“Monsieur De la Ensenada must not be forgot; he is vain and presumptuous, has some experience, but never had any application. The three first secretaries of the three different departments he once possessed, did the whole business of those offices, they prepared the notes for him, which were to be carried to the *Despachos*, and he received his lessons from them, because he neither had the capacity requisite to transact business of such importance, nor would he give himself the trouble that was necessary to examine into affairs.”

However respectable the characters of the King of Spain and of his minister might be, Mr. Pitt possessed too much experience and perspicacity to abandon his suspicions. He weighed well the intelligence which he received from Paris and Madrid. Lord Bristol had before informed him of the machinations of the French at the latter court, and he now learned from Mr. Stanley that the Spaniards were by no means passive at the latter. If the French had long used every argument to induce the Spaniards to take part in the war, the Spaniards, he now found, were equally urgent with the French in representing the impolicy of peace. Such appear to have been the feelings of Mr. Pitt, when, together with a memorial of propositions relating solely to the projected peace between France and England, M. de Bussy presented a memorial from his master respecting those points which had been so long in dispute between England and Spain. France, then at war with England, took upon herself to remonstrate in behalf of a neutral power—a power in professed amity with Eng-

CHAP. land, having at the time an ambassador at the court of London,
XVIII. who had himself given no intimation of such a design.
1761.

The circumstance was more than suspicious: it implied the almost certainty of a league concluded, or in progress, between the two sovereigns of the House of Bourbon. It seemed to say, "Charles the Third and Louis the Fifteenth are united, conjointly they offer peace to Great Britain, or conjointly they will prosecute the war." Other ministers might have disguised their feelings at an interposition on the part of France, so irregular and insulting; but Mr. Pitt, with a manliness and a dignity which remind one of the loftiest characters of ancient Rome, at once returned the memorial relative to Spain, as wholly inadmissible. He also returned, as equally inadmissible, a memorial relating to the conduct which England was required to observe towards Prussia. Having thus vindicated the dignity of her country towards an enemy, and of her honor towards an ally, Mr. Pitt gave specific answers to the propositions of the French minister respecting the peace.

The difference between the terms proposed by France, and those suggested by England was very considerable. I shall give a few instances of this. Mr. Pitt declared that England must retain both Senegal and Goree, of one or other of which, the Duc de Choiseul had demanded the restitution. Considering the losses which France had sustained in Asia, and that she had no equivalent to offer in that quarter, the sixth article of the French minister's propositions was unreasonable. It states that, "it would be advantageous for the companies of the two nations in the East Indies, to abstain for ever from all military views and conquests, to restrain themselves, and mutually to assist each other in the business of commerce, which more properly belongs to them. The precise situation in which the two nations stand is not known in France, wherefore the King, in order to confine himself in that respect to the object most useful both for the present and hereafter to the two companies, proposes to the King of England the treaty concluded between Sieurs Godeheu and Saunders, as a basis for the re-establishment of the peace of Asia."

This article was thus rejected by Mr. Pitt :

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

“ The treaty concluded between Messrs. Saunders and Godeheu cannot be admitted as the basis of the re-establishment of the peace in Asia, because that provisional treaty has had no consequences, and because those provisions are by no means applicable to the present state of affairs in the Indies, by the final reduction of the possessions and settlements of the French company in the East Indies ; but as the perfect and final settlement with regard to that country can only be made in conformity to certain rights absolutely appertaining to the English company, and as the King cannot justly dispose of their rights without their consent, it must necessarily be left to the companies of the two nations to adjust the terms of accommodation and reconciliation, according to those rules of reason and justice, which the state and circumstances of their affairs may require and mutually point out ; provided, nevertheless, that those conditions are not repugnant to the designs and equitable intentions of their sovereigns for the peace and reconciliation of the two crowns.”

In the twelfth article the French, with great length of reasoning, demanded the restitution of the captures made by England at sea before the declaration of the war.

This was rejected by Mr. Pitt upon the principle that “ the absolute right of all hostile operations does not result from a formal declaration of war, but from the hostilities which the aggressor has first offered.”

From the few points which I have mentioned, it will be seen that the terms proposed by Mr. Pitt were so much more advantageous to Great Britain than those contained in the Duc de Choiseul’s memorial, that the reply of France, without instantly breaking off the negociation, shews either that her plans with regard to Spain were not matured, or that peace was so necessary that she must make the greatest sacrifices in order to obtain it.

But although Mr. Pitt thus went through the formalities of

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

answering the French propositions, he plainly saw that unless General Wall declared that the interference of France with regard to the differences between England and Spain was unauthorised by his master, the latter must in effect be considered as an ally of Louis XV., and that a war with both was almost inevitable. He therefore addressed the following letter to the Earl of Bristol to ascertain the fact :

“ Whitehall, July 28, 1761.

“ With regard to the strange idea of the proposed guarantee of Spain, mentioned in Mr. Stanley’s despatches, as also with respect to the engagements with Spain concerning our disputes with that crown, which the Duc de Choiseul now avows to have been taken before the first overtures of France, for the particular peace with England, and which, consequently, had been from that time as disingenuously suppressed as they were in the moment insolently produced; the King’s servants were unanimously of opinion to reject the thought of suffering these disputes to be mixed in the negociation with France; and submitted to his Majesty, that a peremptory declaration to that effect, should be made to M. de Bussy, giving that minister withal clearly to understand, that it would be considered here as offensive to the dignity of the King, that farther mention should be made of such an idea, and that it is likewise understood here, that France at no time has a right to meddle in such discussions between Great Britain and Spain.

“ I am now to acquaint your Excellency, that M. de Bussy did not come to me till last Thursday morning, when, after delivering to me the same memorial which Mr. Stanley had received from the Duc de Choiseul, and transmitted to me, he also gave me two supplemental memorials of a most extraordinary nature, copies whereof I send your Excellency enclosed, together with a copy of my letter to that minister, returning the two said memorials as totally inadmissible.

“ With regard to the memorial relative to the disputes between England and Spain, that piece will best speak its enormity, and the extreme offensiveness of the matter which it contains; at the same

time my letter, by order of the King, to M. de Bussy, sending back the said memorial, will sufficiently convey to your Excellency the just sensations which such a paper has excited here in the breast of every one to whom it was imparted.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

“ It is the King’s pleasure, therefore, that your Excellency should immediately communicate to M. Wall the above-mentioned memorial, together with my letter to M. de Bussy returning the same : and in case the Spanish minister shall avow, that this strange piece has really been authorised by the court of Madrid, your Excellency will remonstrate, with energy and firmness, the unexampled irregularity of such a proceeding on the part of Spain, not only still in amity with Great Britain, (though discussions of difficulty unluckily engage the two courts,) but whose intercourse has hitherto professed itself to be friendly, and whose declared aims have all along seemed to point to an amicable adjustment of the long-subsisting disputes relating to the coasts of Honduras, &c. by some equitable regulation of the enjoyment of the privilege of cutting logwood by the subjects of Great Britain. You will farther express, with the utmost seriousness, to M. Wall, that nothing can equal the King’s surprise and regret at a transaction so unprecedented, except his Majesty’s steady purposes, and immoveable determination, not to be diverted, by any considerations, from that even tenor of conduct towards Spain, which his just and constant care of his people dictates, and which his royal wisdom and magnanimity have hitherto pursued.

“ On the one hand, then, his Majesty will by no means add facilities for the satisfaction of that court, in consideration of any intimation, on the part of a hostile power, of union of councils, or of present or future conjunctions ; nor on the other hand will his Majesty’s equity and moderation cease to dispose his royal mind to the same reasonable terms of accommodation with Spain, with regard to such objects, and in such manner, as the King, excited by inclination, and determined by system, has through the course of this negociation, invariably declared himself ready to embrace.

“ As to the three points mentioned in this memorial ; first, con-

CHAP. cerning the restitution of prizes made against the flag of Spain, or
 XVIII. supposed to have been taken in violation of the territory of that king-
 1761. dom, it suffices to say, that the courts here instituted to take cogni-
 zance of all matters of such a nature, are always open to the parties
 who think fit to seek redress in due course of justice ; and it is super-
 fluous to observe, that the ministers of his most Christian Majesty are
 not a tribunal to which Great Britain allows an appeal.

“ Next, as to the stale and inadmissible pretensions of the
 Biscayans and Guispuscoyans to fish at Newfoundland, on which im-
 portant point your Excellency is already so fully instructed, you will
 again, on this occasion, let M. Wall clearly understand that this is a
 matter held sacred ; and that no concession, on the part of his Ma-
 jesty, so destructive to this true and capital interest of Great Britain,
 will be yielded to Spain, however abetted and supported ; and it is
 still hoped, that prudence, as well as justice, will induce that court no
 longer to expect, as the price of an union, which is at least as much
 her interest as ours to maintain inviolate, a sacrifice which can never
 be thought of.

“ Thirdly, with regard to disputes relative to the logwood coasts,
 the King will still receive with pleasure, agreeable to his Majesty’s
 repeated declarations to the court of Spain, any just overtures on the
 part of his Catholic Majesty, (provided they be not conveyed through
 the channel of France, by whose intervention the King will never
 treat of these disputes,) for amicably adjusting the same, and for re-
 moving effectually every source of reasonable complaint or dispute on
 this head, by terminating to mutual satisfaction all things relating
 thereto, by a candid and equitable regulation.

“ After the above memorial of France, and the intimations
 therein, little short of a declaration of war in reversion, and that not
 at a distance, held out *in terrorem* on the part of France and Spain,
 M. Wall cannot wonder that your Excellency is ordered by his Ma-
 jesty, as you hereby are, to desire again, in this conjuncture, a pro-
 per explanation with regard to the naval armaments that have been so
 long preparing in the various ports of Spain ; and his Excellency can-

not but himself be sensible how strongly the King is called upon, in the order of things, and from the indispensable motives of what he owes to his crown and people, to expect that the court of Madrid will come to some explicit and categorical *eclaircissement* with regard to the destination of her fleets, as well as with respect to her dispositions to maintain and cultivate friendship and good correspondence with Great Britain: and this measure is become the more highly necessary as the emissaries and partizans of France here are not a little active in endeavouring to infuse, particularly into people's minds in the city, for purposes too obvious to mention, that a rupture with Spain, in conjunction with France, is approaching.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

“ Although in the course of this instruction to your Excellency, I could not with such an insolent memorial from France before me, but proceed on the supposition, that insidious as that court is she could not dare to commit in such a manner the name of his Catholic Majesty, without being authorised thereto. I must not, however, conceal from your Excellency, that it is thought possible here that the court of France though not wholly unauthorised, may with her usual artifice in negociation have put much exaggeration into this matter; and in case upon entering into remonstrance on this affair, you shall perceive a disposition in M. Wall to explain away and disavow the authorisation of Spain to this offensive transaction of France, and to come to categorical and satisfactory declarations relatively to the final intentions of Spain, your Excellency will with readiness and your usual address, adapt yourself to so desirable a circumstance, and will open to the court of Madrid as handsome a retreat as may be, in case you perceive from the Spanish Minister that they sincerely wish to find one, and to remove by an effectual satisfaction, the unfavorable impressions which the memorial of the court of France has justly and unavoidably made on the mind of his Majesty.”

In the mean time a memorial entitled the “ Ultimatum of France in reply to that of Great Britain,” was delivered to Mr. Pitt, accepting

CHAP. XVIII. 1761. the terms proposed by Great Britain, with the exception of the following points: The restitution of the captures taken by England before the declaration of the war; some port to act as a shelter for the French in drying their fish caught in the Gulph of St. Lawrence; the manner in which France was to assist her allies in Germany, should the pacification not become general.

Upon these points France declared that her determination was unaltered. The language of M. de Bussy at this time indicated symptoms of higher spirit than he before had manifested, a spirit undoubtedly derived from the reliance of his court upon the co-operation of Spain. The following note was delivered by the French minister to Mr. Pitt, at the same time with the above-mentioned *Ultimatum*.

“ August 5, 1761.

“ SIR,

“ I have acquainted my court with the letter of the 24th of last month, with which your Excellency honored me on returning the memorial I laid before you in relation to the interests of the court of Spain with respect to England, and the note which I thought it my duty to communicate with regard to the intention of the King my master, concerning the necessary steps to put a stop to the hostilities in Germany.

“ The King, Sir, orders me to acquaint your Excellency that as to what relates to the interest of the Catholic King, his Majesty's precaution expressed in the memorial which I remitted to you, is in consequence of that sincerity which he professes constantly to adopt in the course of all his negociations. The memorial which your Excellency has returned me, neither contains any menaces nor any offer of mediation. No other sentiment can be inferred from it than that of the sincere desire which his Majesty entertains, that the projected peace between France and England may be firm and durable. Moreover the King refers himself to his Catholic Majesty concerning the manner in which this memorial was received and remitted; but his Majesty has

charged me to declare to your Excellency that so long as Spain shall approve of it, his Majesty will interfere with the interests of that crown, without desisting on account of a repulse from the power who opposes his good offices.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

“ With respect to the matter of the note likewise returned by your Excellency, and which relates to the two necessary conditions of the proposed expedient for evacuating the countries subdued by his Majesty’s arms, his Majesty explains himself fully on that article in the *Ultimatum*, in answer to that of the court of London. His Majesty has ordered me to declare further to you in writing, that he will rather sacrifice the power which God has given him, than conclude any thing with his enemies which may be contrary to the engagements he has contracted, and that good faith in which he glories. If England will undertake to yield no succour to the King of Prussia, the King will engage, on the other hand, to afford none to his allies in Germany. But his Majesty will not adopt the liberty of succouring his allies with a supply of men, because he is sensible of the disadvantage which the present situation of the armies might occasion to the Empress Queen. His Majesty may stipulate not to act for the benefit of his allies, but he neither can nor will consent to any condition which may be detrimental to them.

“ It remains for me to observe to your Excellency, how greatly my court was astonished as well at the style of the letter as at the *Ultimatum* of England. This style which is so little conformable to the propositions of France, betrays the aversion of the court of London to peace. The King, who is very far from insisting on forms, when the happiness of Europe is at stake, has used every endeavour in answer to the *Ultimatum*, which without injury to the honor of his crown, were judged most effectual to recal the British court to sentiments of pacification : your Excellency will judge from the *Ultimatum* of France, that I am ordered to acquaint you with what facility the King, forgetting the imperative style so unfit for negociation, which England makes use of in her answers, enters into the views of the

CHAP. British court, and endeavours by the sacrifices he makes, to engage
XVIII. them to adopt the stipulations of a reasonable peace.
1761.

“ If your Excellency is desirous of having a conference with me on the subject of the *Ultimatum*, I will attend your commands ; and I shall be very earnest to testify the disposition of my court, to make a happy issue of the negociation on foot, as also the peculiar regard with which,” &c.

“ DE BUSSY.”

The interposition of France was also thus sanctioned by the Ambassador of the King of Spain.

“ The Most Christian King, who wishes to make the peace, concerning which he proposed to treat with England, at once effectual and durable, entrusted his intentions with the King my master, expressing the pleasure with which he embraced that opportunity of acknowledging his sense of the reiterated offers which his Catholic Majesty had made both to him and England, in order to facilitate a just and lasting reconciliation.

“ It is from these principles of sincerity, that the Most Christian King proposed to the King my master the guarantee of the treaty of peace, as a measure which might be equally convenient to France and England, and at the same time assured him, of his sincere intentions with respect to the sacrifices he proposed to make, in order to restore tranquillity to Europe, by an honorable and lasting peace.

“ Such a proceeding of his Most Christian Majesty could not but be highly acceptable to the King my master, who found it agreeable to his own sentiments and to his desire of fulfilling on his part, with the most distinguished conformity, all the connections which unite them both by ties of blood and their mutual interest ; and moreover he perceived in the disposition of the King of France, that magnanimity and humanity which are natural to him, by his endeavours, on his side, to render the peace as permanent as the vicissitudes of human affairs will admit of.

“ It is with the same candour and sincerity that the King my master expressed in confidence to the Most Christian King, that he wished his Britannic Majesty had not made a difficulty of settling the guarantee on the account of the grievances of Spain with England, as he has all the reason to conclude that his Britannic Majesty has the same good intentions to terminate them amicably according to reason and justice. CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

“ The confidence which the King my master reposed in France, gave that court room to testify to his Britannic Majesty the sincerity of their intentions for the re-establishment of peace, since, by proposing the guarantee of Spain, they expressed their sincere desire of seeing the interests of Spain settled at the same time which might one day rekindle the flames of a new war, which at present they wish to extinguish.

“ If the intentions of the Most Christian King and the King my master did not seem fraught with sincerity, the King my master flatters himself that his Britannic Majesty will do him the justice to consider his in that light, since, if they were founded on any other principle, his Catholic Majesty giving full scope to his greatness, would have spoken from himself and as became his dignity.

“ I must not omit to inform you, that the King my master will learn with surprise, that the memorial of France could raise a sentiment in the breast of his Britannic Majesty entirely opposite to the intentions of the two sovereigns.

“ But his Catholic Majesty will always be pleased, whenever he sees that they make the progress which he has ever desired, in the negociations of peace, whether it be separate between France and England or general ; as his sincere wishes are to make it perpetual, by obviating every source which might hereafter unhappily renew the war.

“ For this reason, the King my master flatters himself that his Britannic Majesty, animated with the same sentiments of humanity towards the public tranquillity, will express the same intentions of terminating the disputes of England with a power which has afforded such reiterated proofs of her friendship, at the same time that it is proposed to restore peace to all Europe in general.”

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

Whilst Mr. Pitt was reflecting upon the extreme probability of an approaching rupture with Spain, and upon those vigorous measures which a war with that country would render necessary, a stricter union was forming between Louis and Charles than even the English minister had apprehended. I allude to the celebrated family compact between those two sovereigns, which was signed on the 15th August, 1761. It has been affirmed, with a degree of probability, little short of certainty itself, that direct information, relative to this compact, was communicated to Mr. Pitt by Lord Mareschal Keith. That individual having been recently in Spain, had opportunities of ascertaining the fact, and is said, in gratitude for the obligation which he had received from Mr. Pitt, to have communicated this important intelligence. The following private letter, which the minister at this time received from Paris, was, of itself, a most just ground of suspicion with regard to Spain.

Extract from a Letter, marked private, from Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt.

“ Paris, September 2, 1761.

“ I have secretly seen an article, drawn up between France and Spain, in which the former engages to support the interests of the latter equally with her own in the negotiation of the peace with England, it was entitled article 10. I am as yet a stranger to the other nine, but shall endeavour to get them. This was on a separate piece of paper, I read it twice over, but it was not left me long enough to copy ; I conceive it to be very recent, for it was communicated in a letter dated August 10th, to Monsieur de Bussy ; he was directed not immediately to sign the peace, if it could be agreed with England ; perhaps in order to get off from Spain more decently. I question whether this article has been signed, or totally concluded, but he was

* The King of Prussia, through the intervention of Mr. Pitt, had obtained from George the Second the pardon of Lord Mareschal Keith, and the restitution of his property in Scotland.

not allowed to proceed contrary to it : Spain has been pushing her negotiation ever since I came here, and had, about this time, gained great ground ; I had the hint given me, and then enquired into it ; you will find by mine of the 18th what answer I received. Some of my intelligence is of so secret a nature, that I am very apprehensive of the persons being guessed if it comes to be at all communicated. I have seen some of Monsieur de Bussy's letters ; he knows more than he ought. It is only to those to whom the little leaf was first shewn, that I trust in your honor to communicate what I now disclose."

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

The impression upon the mind of Mr. Pitt was now so strong as to be little weakened by the following letter which he received from the Earl of Bristol on the 11th September, from which it appears that his Lordship was himself deceived by the protestations of General Wall.

" Segovia, August 31.

" I must now acknowledge the receipt of a copy of your letter of the 24th July to M. de Bussy, together with copies of two memorials presented by that minister, both of which performances you returned back as totally inadmissible.

" A few hours after the messenger, Ardouin, arrived at Segovia, I went to St. Ildephonso, where I passed a considerable time with General Wall ; and, as I have had four other conferences with his Excellency since the first, I will set down, with the utmost precision in my power, all that has passed between us.

" It was necessary for me to communicate what related to the negociations for peace with the court of Versailles, as the Marquis Grimaldi had transmitted copies of that whole transaction ; however, from my shewing a readiness to give that mark of his Majesty's confidence in the Spanish ministry, M. Wall told me, the Catholic King was truly sensible of his Majesty's great attention towards Spain, and was convinced the distance of England from hence occasioned this

CHAP. court's not receiving the earliest information from us of what was in
XVIII. agitation.
1761.

“ I then delivered to M. Wall the copy of the memorial relating to Spain, desiring him to read it over, and to acquaint me whether it was word for word, such as had been authorised from hence ; on returning it to me, his Excellency said, it was *verbatim* what had been sent by order of the Catholic King to Versailles ; whereupon I read your letter to M. de Bussy, in which the memorial was returned, saying, it was impossible for me to give a stronger idea of the impression that irregular proceeding had made in England, than by communicating to this court the manner in which such an unexampled overture had been received, looked into, and sent back, by the King's command.

“ Nothing has been omitted, on my part, to shew what an unparalleled proceeding this was from a King, not only in amity with Great Britain, but whose professions, (notwithstanding the difficult discussions which had so long and so unhappily subsisted between the two crowns,) had been uniformly calculated to convince my court the only aim of that of Madrid was, amicably to adjust our differences concerning the logwood coast.

“ With relation to the idea of the proposed guarantee of Spain, I desired to know of M. Wall, wherefore a power, that had no share in the war, was to be invited to guarantee the future peace ? And I entered very minutely into engagements taken by Spain with France, in regard to our disputes with the Catholic King ; when I could not help expressing the truest regret to find, not only of how long standing those engagements were, from the Duc de Choiseul's own confession, but also to perceive, they had been so industriously concealed during such a space of time, and to find them now produced in so insolent a manner by our enemies, because, (for views too obvious to be mentioned,) the French ministry looked upon that period as the most critical moment ; yet I persuaded myself the proper reception this transaction had met with at home, would clear all M. de Choiseul's doubts, and blast all his expectations, since he could not fail

being at present convinced, no menaces of a union of councils, nor any threats intimating little less than the reversionary declaration of war from Spain and France, (perhaps not far off,) could shake, much less intimidate or force England to permit her Spanish disputes either to be blended with our present negociation with the court of Versailles, or to suffer France, on any occasion, to meddle in our discussions with his Catholic Majesty ; and, moreover, M. de Bussy had been acquainted, in the most explicit terms, that it would hereafter be considered as offensive to the King's dignity, if any further mention was made of such ideas ; this, I informed M. Wall, was the energetic language that had been held to the French Minister at London, and that my orders were, to remonstrate with his Excellency on the unprecedented conduct of Spain, in conveying, at such a conjuncture, through such a channel, and in such terms, her sentiments to Great Britain. But I was commanded, whilst I expressed his Majesty's surprise at so unheard of a transaction, equally to make known the King's regret to find the court of Madrid had taken such a step ; yet his eminent virtues would not permit even these considerations, or these motives, in any way to divert his unalterable resolution of adhering to the steady purpose and uniform conduct his royal wisdom had hitherto observed towards Spain.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

“ I repeatedly enforced how strong my instructions were to convince this court it was not to be expected or imagined, that the intimations of a hostile prince, or any insinuations of a combination of forces, or union of interest between Spain and France, would, in the least, facilitate the satisfaction which was asked from hence, in relation to our differences in America. But the same magnanimity that dictated to the King these sentiments, prescribed also to his Majesty's equity the following determination, which was the constant language I had invariably held by my Sovereign's commands, of his royal intention, being ever and alike disposed to come to any reasonable terms of accommodation with Spain, finally to adjust our long-subsisting differences.

“ With regard to the three points contained in the memorial

CHAP. presented as the Spanish grievances; after dwelling upon the exact
XVIII. and unimpeached justice of the English courts of judicature, I
1761. observed, it was the fault of the parties who thought themselves
aggrieved, if they did not seek redress in that due course which was
ever open for them to pursue, since there was the regular courts
established to enquire into all matters of that nature, and those who
were not satisfied with the decrees issued from thence, had always
recourse to the laws of appeals; but that, it must be owned, it gave
no favorable opinion of a cause about which the clients only clamoured
without seeking to have it decided in the proper forms of law; and it
was superfluous to add, how many instances might be met with to
ascertain this assertion; therefore the first article might be looked
upon only in order to swell the appearance of grievances: and in all
lights, the French ministers would never be authorised by us to take
cognizance of what was solely to be decided by English tribunals.

“As to the second article, containing the claim so often set up
by the Biscayans and Guipuscoans, to fish at Newfoundland, and as
often denied by England, I had, in the clearest terms I could make
use of, shewed, that the first discovery of that island was made at the
expense and by the command of Henry VII., and I had likewise
demonstrated the uninterrupted possession of it, from that time to
the present date, to have belonged to the English, from their being
constantly settled there, whilst the Spaniards never had any esta-
blishments in those parts; therefore it was absolutely impossible for
Great Britain to make the least concession in so clear a right; and
it was hoped Spain would no longer expect, as the price of our union,
a sacrifice which could never be granted by the court of London.

“Lastly, concerning the disputes about the coast of Honduras,
I could add nothing to the repeated declarations I had made, in the
King’s name, of the satisfaction with which his Majesty would receive
any just overture from Spain, (upon condition that France was not to
be the channel of that conveyance,) for terminating amicably, and
to mutual satisfaction, every reasonable complaint on this matter,
by proposing some equitable regulation for securing to us the long-

enjoyed privilege of cutting logwood, (an indulgence confirmed by treaty, and of course authorised in the most sacred manner,) nor could I give stronger assurances than the past, of his Majesty's steady purpose to cause all establishments on the logwood coast, contrary to the territorial jurisdiction of Spain, to be removed.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

“ After having gone through these several points, General Wall, as he had done upon a former occasion, desired me to put into writing the principal heads of my discourse, promising me to make a proper use of them at the *despachos*, for his incorrect memory rendered such notes absolutely necessary for him : I readily complied with his Excellency's request, as I was certain by that method the Catholic King would be exactly informed of what I meant to have conveyed to his knowledge. The inclosed paper, marked A, is a copy of what I wrote down and gave to the Spanish minister.

“ I proceeded by saying, although a precipitated step could not be entirely recovered, yet it might be remedied; for, without any formal retraction, the expressing some concern for what had not been considered in all its consequences, might soften, and even wipe off any impressions, however unfavorable, that might, nay, must have been made on the mind of his Majesty by this memorial from the court of France.

“ As I thought I perceived a disposition in M. Wall, in some measure, to disavow the offensiveness of this step, I did not lose the opportunity of suggesting every pretext, and offering to his Excellency all kinds of handles to explain away what had so unavoidably given disgust in England; and I endeavoured, in pursuance of what you so much recommended to me, to adapt myself to those circumstances which were of a nature to furnish this court with the best retreat imaginable.

“ I have here related, without interruption, what has been alleged by me, and set down all the arguments I made use of; therefore I will now proceed to give an account of what was insisted upon by General Wall, in support of his own reasonings, or advanced by his Excellency in contradiction to mine.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

“ The Spanish minister began by acquainting me, that M. Grimaldi had conveyed to him all that had passed, either in writing or in discourse, between yourself, Sir, and M. de Bussy, as well as the language Mr. Stanley had held with the Duc de Choiseul on the memorial relating to Spain. His Excellency told me, the Most Christian King having early intimated his desire here, that his Catholic Majesty should guarantee the intended peace between the courts of London and Versailles ; in order to render that peace more permanent, the King of Spain had thought proper to agree to that proposal’s being made by France to England, as well as to consent to France’s express offer of endeavouring to accommodate the disputes subsisting between England and Spain, at the same time she was trying to put an end to a war which had lasted so long between the British and French crowns. But he affirmed to me, that the intention of the court of Madrid, in assenting to that proposal, was totally void of any design to retard the peace, and absolutely free from the least intention of giving offence to his Majesty, though it appeared that step had been productive of different effects ; that, as to England’s declaring she never would add facilities towards accommodating her differences with another Sovereign, in consideration of any intimation from a power at war, or the threatenings of an enemy, the Catholic King could not but applaud those sentiments in his Majesty, which he felt so strongly within himself ; adding, it was certain the court of London was at liberty to reject any proposals coming from the French ministry, yet that could not in any way influence the King of Spain’s communicating whatever measures he thought conducive to his interests, to the Most Christian King, his Catholic Majesty’s friend, ally, and near relation.

“ M. Wall pursued his discourse by acquainting me with France’s having spontaneously offered to the Catholic King, (in case the disputes between Great Britain and Spain should, at any time hereafter, occasion a rupture between our two courts,) to unite her forces with those of Spain to prevent the English encroachments in America upon his Catholic Majesty’s territory : an offer which the Spanish monarch

had received with that cordiality which was due to a friend, who was determined even to involve herself in a fresh war, in order to defend Spain.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

“ General Wall then asked me, whether it was possible to be imagined in England, the Catholic King was seeking to provoke us ; especially *at a time that the court of London was in the most flourishing and most exalted situation it had ever known, occasioned by the greatest series of prosperities that any single nation had met with?* And he assured me, the Catholic King, both before and at present, esteemed as well as valued the frequent professions I had made by command from my court, of his Majesty’s desire to adjust our mutual differences amicably ; but he perceived, the terms on which those disputes were sought to be accommodated, occasioned the difficulty. The Catholic King, he said, did not think England would look upon the French ministers as a tribunal to which the court of London should make an appeal, nor meant it as such, when the first article of grievances was conveyed through that channel. As to the second, the claim of the Guipuscoans and Biscayans to fish for Bacallao, it was what Spain had always insisted upon, and never had receded from by any treaty. And lastly, concerning England’s evacuating all the usurped settlements on the logwood coasts, it had never been offered, but upon such conditions as were inconsistent with the dignity of the Spanish crown to accept of ; since the court of London would only consent, that previous to her sending orders to those unjust settlers to remove, and to cause the fortification to be demolished, the Catholic King should be compelled to make known to the English, in what manner the logwood was to be assured to the King’s subjects notwithstanding the Spanish monarch had repeatedly given his royal word, a method should be found out for that purpose ; and that, till it was adjudged in what manner Great Britain should enjoy that privilege, the English cutters of logwood should continue, without interruption or molestation of any kind, to carry on their commerce upon the footing they at present exercise it. His Catholic Majesty only asking, that for his own royal decorum the usurped establishments

CHAP. should be relinquished by the English, to prove that good faith we
 XVIII. piqued ourselves upon, and to convince Spain we did not maintain
 1761. those forcible possessions, as pledges, which sooner or later we ima-
 gined would compel the court of Madrid to grant us our own terms,
 and in the meantime to increase, (which the British subjects did
 daily,) the encroachments upon the coast of Honduras.

“ This, Sir, to the best of my recollection, is what has been advanced or replied by General Wall at our different interviews. Yet for greater accuracy, and a fuller explanation of the sentiments of his Excellency, I desire leave to refer you to the enclosed paper distinguished by the letter (B) *, which includes the substance of what the secretary of state first spoke from, then read to me, and afterwards gave into my hands; consenting to let me send it to England, not as a memorial, but to be considered in the same light with that paper which I had agreed to give his Excellency, containing some notes, to enable him to represent to his royal master, with candour, what I had been ordered to lay a stress upon; and this was delivered to me with the same view; a proof whereof was, that there was no date to either of our writings, no signature, nor any title prefixed.

“ At my first conference, I told General Wall I had received the King’s commands to desire his Excellency would in the present conjuncture, give me a proper explanation with regard to the naval armaments which had been carried on in various ports of this country; and to ask for an explicit *eclaircissement* with relation to the destination of the Spanish fleet; as well as to inform myself particularly, from his Excellency, what were the dispositions of the Catholic King to maintain friendship, and to cultivate a good correspondence with his Majesty; alleging that this measure was judged by England to be the more absolutely necessary at present, as the French emissaries, and the partizans of our enemies, were attempting by every method to propagate the belief of an approaching rupture with Spain, in con-

* Lord Bristol’s letter is of itself so comprehensive that I have not thought it necessary to insert the letters A and B.

junction with France; therefore the King thought himself strongly called upon, from the indispensable motives of what his Majesty owes to his crown and to his people, to expect to have a categorical answer to the questions I had put by his royal command. The last time I saw M. Wall, which was the fifth meeting we had together, I renewed those questions, and then received exactly the same answer which had been given me the first time: that Spain was surprised Great Britain should take umbrage at any naval preparations she was or had been making since the accession of his present Catholic Majesty; for, including both the ships of the line, as well as the frigates, the whole number did not exceed in all that of twenty; which M. Wall assured me were by several fewer than those which had been equipped during the reign of the late King Ferdinand. His Excellency told me that, with regard to their destination, some were frequently going backwards and forwards between this kingdom and Naples; others were intended to convoy the homeward or outward bound flotas, assogues, or register ships; and the remaining ones were to serve as a check upon the Barbary Corsairs, and to defend their coasts or smaller vessels from insults: and, in relation to the third question, his Catholic Majesty's disposition and professions had invariably been the same, and were ever meant to cement and cultivate the friendship so happily subsisting between our two courts.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

"I hope, Sir, it will be found I have minutely obeyed every command I have been honored with from his Majesty. I am but too conscious of the unreasonable and, (I apprehend,) tiresome length of this despatch, which, on account of my frequent interviews with the Spanish minister, and from my unfeigned zeal for the service of my gracious royal master, has insensibly led me on to be as particular as it was possible on so interesting a subject, and in so critical a conjuncture. I wish this narration had proved a more satisfactory one; yet, when the style of General Wall's enclosed paper is compared with that which was given to me last January, I hope it will appear there is less peevishness at present here, than what was so strongly exhibited some months ago. The strong avowal of a most intimate cordiality between

CHAP. Spain and France, contained in his last production of the Spanish
 XVIII. Secretary of State's, has hurt me. I could not avoid acquainting his
 1761. Excellency, that it seemed calculated to serve as an apology for the
 proceedings of the court of Versailles, and to be a justification of the
 conduct of the French ministers, than for any other purpose.

“I am, &c.

“BRISTOL.”

Lord Bristol's letter produced considerable effect in the minds of several of Mr. Pitt's colleagues. General Wall had long been esteemed as a good and honorable man, anxious to preserve harmony between his own country and Great Britain. From his declarations it was supposed that Spain had no intention whatever of taking part in the war. But Mr. Pitt's opinion, when once formed, was not easily to be shaken. Whatever respect he might personally entertain for General Wall, he now considered him solely as the minister of Charles III., as the minister of a King, whose Ambassador at Paris had labored to impede the negociation of peace between France and Great Britain. Notwithstanding, therefore, the representations of Lord Bristol, Mr. Pitt's sentiments remained unchanged. He saw that the part which Spain intended to take was no longer equivocal. He considered it as a poor and irresolute policy any longer to keep measures with a country which had given its sole confidence to the enemy; and with that decision which forms so prominent a feature of his character, he declared the necessity of immediate war¹. Mr. Pitt's resolution, with regard to Spain², was thus made known to his colleagues.

¹ Mr. Pitt's plans, with regard to the capture of Martinique, will be seen from his letters in Appendix, No. IV. papers 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

² The following conversation is said to have taken place between Mr. Pitt and a general officer, a few weeks before the resignation of the former.

“Sir,” says Mr. Pitt, “I find the Spaniards are determined to break with us. It may prove a fortunate circumstance, for although we have taken the French islands and colonies, they do not afford us ready money, which we want. You must take possession of Panama: how many regiments shall you want for such an expedition? The ships can be provided for the purpose

On the 18th of September he represented to the cabinet council ^{*, CHAP. XVIII. 1761.} assembled to discuss the subject, the very irregular and alarming conduct of Spain; he declared himself convinced that she merely delayed hostilities in order to collect her strength preparatory to striking the blow. Honor, he said, warranted us in anticipating hostilities, and prudence enjoined it, for, if any war could provide its own resources, it was a war with Spain. Her supplies lay at a distance, and as we were masters of the sea, might easily be cut off. Her American Plate fleet had not yet arrived, its capture by the English, whilst it crippled her strength, would greatly add to our own. Such a bold but necessary procedure would, he said, teach not only Spain but

immediately; I have no doubt of making up 5,000 men, if necessary, from the British colonies, which are now secure. We have no reason to apprehend a disappointment; they may not be ready in time, but must be sent you as they are raised, rather as recruits than part of your command."

General Officer.—"Sir, I shall not want a great number of disciplined troops; I know the exact force in that part of America; give me three or four regiments, with instructions to the middle and southern provinces to supply me with a few men accustomed to bush-fighting, and about two thousand negroes to work in the heat of the day. Give me powers to form an alliance, and a promise of protection in religion and commerce. I'll answer for the success, not only against Panama, but for a resignation of all Spanish America, in all matters which may be deemed beneficial to Great Britain."

Mr. Pitt.—"Sir, get yourself in readiness; your commission shall be made out immediately."

The minister also meditated an attack upon the Philippine islands; and consulted Lord Anson upon the subject, on account of his knowledge of those seas. Mr. Pitt's object was to reduce Panama first, and thence to send a detachment against Manilla. His design against the Havannah, although it was afterwards executed by his successors, would, had he continued to direct the war, have been accomplished much sooner, and consequently great part of the force employed there would have been ready for any other service. His projected expedition against the Philippine islands was adopted by his successors, but materially altered, by joining the East India Company in the measure. This expedition would not have been undertaken, had not Lord Anson, in the strongest terms, repeatedly recommended and pressed it upon Lord Egremont.—*Anecdotes of the Life of Lord Chatham.*

* Nine years afterwards Lord Chatham, speaking of the want of candour and good faith in the Spaniards, thus reverts to the opinion which he delivered upon the present occasion: "On this principle I submitted my advice to a trembling council for the immediate declaration of a war with Spain." See Speech of the Earl of Chatham on the 22nd November, 1770. Vol. ii. chap. 24.

CHAP. Europe, the dangerous presumption of dictating to Great Britain, and
XVIII. would shew with what energy we could repel and punish the measures
1761. both of our secret and of our open enemies.

This decided opinion came most forcibly from him whose vigorous measures had been crowned with so much success. It was not, however, agreeable to the council. Lord Bute was the first to oppose it. He declared Mr. Pitt's propositions to be rash and unadvisable. Lord Granville, also, was of opinion that they were precipitate, and desired longer time to consider them. The Duke of Newcastle gave no opinion upon the subject. The Chancellor was absent. Lord Temple alone supported Mr. Pitt. Before the council dispersed, the two brothers left their written advice, signed by themselves, to be presented to the King.

A few days afterwards, a second council assembled for the farther consideration of the subject. At this meeting, all the cabinet ministers were present.

Some of the very persons, who in the year 1755 had been foremost to urge the seizure of the French ships before a declaration of war, now condemned Mr. Pitt's proposition as violent, and contrary to the laws of nations. They said that it would be madness to add war to war and enemy to enemy, at a time when the springs of government were overstrained by the weight already imposed; that whilst we were thus calling for new enemies, no mention was made of new allies, or of new resources; that by precipitating the war we should excite the jealousy and terror of every neighbouring nation, and disgust and alarm all Europe; that as to the seizure of the Plate fleet it might not be practicable, the flota being probably, at that time, safe in a Spanish harbour; but even supposing we could so seize it, the acquisition would be purchased too dearly, as it might prove offensive to neutral nations, and little advantageous to our own commerce. If Spain, blind to her true interests, and deceived by the arts of France, should more decidedly lend herself to the latter, it would be time to declare war against her when every impartial power in Europe was convinced that having acted with temper, we ought then to act

with resolution, and when every reasonable man in England would acknowledge that we were not hurried into the war from any chimerical heroism, but, inevitably, upon the most just provocation.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

Mr. Pitt again urged the necessity of an immediate war with Spain. He did not, he said, ground his resolution upon what that country had said or might say, but upon what she had actually done. He did not feel himself authorised to communicate the intelligence which he had received from Lord Mareschal Keith, respecting the family compact, but he laid before the cabinet Mr. Stanley's private letter, of which also he permitted ministers to take copies.

The majority declared themselves yet unconvinced of the necessity or propriety of the measures proposed by Mr. Pitt. They required time for farther deliberation; and the cabinet again broke up without coming to a resolution.

At a third and final meeting of the cabinet, arguments, similar to those which I have already mentioned, were reciprocally employed by Earl Temple and Mr. Pitt, and by Lord Granville and others of the council. The result of the conference was, that every member, besides Mr. Pitt and his noble relative, declared against a war with Spain.

The minister must have been superior to human feelings if he had not been stung with such a decision. After having so triumphantly guided the vessel of the state, after having with such penetration and enquiry discovered the shoal upon which she was likely to be cast, he now found the other officers of the ship desirous of driving him from the helm. His warm temper was known to his enemies. They now took advantage of it to free themselves from a colleague whose splendid abilities had so totally eclipsed their own. Mindful of the wretched state into which the incapacity of many of his present colleagues had plunged his country, conscious that his own exertions had rescued it from that state and placed it on the pinnacle of glory, Mr. Pitt could not but feel his own superiority, and, in the moment of anger, he declared, that "this was the time for humbling the whole House of Bourbon; that if this opportunity were

CHAP. neglected, it might never be recovered, and that if he could not pre-
 XVIII. vail in this instance, it was the last time he should sit in council. He
 1761. thanked the ministers of the late King for their support ; he said that
 he was himself called to the ministry by the voice of the people, to
 whom he considered himself accountable for his conduct ; and that
 he would no longer remain in a situation which made him responsible
 for measures which he was no longer allowed to guide."

The manner in which this declaration was received by the council has been variously represented. By one party we are told, that the president of the council thus addressed him in terms of the bitterest reproof: " I find that the gentleman is determined to leave us, nor can I say that I am sorry for it, for otherwise he would have compelled us to leave him ; but if he be resolved to assume the right of advising his Majesty, and directing the operations of the war, for what purpose are we called to council ? When he talks of being responsible to the people, he talks the language of the House of Commons, and forgets that at this board he is only responsible to the King. However, although he may possibly have convinced himself of his infallibility, it remains that we also should be equally convinced, before we resign our understanding to his direction, or join with him in the measure which he proposes." The other account is widely different from this. Lord Granville is there said, whilst he justified the decision of the council, to have lamented, in courteous terms of regret, that the administration were about to be deprived of the services of Mr. Pitt and those of his noble relation. These accounts are balanced with some degree of equality ; but I think it just to state, that the former is countenanced by one who had then no prejudices against Mr. Pitt, and that the above speech is by him attributed to Lord Granville[†].

The King having rejected the written advice of Mr. Pitt and the Earl Temple, they resigned their employments on the 5th October. Mr. Pitt's resignation, and the plea upon which it was founded, have

[†] See Annual Register for 1761, and the anonymous Life of Lord Chatham.

been the subjects of severe and, I think, unjust animadversion. The motives which occasioned his resignation were, I think, not only spirited but just. He considered responsibility as the first principle of a free government, and the confidence of the people as the true basis of his own administration. If the successes of his previous ministry were principally owing to the unanimity with which his measures had been adopted and enforced by the cabinet, he surely was justified in relinquishing his station, as minister, when that unanimity no longer existed.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

The day after Mr. Pitt's resignation, a pension of 3000*l.* a-year was settled upon him for three lives, and, at the same time, the title of Baroness of Chatham was conferred upon his wife, with remainder to her issue. With regard to Mr. Pitt's acceptance of these, it is almost superfluous to offer a defence. How malignant or how obtuse must that mind be which cannot distinguish the case of Mr. Pitt from that of the common herd of pensioners! What! Was he, who had scorned every consideration of private emolument, and given his whole time and thoughts to the promotion of the public welfare—who had raised his country to a degree of unexampled glory, to be now punished for his patriotism, and consigned to indigence for the remainder of his days? So thought not the Sovereign of Great Britain. Although by no means acquiescing in the motives which induced his minister to retire, he well knew the infinite services which that minister had performed. He thought, and every honorable Englishman must think, that Mr. Pitt, in accepting a pension of 3000*l.* a-year, and a title for his wife, still left the country immeasurably his debtor. Such thoughts, however, were those of the just and generous alone: other language prevailed. No sooner were Mr. Pitt's resignation and his acceptance of the pension made public, than his character was assailed with the utmost violence and malignity. He was branded with the names of pensioner and apostate. Although Mr. Pitt possessed too much firmness to be painfully affected by calumny and invective, yet, as he had received repeated testimonies of respect and support from the City of London, he judged it

CHAP. necessary to explain his conduct, in the following letter, addressed
XVIII. to the town-clerk.
1761.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Finding, to my great surprise, that the cause and manner of my resigning the seals, is grossly misrepresented in the City, as well as that the most gracious and *spontaneous* marks of his Majesty’s approbation of my services, which marks followed my resignation, have been infamously traduced as a bargain for my forsaking the public, I am under a necessity of declaring the truth of both these facts, in a manner which I am sure no gentleman will contradict. A difference of opinion, with regard to measures to be taken against Spain, of the highest importance to the honor of the crown, and to the most essential national interests, (and this founded on what Spain had already done, not on what that court may farther intend to do,) was the cause of my resigning the seals. Lord Temple and I submitted in writing, and signed our most humble sentiments to his Majesty, which being over-ruled by the united opinion of all the rest of the King’s servants, I resigned the seals on Monday, the 5th of this month^z, in order not to remain responsible for measures which I was no longer allowed to guide. Most gracious public marks of his Majesty’s approbation of my services followed my resignation ; they are unmerited and unsolicited, and I shall ever be proud to have received them from the best of Sovereigns.

“ I will now only add, my dear Sir, that I have explained these matters only for the honor of truth, not in any view to court return of confidence from any man, who, with a credulity as weak as it is injurious, has thought fit hastily to withdraw his good opinion from one who has served his country with fidelity and success, and who justly reveres the upright and candid judgment of it, little solicitous about the censure of the capricious and the ungenerous. Accept my

^z October, 1761.

sincerest acknowledgments for all your kind friendship, and believe me ever, with truth and esteem,

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

“ My dear Sir,

“ Your faithful friend, &c.

“ W. PITT.”

To this letter Mr. Pitt received the following gratifying answer.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ The City of London, as long as they have any memory, cannot forget that you accepted the seals when this nation was in the most deplorable circumstances to which any country can be reduced ; that our armies were beaten, our navy inactive, our trade exposed to the enemy, our credit, as if we expected to become bankrupts, sunk to the lowest pitch ; that there was nothing to be found but despondency at home, and contempt abroad. The City must also for ever remember, that when you resigned the seals, our armies and navies were victorious, our trade secure, and flourishing more than in a peace, our public credit restored, and people readier to lend than ministers to borrow : that there was nothing but exultation at home, confusion and despair among our enemies, amazement and veneration among all neutral nations : that the French were reduced so low as to sue for a peace, which we, from humanity, were willing to grant, though their haughtiness was too great, and our successes too many, for any terms to be agreed on. Remembering this, the City cannot but lament that you have quitted the helm. But if knaves have taught fools to call your resignation, (when you can no longer procure the same success, being prevented from pursuing the same measures,) a desertion of the public, and to look upon you, for accepting a reward, which can scarce bear that name, in the light of a pensioner, the City of London hope they shall not be ranked by you among the one or the other. They are truly sensible that, though you cease to guide the helm, you have not deserted the vessel ; and that, pensioner as you are, your

CHAP. inclinations to promote the public good is still only to be equalled by
 XVIII. your ability ; that you sincerely wish success to the new pilot, and
 1761. will be ready, not only to warn him and the crew of rocks and
 quicksands, but to assist in bringing the ship through the storm into a
 safe harbour.

“ These, Sir, I am persuaded, are the real sentiments of the
 City of London : I am sure you believe them to be such of,

“ Dear Sir, your’s,” &c.

The tide of public favor, which had lately ebbed, soon returned to its former channels. When Mr. Pitt joined the procession upon the ensuing Lord Mayor’s day, both on his way to the city, and subsequently in Guildhall, his presence was hailed by the people with the warmest tokens of praise and affection. As he passed along, the gentlemen in the balconies waved their hats, and the ladies their handkerchiefs : the mob clung about his carriage, and testified their enthusiasm by the loudest shouts of applause.

This approbation was, for a short time, confined to the metropolis. It was, however, soon manifested by the country in general. Several cities and leading towns presented complimentary addresses to Mr. Pitt, thanking him for his great services, and lamenting the cause of his resignation.

There is no period of our history more interesting or more glorious than Mr. Pitt’s administration. It exhibits an unparalleled series of surprising events and of splendid achievements. After giving a minute detail, I shall now endeavour to exhibit a general estimate of its nature and its merits. I trust, whilst my heart glows with the subject, that I may be allowed occasionally to call in allegory to illustrate and assist my description. The authority of Mr. Pitt as minister of Great Britain may be compared to some stupendous fabric, founded upon no ordinary basis, and presenting no ordinary superstructure. Cemented little by parliamentary and still less by court influence, it towered above opposition with a strength and sublimity before

unknown. Originally founded in the favor of the people it rose by their assistance ; in its progress, it obtained the co-operation of parliament and of the crown ; upon its completion, power and popularity were its joint supporters. Exalted upon this, so lofty and so durable an eminence, the minister was enabled to take the justest and most comprehensive view of the British dominions, interests, and relations. Like the astronomer who from his observatory discovers worlds in the minutest specks of heaven, the piercing eye of the statesman pervaded every quarter of the political horizon, and hailed the feeblest glimmering of light which he thought capable of expanding to his country's glory. As Mr. Pitt's authority was almost wholly obtained by his individual merit, so was it almost exclusively exercised by his individual strength. But his mental strength was like the bodily prowess of the Scriptural Sampson, or of the classical Achilles, and when exerted in behalf of his country, baffled the efforts of a multitude of enemies. Under his direction Great Britain, alone and unassisted, prosecuted the most arduous war in which she had ever been engaged, with greater splendour and success than when she was the head of the most powerful confederacy. The weight of one man's talents thrown into the scale rendered Britain alone a more than balance to the rest of Europe ^a.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

The same spirit of party, indeed, which in a preceding age led his political adversaries to question the military talents of the illustrious Marlborough, now induced many persons to assert that the successes of Mr. Pitt's administration were owing much more to the execution of the commanders than to the designs of the minister. In himself, they said, he was headstrong and precipitate, and the fortune which attended his undertakings was falsely ascribed to his wisdom. Had the successes which attended Mr. Pitt's undertakings been partial, such an insinuation might, perhaps, be admitted ; but the number and extent of the national triumphs during his superintendence at once expose its malignity and its falsehood. In a single

^a See Annual Register for 1761.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

instance, a man may be victorious without courage, and successful without wisdom, but none but the grossly obstinate will deny that he who is constantly successful and victorious must possess eminent wisdom and valour. In order to appreciate the merits of Mr. Pitt as a minister we have but to contrast the first years of the war, with those which ensued after he had assumed the chief direction of affairs. During the former period, all was inactivity and discord, weakness and dejection. During the latter, remissness gave place to energy—hope beamed forth upon the nation and quickly dispelled despondency and discord. It seems scarcely possible that the lapse of three years could effect such a difference in the feelings, conduct, and success of the nation, as that which appeared in 1756 and in 1759. Engaging in the conduct of a war of which he originally disapproved, Mr. Pitt prosecuted it with a vigour and success unknown to ministers who have had every advantage in their favor. The system he pursued left very little to fortune. From the moment of his accession to the ministry, an unwearied attention, a devotion to public affairs characterized his conduct, which neither disappointment nor triumph were able to diminish. His was the stern uncompromising resolution, neither to be softened by flattery, nor to be shaken by intimidation. His was the eye to aim, and the arm to strike at the loftiest and most glorious objects. Both in the affairs of kingdoms, and of individuals, Providence generally assigns success to industry, courage, and sagacity. It was almost impossible, therefore, that Mr. Pitt's administration, when fully established, should prove unsuccessful. His great object was the aggrandizement of his country by the depression of France. And how did he pursue it? When once his system of warfare was adopted, the enemy was never allowed to breathe, but alarmed, harassed, and attacked in every quarter. If one of his expeditions was less ably projected, or less successfully executed, amends were made by another and another. The spirit of the British nation once roused was never permitted to subside; and the French, confounded by the multitude and celerity of his enterprises, appeared to lose all power of resistance. He reduced the great enemy of his country to her last

resources, and when his vigorous system had compelled her to take shelter in a new and surreptitious alliance, his penetration discovered the artifice, and would have converted it to her own, and her confederate's ruin. In short, he discomfited the enemies of Great Britain, he revived the military genius of the people, he supported her allies, he extended her trade, he raised her reputation, he increased her dominions, and he quitted his exalted station with no other reproach than that of having added largely to the pecuniary burthens of the nation ^b.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1761.

It has been customary with many who were unable to detract from the splendid services of Mr. Pitt, to charge his administration with a most causeless and profuse expenditure of the public money. Now to suppose that the immense exertions of the country—our vast armaments, engagements, and conquests by sea and land, could have been effected without a most considerable augmentation of expense, would be too absurd to deserve consideration. The great questions to be answered on this head are, whether the burthens laid upon the country during that wonderful period of success were greater than the emergency required? And, if they were, whether the blame of their excess must be charged upon the minister?

Upon Mr. Pitt's accession to power, he found the country in a situation almost as hopeless as any which its history records. His object was to rescue her from that situation, and he saw that this could be effected by a vigorous system alone. Had he perplexed himself with minute calculations of expense, had he, from any mistaken notions of economy, neglected to give strength to his various enterprises, he would probably have left the country in a worse state than he found her—the scorn and the prey of Europe. But even granting that the expenses of the war under Mr. Pitt's administration were greater than necessity required, and that a waste of the public reve-

^b See a very spirited description of Mr. Pitt's administration in the Annual Register for 1761.

CHAP. nues was incurred, the reproach falls only upon those whose immediate
 XVIII. province it was to superintend them^c.
 1761.

^c Great national advantages cannot often be purchased without great national expenses. As in private life we do not esteem the man extravagant who expends a large sum of money in the purchase of a valuable estate, but him who dissipates his property upon frivolous objects, so in the affairs of administration, we ought not to call that minister lavish, who applies the revenues of the country to the attainment of some great end, but him who squanders it upon objects inadequate or unnecessary. When economy could be safely practised, no minister was more economical than Mr. Pitt. Upon his resignation in October, 1761, the King's revenue not only stood clear of all incumbrances, but a balance in the exchequer was due to the crown of more than 130,000*l*. When Lord Bute and Mr. Fox resigned in April, 1763, the balance in the exchequer was not only expended, but the outgoings upon the establishment of the civil list exceeded the income to the amount of upwards of 90,000*l*. a-year.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY R. GILBERT, ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

University of California
SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90024-1388
Return this material to the library
from which it was borrowed.

REC'D LD-URL
OCT 14 1996
FEB 13 1997
MAY 11 2007
4/27/07

UCLA-College Library

* DA 483 P6T3 v.1



L 005 762 713 5

*DA
L83
P6T3
v.1

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



D 000 539 923 3

University
Southern
Library